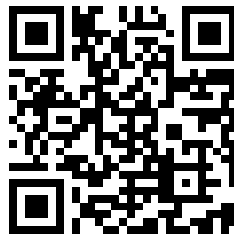


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THE MUSEUM OF MEDITERRANEAN AND NEAR EASTERN ANTIQUITIES

# MEDELHAVSMUSEET

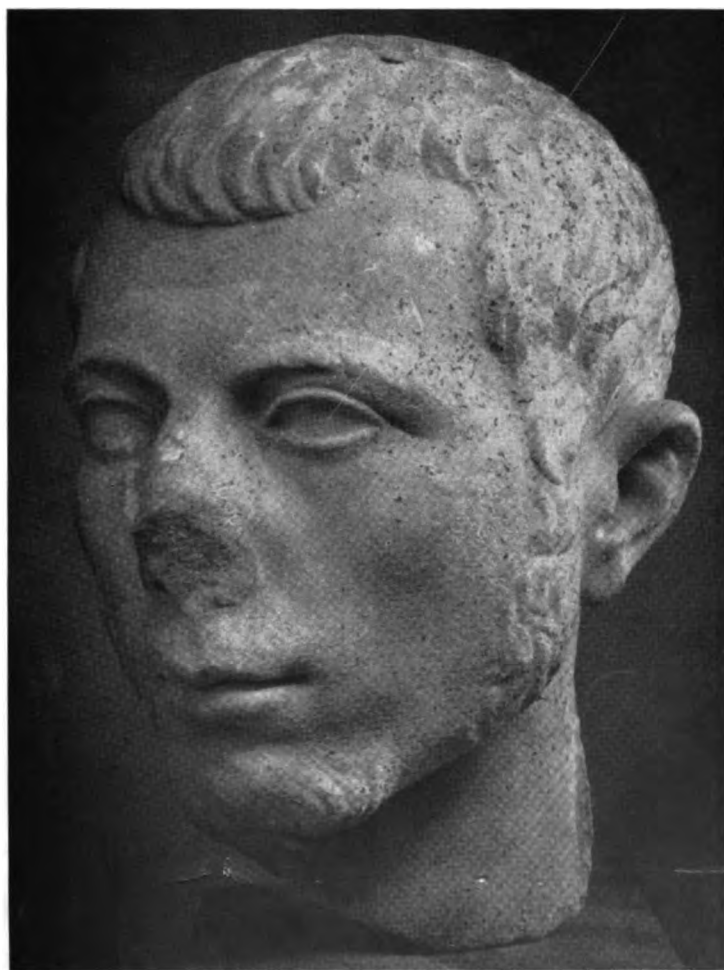
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**The Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities**  
**M E D E L H A V S M U S E E T**

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# **BULLETIN**

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The Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities

# Medelhavsmuseet

A Presentation by OLOF VESSBERG

As the Medelhavsmuseet is now issuing the first number of its Bulletin it would seem appropriate to introduce this with a presentation of the museum and its aims.

The Medelhavsmuseet was constituted by a decision of Parliament in 1954. It is a state museum which according to its regulations is to comprise collections of antiquities that illustrate the ancient civilizations of the Mediterranean countries and the Near East. The Government proposal was based on a report containing recommendations for the co-ordination and organization of the Stockholm collections from the Mediterranean countries and the Near East that had been submitted in 1951 by Sigurd Curman, a former Director General of National Antiquities in Sweden. The collections forming the core of the new museum at its foundation in 1954 were the Cyprus Collections and the Egyptian Museum in Stockholm, both of which had previously existed as independent museum institutions in the city.

Before I pass on to a presentation of the museum's current range and organization it may be of interest to give some idea of the contributions earlier made towards creating in Sweden collections to illustrate the art and culture of classical antiquity.

The development of the European museums of ancient art kept pace with the study of antiquity and the archaeological discoveries. Some museums have traditions extending right back to the Renaissance. This is the case with the Capitoline Collection in Rome, which dates back to 1471, and with the Vatican Collection, which traces its origin to the beginning of the 16th century. Both the 16th and the 17th centuries are remarkable in Italy for a keen private interest in collecting ancient works of art which were displayed in palaces and villas — a fashion that spread to other countries in Europe and there found expression in the art-treasure cabinets of the princes but also in collections made by wealthy private citizens. These collections did not exclusively consist of original works but contained at least as many copies in marble and casts in plaster and bronze. Plaster casts were far more highly valued at that time than they are today.

The Renaissance and Baroque interest in collections of antiques was not without repercussions in our remote land. The Thirty Years' War meant for Sweden a vastly intensified contact with the cultural life of the Continent, and the rich booty formed the basis of a royal art collection in which ancient art is likely to

have played a prominent rôle. A beginning was already made by Gustav II Adolf (Gustavus Adolphus), but it is in his daughter Queen Kristina that we first meet with an active interest in classical art. During her time as Queen regnant between the years 1644 and 1654, when she abdicated the throne and moved to Rome, an art collection was built up in the Royal Palace of Stockholm that might be described as Sweden's first museum of ancient art<sup>1</sup>. The collections were naturally of very varied character—apart from classical coins and sculptures they also comprised paintings and bronzes and other objects even of scientific nature, such as mathematical and astronomical instruments. In Kristina's time, too, some of the accessions had the character of war-booty. By the Swedes' capture of Prague in 1648 a good many of the contents of the Imperial art cabinet were transferred to Stockholm. It is not known to what extent this art booty consisted of antiques. It certainly comprised a large collection of ancient coins and probably a smaller number of ancient sculptures.

A part of the collection of ancient art in Stockholm accompanied Kristina to Rome, where it formed the basis of the quite extensive collection of ancient art which Kristina acquired during the years in Italy and displayed in her residence the Palazzo Riario or Corsini, as it is now called. This collection can still be studied in its entirety, for it was sold some decades after Kristina's death to King Philip V of Spain and in 1830 was transferred to the Prado Museum in Madrid, where it still is.

The remaining part of the collection in Stockholm was set up in the royal library on the top floor of the Palace. It was comparatively large and consisted of several marble statues and a great number of portrait busts. Unfortunately, this first museum of ancient art in Sweden was destroyed in the great fire at the Palace on May 7th, 1697.

<sup>1</sup> CHRISTIAN CALLMER, *Drottning Kristinas samlingar av antik konst*. Stockholm 1954.

It may perhaps have been of some inspirational value for the interest in antiquities which in the last years of the 17th century and the first of the 18th found expression in the creation of a collection of casts of ancient sculptures in Stockholm<sup>2</sup>. But it was primarily the influence of the French Academy's taste and its action in promoting a large-scale reproduction of ancient sculptures for educational purposes that prompted the Palace architect Nicodemus Tessin the Younger to take the initiative in forming a similar Swedish collection of casts. This was installed in the foundry established in 1698 at Hötorget in Stockholm, where it was arranged in a gallery specially constructed for this purpose. In 1780 it was transferred to the new building housing the Academy of Fine Arts.

This little museum of ancient art was of great importance in moulding both taste and style in Sweden's artistic evolution during the 18th century, and it was here that our great neo-classical sculptor Johan Tobias Sergel made his first tentative efforts in the 1750's.

The 18th century provides us with two more incidents of museum interest. Queen Lovisa Ulrika, a sister of Frederick the Great of Prussia, fitted up in the 1750's at the Palace of Drottningholm a natural history cabinet in accordance with the prevailing fashion<sup>3</sup>. This was a scientific collection on the whole, but it also contained a mummy and a small selection of Egyptian antiquities which the Queen had purchased in 1752 as an appendage to a larger natural history collection from the Near East and Egypt. After many vicissitudes these objects have now reached the Medelhavsmuseet.

Of greater interest from our point of view was the initiation of King Gustaf III's collection of ancient art<sup>4</sup>. This collection, comprising marble sculptures and terracotta vases, was bought by the King in the 1780's, largely in conjunction

<sup>2</sup> RAGNAR JOSEPHSON, *Vårt första antikmuseum*. Nationalmusei årsbok 1927, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>3</sup> ANDREAS LINDBLOM, *Lovisa Ulrikas naturaliekabinett å Drottningholm*. Nationalmusei årsbok 1927, pp. 85 ff.

<sup>4</sup> LENNART KJELLBERG, *Sånggudinnegruppen i Natio-*

with his journey to Italy in 1783–84. The nucleus of the collection was a selection of antiques purchased by the King from Francesco Piranesi, a son of the famous engraver Giovanni Battista Piranesi, who had primarily built up the collection. Gustaf III looked at the collection in Rome and bought it shortly after his return to Sweden. It chiefly contained decorative marble sculptures such as vases, candelabra, cinerary urns and fragments of architecture, there being only a few statues and busts. It was purchased during a great forgery period in Rome and very many of the objects in Piranesi's collection later — although unfortunately not until more than 130 years later — proved to be pure fakes. Among the others were many objects that had been crudely restored or that in some cases were quite simply a hotch-potch of ancient and modern fragments. For the contemporary generation there were, however, other acquisitions which represented the highlights of Gustaf III's collection of ancient art, namely the group of Apollo and the Nine Muses purchased during the King's visit to Rome from the engraver Giovanni Volpato and the statue of the Sleeping Endymion, said to have been found in Hadrian's villa at Tivoli and acquired through Piranesi for the, at that time, not contemptible sum of 4,000 scudi or 16,000 Swedish riksdaler (riksdollars). While Endymion's authenticity is still an unsolved problem, the condition of the group of Muses is more apparent. It exhibits a strong, one might say ideological, affinity with the group of Muses in the Sala delle Muse in the Vatican. These sculptures came to the Vatican in 1775, that is scarcely ten years before Gustaf III's visit to Rome, and they served as an inspiration both to the restorer and art dealer, who wanted to produce a similar group, and to the King, who could not very well find anything more to his taste or more suitable for the adornment

nalmuseum. *Tidskrift för konsthvetenskap* 1920, pp. 46 ff. ERNST KJELLBERG, Piranesi's antiksamling i Nationalmuseum. *Nationalmusei årsbok* 1920, pp. 115 ff. Antik Konst, en konstabok från Nationalmuseum red. av OSCAR ANTONSSON, 1958.

of his projected new palace at Haga. In this group, Apollo and the Muses, which Gustaf III acquired, no statue can be picked out as a fake, but all of them are crudely restored and supplemented and only one, at most, of the statues still retains its own head. The statue of Apollo and two of the Muses (Melpomene and Erato) have replicas in the Vatican group and one, Terpsichore, is found among the Muses on Archelaos' votive relief depicting the Apotheosis of Homer. The others are more or less arbitrary adaptations of draped female statues from different periods.

Gustaf III's antiques also comprised a collection of vases purchased in Naples during the Italian tour.

After the King's premature death in 1792 it was decided that his art collections should form a national museum; two years later this was opened to the public in the north-east wing of the Royal Palace. This is likely to have been the first public museum outside Italy. As director of the museum was appointed Carl Fredrik Fredenheim, who had been of assistance to the King in making the art purchases and who had conducted his own archaeological excavations in the Forum Romanum in the 1780's. For the sculptures C. F. Sundvall, the architect, and Fredenheim designed a gallery in the neo-classicist style that provided an exceedingly fine architectonic setting. The original interior has been preserved in a contemporary painting by Per Hilleström the Elder.

The so-called Royal Museum remained in this gallery until 1866, when the collections were transferred to the then completed National Museum building. Their growth had then been almost negligible since the Royal Museum was founded. Throughout the whole of the 19th century there was remarkably little activity in the classical field in Sweden — as regards classical archaeology and art as well as classical philology. Harald Brising, the enthusiast of classical art, exclaims not without vexation in a book on Greek sculpture dating from 1910: "What has

been done about the national collection of ancient art since it was founded by Gustaf III? The 19th century added practically nothing to the impressive capital stock, and this could even happen while a neighbouring country set an inspiring example."

And after the collection of ancient art had been moved to the National Museum there was no very considerable growth either, even though a few good acquisitions have been made, notably of vases. As is natural in the case of an art museum specializing in the art of recent times, the ancient art has had to retreat from the galleries before the constant advance of new additions. Most of Gustaf III's sculptures were moved out to the Palace of Drottningholm in the 1920's and the bulk of the museum's Egyptian antiquities was deposited in 1928 in the Egyptian Museum founded that year at Järntorget. In 1958 Gustaf III's collection of ancient art was again set up in its old place in the north-east wing of the Royal Palace after a thorough restoration of Sundvall's and Fredenheim's beautiful gallery. It stands there now as a kind of monument to a museum idea remarkable for its time, a museum in memory of a museum.

In 1909 chairs of classical archaeology were founded at the Universities of Uppsala and Lund, with the result that Sweden was gradually able to take a more active part in the conquests made by classical archaeology. During the 1920's Swedish excavations were carried out at Asine in Greece under the direction of Axel W. Persson and Otto Frödin. From the museum point of view these excavations certainly did not give any great results — no large quantities of finds were brought to Sweden. But they served as an archaeological training-camp for a generation of Swedish archaeologists and were in a way a preparation for the Swedish excavations in Cyprus so energetically led by Einar Gjerstad in 1927—31. Through these an exceptionally rich archaeological material, extending from the Neolithicum to the time of the Roman Empire, was transferred from Cyprus to Sweden. The

working up of this material took many years and occupied many specialists. Out of the work on the finds there gradually developed a museum institution which under the name of the Cyprus Collections obtained in time a more stable organization and a larger government grant.

Concurrently with the Swedish excavations in Cyprus, the Egyptian Museum was established in Stockholm under the leadership of Pehr Lugn<sup>6</sup>. Its first exhibition was opened in 1929. The nucleus of the museum consisted of the collections of Egyptian antiquities which had long been kept in the National Museum and in the Museum of National Antiquities and which were handed over to the newly formed museum as permanent exhibits. The collections grew through a number of donations and also through excavations. Thus, at the beginning of the 1930's the museum took part in the excavations, led by Junker, of the Neolithic site of Merimde Beni Salâme in the Delta and dug on its own behalf at Abu Ghâlib, a site from the Middle Kingdom a few miles south of Merimde. Through the finds from Merimde, in particular, but also through other acquisitions, the central feature of the museum came to be the prehistoric collection, even though it also contained many representative objects from Pharaonic times.

To the thirties there belongs another excavation project which provided a basis for the oriental collection of the Medelhavsmuseet. I refer to the excavations led by T. J. Arne in Persia at Shah Tepé on the steppes of Turkmenistan about ten miles north-west of the town of Asterabad. This expedition, which took place in 1932—33, revealed a prehistoric culture from the 3rd and 2nd millennium with a rich pottery and implements of copper and stone. The finds were divided equally between the museum at Teheran and the Swedish expedition, the latter's share being placed in the care of the Museum of National Antiquities in Stockholm. In connection with this interest in the archaeology of Iran we

<sup>6</sup> GUNHILD LUGN, *Det egyptiska museet i Stockholm*. Svenska Orientsällskapets årsbok 1937, pp. 177 ff.

have many important acquisitions of ceramics and bronzes from Persia to the Museum of National Antiquities during the 1930's. In 1936 Arne could proudly state that the collection of Luristan bronzes was one of the finest in Europe<sup>6</sup>.

The whole of this archaeological activity during the nineteen twenties and thirties in the Mediterranean countries and the Near East, which has been sketched in here as a background to the creation of the Medelhavsmuseet, found in our King, at that time Crown Prince Gustaf Adolf, not only a strong support but often a motive force. All the activity was very much under his aegis. This applies not least to the foundation of our Swedish Archaeological Institute in Rome in 1926 with Axel Boëthius as its first director, which by its courses on archaeology and its series of publications has been a nursery of archaeology in our country.

The decision constituting the new state museum in 1954 meant that the museum obtained an administrative organization. The question of a building was, on the other hand, left till some future date. The museum was placed under the sponsorship of the Royal Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities. The museum was divided into two departments, the Greek-Roman — which is the larger — and the Egyptian. The collections from the Near East were attached to the Greek-Roman department. The Cyprus Collections and the Egyptian Museum were merged in the new institution, which also took over their premises. In this way the Medelhavsmuseet has its premises in three different parts of the town. The Greek-Roman department is in the building of the Museum of National Antiquities and in the so-called Oxenstierna Manor, an idyllic 18th century building which also houses the museum's secretariat, and the Egyptian department is accommodated in what was formerly the Bank of Sweden at Järntorget in the Old Town.

<sup>6</sup> T. J. ARNE, *De komparativa samlingarna i Statens historiska museum 1926—1935*. Fornvännen 1936, pp. 99 ff.

Thus, at its start the museum mainly had the material of the Cyprus Collections and the Egyptian Museum as a basis upon which to build. I have already referred to the central feature of the Egyptian collection. The collections from Cyprus, which along with the corresponding collections in the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the British Museum are among the largest in the world outside Cyprus, give a comprehensive idea of the art and culture of Cyprus in classical times. The Cypriote pottery is represented in copious series, in which especially the different periods of the Bronze Age and also the early Iron Age and archaic times are well exemplified. Among other things the collections also comprise bronzes, jewelry and glass and a large number of sculptures of stone and terracotta where, in particular, the oldest material with its obvious connections with the Syrian region, Egypt and Ionia is of special interest. Of great importance, too, is the Hellenistic material in studying the Ptolemaic sphere of culture, to which Cyprus belonged. The Roman glass has in Cyprus one of its greatest treasure-houses, and a study of the glass finds from various periods on the island reveals significant aspects of the development of the glass industry.

In 1957 the above-mentioned collections from Persia and the other, so-called comparative collections in the Museum of National Antiquities were, by a resolution of the Director General of National Antiquities, transferred to the Medelhavsmuseet in so far as they were connected with the Mediterranean countries and the Near East. They go back to the middle of the 18th century — Queen Lovisa Ulrika's collection among others — and increased during the 19th century through small acquisitions and through gifts from Swedish travellers to the Orient and from Sweden's consuls in the Mediterranean lands<sup>7</sup>. Of great sentimental value but also of

<sup>7</sup> See T. J. ARNE, O. C. and *De komparativa fornsaks-samlingarna i Statens historiska museum*. Fornvännen 1925, pp. 18 ff.

real value are the comparative collections which our great archaeologist Oscar Montelius bought on his journeys, notably in Italy. In making these purchases he concentrated extensively on his own research work, and consequently the museum is primarily indebted to him for, among other things, a rich collection of bronze fibulae from different periods, many of which are illustrated in his well-known book "*La Civilisation primitive en Italie*".

Otherwise the Italic and Roman were very inadequately represented when the museum was launched, and the new acquisitions of its first few years have therefore largely concerned this sphere. By negotiating an exchange the museum was able, in 1956, to obtain from the Italian State four valuable tomb inventories from Cerveteri. One more Etruscan tomb complex of great interest was added three years later by the same process. Purchases have been made of Italic pottery and of Roman portraits, some of which are presented in this issue. A number of Greek vases are also included in the acquisitions of recent years.

In these few lines I have attempted to give a brief sketch of the origins and extent of the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities. Its aims are to enlarge the collections and to exhibit them in order to promote a lively interest in this country for the culture of classical antiquity; but also to be a research institute dedicated to the ancient civilization of the Mediterranean countries and the Near East.

The costs of new acquisitions and of publishing could not, unfortunately, be defrayed by the ordinary funds of the museum.

I respectfully express to His Majesty the King our thanks for his never-failing concern and interest on behalf of the museum and for his many splendid gifts to our collections. I also thank Director Henning Throne-Holst for his valuable active support. I extend special thanks to Mrs. Astrid Willman for her generous donation for the purchase of a Roman sculpture.

Finally, I express our thanks to the Humanistiska Forskningsrådet for their kind grant towards the expenses of publication.



# Finds from Badarian and Tasian Civilizations

HJALMAR LARSEN

During the excavations carried out by Guy Brunton in 1923 at Qau el Kebir he found some sherds of pottery of special interest. They showed on the surface clear marks of rippling made with a comb-like instrument. Ceramics of this kind were formerly unknown from Egypt. Later, during the same campaign, some few disturbed graves containing the same kind of pottery were found. These finds led to a thorough investigation of the narrow zone between the desert cliffs and the fertile ground. Many more sherds were found of the same peculiar pottery all the way between Qau in the South and Badari in the North. But not until the next season, 1924, did Brunton come across a large cemetery with ceramics of this kind at the village of Sheik 'Esa near Badari. Here many graves were excavated especially in 1925. The new cultural epoch was named the Badarian Civilization after the name of the district where it was first more thoroughly investigated.

The finds from Badari were published in 1928 by Guy Brunton and Gertrude Caton-Thompson<sup>1</sup>, and the Badarian Civilization was at once

known and accepted as the oldest Egyptian culture then discovered.

At the start of the Egyptian Museum in Stockholm, as it was called at that time, in the year 1928, it was considered particularly important that the basis for the museum should be finds from excavations and especially those from prehistoric times. Consequently, one paragraph in the record of foundation read: "As, from both a scientific and a practical point of view, it might be of great importance to make arrangements for excavations to be carried out in Egypt for the benefit of the museum especially at some prehistoric cemetery, the amanuensis Lugn was entrusted with investigation of the possibilities of this task."

A donation by the then Swedish Minister in Cairo, Baron Harald Bildt, made possible a subscription to the new expedition to Middle Egypt for the benefit of the British Museum led by Guy Brunton. In these years, 1928 and 1929, the excavations were transferred to the village of Nazlet el Mostagedda about seven miles north of Badari where the excavator had reason to hope for new finds of graves and areas of settlement from the Badarian time.

The results of the excavations turned out to be a success, and our museum obtained a small

<sup>1</sup> GUY BRUNTON and GERTRUDE CATON-THOMPSON, *The Badarian Civilization and Prehistoric Remains near Badari*. London 1928.

but representative collection of finds. It consisted of 26 objects of the Badarian civilization and one pot from the so-called Tasian culture, not to mention some fifty pieces from Dynastic and Predynastic periods. Through the gift of five antiques from Badari and one more Tasa pot together with three artefacts bought later our collection of objects, from excavations or acquired in other ways, of Badarian and Tasian age has now reached the number of thirty-six.

The excavation ground at Mostagedda has the same appearance as at Badari. It consists of small spurs of gravel and sand divided by shallow depressions too small to be called wadis. Together they compose a narrow strip of desert between the cliffs and the cultivated fields.

The graves of the Badarian culture are as a rule oval pits cut in the gravel and sand, though some few have straight sides. In the grave there is generally only one interment. The deceased was placed in the majority of cases with the

head in S. and the face in W. As a north-south direction it seems as though the local direction of the Nile was decisive and not the geographical north-south. The body lay in a more or less contracted position often on a mat of grass or reed and it was covered by mats and skins. Sometimes, it seems, the grave was roofed.

The grave offerings were few even considering the fact that many graves were plundered. The tendency is clear from the many undisturbed graves. What the plunderers chiefly wished to get seems to have been the personal ornaments.

The normal finds in the graves were one or more earthen vessels, some strings of shell or beads and a few implements of bone or flint. For other more rare objects as spoons and combs of ivory not represented in our museum, I refer the reader to Brunton's publication<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> GUY BRUNTON, *Mostagedda and the Tasian Culture*. London 1937.



*Fig. 1. The Pottery. No. 1-2 Tasian, no. 3-8 Badarian*

In the Egyptian department of the Medelhavsmuseet are kept the following objects from Badarian graves and settlements excavated at Mostagedda.

## Graves

**Grave 301.** Child burial with head in S. The body was covered with a black-haired skin. A string of shells from the Red Sea was found lying on the chest or waist of the child. In the grave lay a flint flake but its place in the grave was not recorded.

MM 10601. String of 13 shells. Of these was one *Ancillaria*, the others being 12 *Nerita*. L. ca. 120 mm. (Fig. 4 no. 5)

MM 10602. Flint flake. One side has only one blow surface with part of the cone of percussion still existing at one end. The other side has more blow surfaces. Through an obliquely directed stroke the other end has the form of a claw. L. 59 mm, largest br. 19 mm, th. 5 mm. (Fig. 2 no. 4)

**Grave 308.** A child burial but the body was missing. It had once been covered with four layers: yellow-haired skin, cloth, rope matting, and mat of grass. The string found in the grave lay nearly *in situ* and formed a double chain of beads. The shell, MM 10604, was not part of the string.

MM 10603. Small round water-worn pebble of quartz perhaps used as polishing stone. L. 43 mm, br. 24 mm. (Fig. 2 no. 6)

MM 10604. Shell, *Conus*. Bore-hole in the base. L. 21 mm. (Fig. 4 no. 3)

MM 10605. String consisting of small, more or less short, tubular or ring-shaped, white or green glazed beads of steatite. Only one bead seems to be of white coral (?). The types of the beads are registered in Brunton's bead corpus, Mostagedda pl. XXXIX as 75 B13, C8, C15, 86 F27, K27, K29, L11, L13 and R11. The beads are arranged in irregular groups of white and green ones. Length of the string ca. 395 mm. (Fig. 4 no. 8)

**Grave 443.** Probably female burial with the head in S. Below the body the whole grave was covered by yellow-haired and black-haired skins which had been folded round the feet. Over the upper part of the body lay skins and cloth. Over the head there were registered traces of a feather. An earthen vessel, not in our museum, was placed in close proximity to the hands. This pot and a flint flake were the only objects in the grave.

MM 10607. Flint flake of triangular form. One side has only one surface with part of the cone of percussion at one longitudinal edge. The other showed a number of surfaces, irregularly struck. At the base and the pointed end some retouche. L. 45 mm, br. 24 mm, th. 8 mm. (Fig. 2 no. 3)

**Grave 457.** Probably female burial with the head in S. The cervical vertebrae were injured close by the head. The body was covered by mat and skin. The pot was placed at the feet, the flint possibly under the head.

MM 10608. Pot, hemispherical. Externally light greyish brown with black spots, lightly smoothed, internally dark greyish brown, lightly smoothed. Type: Badarian Civilization pl. XVII 14H, Rough Brown. H. 88 mm, diam. of rim 145 mm, th. of ware 6–10 mm. (Fig. 1 no. 3)

MM 10609. Chip of flint with traces of chalk crust. L. 52 mm, br. 41 mm, th. 11 mm. (Fig. 2 no. 2)

**Grave 461.** Female burial with the head in S. The body wrapped in mat and skin.

MM 10610. Pot. Externally dark greyish brown with a rather broad black section round the mouth, internally the whole surface black polished. Outwardly the greater part of the surface is comb-riffled and polished. The bottom is rounded, the side sloping somewhat inwards. Type: Mostagedda pl. XV 69D, Black-topped Brown. H. 97 mm, diam. of rim 144 mm, largest diam. ca. 150 mm, th. of ware ca. 5 mm but thinning out towards the mouth. (Fig. 1 no. 7)

**Grave 462.** Male burial with the head in S. Covered with mat.

MM 10611. Bone needle with large eye. One butt is pointed, the other round with two small transversal scores. Just beneath the scores is the circular hole. Round in section, polished. L. 67 mm, br. at the eye 10 mm. (Fig. 3 no. 7)

**Grave 572.** The skeleton in the grave was missing. Only the matting was intact. In the grave lay three pots of types Mostagedda pl. XVI 16D, Black-topped Red, pl. XVII 57Q, Black-topped Red, pl. XIX 5M, Smooth Brown, and a shell. Only the latter was allotted to the Stockholm museum.

MM 10614. *Conus* shell, the top end cut away. In the base end a bored hole. L. 22 mm. (Fig. 4 no. 1)

**Grave 1211.** Male (?) burial, disturbed. The body was placed on a stretcher or bed made of transversally laid thin sticks. There further occurred mat and cloth. In addition to the under-mentioned objects stored in our museum a pot of Black-topped Brown ware of a type like Badarian Civilization pl. XII 14P and 4 blue glazed steatite beads were found in the grave.

MM 10616. Fish-hook of ivory without dent but with fastening eye. Pointed above the eye. L. 30 mm. (Fig. 3 no. 2)

MM 10617. Fish-hook as the foregoing of shell, broken above the eye. Present l. 26 mm. (Fig. 3 no. 1)

MM 10618. Small flint point. Retouches at the edges. One side shows only one surface, the other, partly ridged, was struck with several longitudinal surfaces. L. 28 mm, br. 7 mm, th. 3 mm. (Fig. 2 no. 5)

MM 10619. Small oval pebble of brown flint possibly used as a polishing stone. Somewhat damaged. L. 55 mm, br. 38 mm, th. 25 mm. (Fig. 2 no. 7)

MM 10620. Several fragments of *Spatha* shell.

**Grave 1213.** Male (?) burial. The grave was covered with mat.

MM 10621. String made of 11 bluish green glazed steatite beads of the types Mostagedda pl. XXXIX 75 C8, 86 K29, 86 R16, and 16 shells. Of these one is *Nerita* and 15 *Ancillaria*. L. ca. 150 mm. (Fig. 4 no. 7)

**Grave 1250.** Female burial. The body was placed on a mat of grass and was covered with cloth, skin and mat. At the head were many layers of leather. The hair on the head was well preserved; it was curly, dark brown and up to 8 cm long. The shells were found in the filling. MM 10624. Part of string of 8 *Ancillaria* shells. L. ca. 60 mm. (Fig. 4 no. 4)

**Grave 1270.** Female burial with head in W. The body was covered with skin (gazelle?) and mat and had been displaced, *inter alia* the lower jaw and part of the legs were missing. The upper part of the body had been pushed to the west against the pot placed on that spot while the left shoulder-blade lay intact. Below the shoulder there had been leather. The pot contained organic matter.

MM 10606. Pot of coarse-grained ware rather hard-burnt. The fracture reddish brown with black core. The bottom is rounded, the side sloping outwards. The surface is rough, externally and internally, and somewhat corroded. It is brown outwards with black smudges. Type: Badarian Civilization pl. XVIII 25K, Rough Brown. H. 118 mm, diam. of mouth 160–165 mm, th. of ware ca. 20 mm in the bottom, 5 mm at the rim. (Fig. 1 no. 5)

**Grave 2203.** Undisturbed child burial with head in E. The body was wrapped in mat.

MM 10625. String of 6 shells, 5 *Natica* and one *Conus*, and 3 small flat beads of shell. L. ca. 110 mm. (Fig. 4 no. 6)

**Grave 2253.** Thoroughly plundered child's grave with strongly decayed indeterminable remains of mat or wooden bed. Beside the objects registered below traces of copper (not malachite) and fragments of pots were found in the grave.



**Fig. 2. Stone Implements.**

**MM 10626 a and b.** Part of a bracelet of ivory, 2 pieces. The inside slightly convex, the outside bifacial, high-ridged. Inner diam. ca. 55 mm, th. 8 mm. a's 1.50 mm, b's 1.33 mm (= 1. of the chords). (Fig. 4 no. 2)

**MM 10626 c.** Pointed part of a bone awl. Made of a tubular bone. One side convex, the other concave. Lightly smoothed. Present l. 34 mm, br. 8 mm. (Fig. 3 no. 6)

**MM 10672.** Sand-worn pebble of yellowish quartz. L. 31 mm, br. 14 mm, th. 7 mm. (Fig. 2 no. 8)

However, the museum has objects not only from graves at Mostagedda but from settlements, too. A couple of finds from the small spurs excavated in 1928 were allotted to the Stockholm museum. Unfortunately no detailed descriptions of the settlements have been

published and could not be given because of the dwelling areas being greatly disturbed by later burials.

### Settlements

#### *Area 100.*

MM 10630. Flint knife, rather oval in form, coarsely struck on both sides, the edges without fine retouche. L. 102 mm, largest br. 39 mm, th. 14 mm. (Fig. 2 no. 1)

#### *Area 500.*

MM 10615. Pot. Externally red with black section round the mouth, internally the whole surface black polished. Outwards the whole surface is comb-riffled and polished. The bottom is rounded, the side sloping somewhat inwards. Type: Badarian Civilization pl. XIV 34, Black-topped Red. H. 116 mm, diam. of rim 103 mm, largest diam. 125 mm, th. of ware 5 mm, but thinning out towards the mouth. (Fig. 1 no. 4)

#### *From unknown area in Mostagedda.*

MM 10674. Flint knife. One edge straight, the other convex, one end pointed, the other straight cut. Both sides coarsely struck with many irregular surfaces. The straight edge is retouched to fine saw-teeth from the pointed end all along two thirds of it. L. 105 mm, largest br. 39 mm, th. 17 mm. (Fig. 2 no. 10)

Through the gift from the then Major R. G. Gayer-Anderson the museum received on 19 April, 1929, the following objects stated to have been acquired from Brunton's collections from Badari.

MM 10588. Flint knife, nearly of uniform breadth. One end tapers, the other is straight cut. Both edges have fine retouche, one with fine saw-teeth. Both surfaces are wholly touched up with occasional traces of parallel blows. L. 177 mm, br. 28 mm, th. 3 mm. (Fig. 2. no. 9)

MM 10589 a. Bone awl made of a tubular bone with the joint part preserved. Polished

at the pointed end. L. 63 mm, largest br. 14 mm. (Fig. 3 no. 3)

MM 10589 b. Bone awl made of tubular bone. The joint part of the bone is missing. Polished. L. 62 mm, largest br. 10 mm, th. 4 mm. (Fig. 3 no. 4)

MM 10589 c. Bone needle with narrow eye. Made of tubular bone. Straight cut above the eye. L. 51 mm, br. through the eye 6 mm. (Fig. 3 no. 5)

MM 10590. Small earthenware bowl, nearly oval in form but with one end wider than the other. The surface externally and internally of an uneven dark greyish brown colour, lightly smoothed. Just below the rim is a series of regularly placed holes bored with a fine needle before the burning of the vessel but after the smoothing. H. 42 mm, l. 127 mm, largest br. 72 mm, th. 5 mm. (Fig. 1 no. 6)

As bought from Gayer-Anderson the museum received further on 4 February, 1931, MM 13030, registered as found at Abydos; in the year 1934 MM 11086 acquired at Assuan; and in 1954 MM 13959 bought from a curiosity shop, all types known from the Badarian civilization.

MM 11086. Round earthenware bowl. The bottom rounded, the side sloping outwards as a regular convex. Externally greyish brown with black spots, coarsely oblique-riffled, rather rough but very slightly smoothed, internally light brown and slightly smoothed. H. 75 mm, diam. of rim 182 mm. Th. of wall 8 mm at the bottom but thinning out towards the rim. (Fig. 1 no. 8)

MM 13030. Flint knife. One edge slightly concave, the other convex, one end pointed, the other cut straight. Both sides struck with irregular marks from small chips, but here and there showing parallel blows especially at the convex edge. This one has been retouched to fine saw-dents along the whole length. L. 153 mm, largest br. 26 mm, th. 7 mm. (Fig. 2 no. 11)

MM 13959. Palette of greyish green slate. Slender, of uniform breadth, with rounded angles. The short ends are concave. Type as Badarian Civilization pl. XXI, 13. Marked Ghâbâr, Upper Egypt. L. 152 mm, br. 41 mm, th. 5 mm. (Fig. 5)

During the excavations in the Mostagedda district finds of a hitherto unknown cultural type were made at Deir Tasa and later also at other localities. They appeared in graves as well as in settlements. This new culture had much in common with the Badarian civilization, *inter alia* the forms of the graves and the body's position in the grave were alike in the two cultures. In the new one, however, a little niche or the pot is often seen in one long-side of the grave. Other features also separate it from the Badarian culture. Among the earthenware vessels there appeared in particular a bell-shaped generally greyish black type of pot, the so-called beaker-pot, ornamented with an incised ribbon pattern filled in with incised lines and punctured dots incrustated with white. This type

of vessel had formerly been known only in rare cases and without chronological particulars. Within the polished red and other wares there appeared also forms of pots not represented in the Badarian culture. The palettes were of alabaster thus differing from the Badarian slate palettes. The grave gifts were poorer, and the new culture was supported by another race. No traces of copper were found in the new culture. It was named the Tasian culture.

From this culture the Medelhavsmuseet has two pots. One, MM 10665, was found during the excavation of a settlement at Mostagedda, the other, MM 10591, was a gift from Major R. G. Gayer-Anderson on 22 June, 1930, and stated to come from Edfu.

#### *Area 2800, Group 2850.*

MM 10665. Pot, hemispherical with the rim somewhat sloping inwards. Externally and internally reddish brown, the outside with black patches. The surface rather rough but outwardly at least once partly provided with a thin slip. The inside is slightly smoothed



*Fig. 3. Bone Implements. No. 1 Shell.*

with the hand and shows horizontal marks from the fingers. The ware is reddish brown with black core. Type: Mostagedda pl. XI, 27, Rough Brown. H. 80 mm, diam. of rim 110 mm, largest diam. 116 mm. Th. of wall 5–9 mm. (Fig. 1 no. 2)

#### Edfu.

MM 10591. Beaker pot. Exhaustively described by Pehr Lugn in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, to which publication the reader may be referred here<sup>3</sup>. (Fig. 1 no. 1)

Brunton has divided the ware of the different pot types belonging to the Badarian civilization into six main classes: 1. Black-topped Brown, 2. Black-topped Red, 3. Polished Red, 4. All Black, 5. Smooth Brown, and 6. Rough Brown, to which he adds a seventh group termed Miscellaneous containing sundry forms and surface treatment of more peculiar kind. Of these groups the numbers 1, 2, 4, and 6 are represented in our museum. As to the little bowl of group 4, MM 10590, in our collection it has, as already shown, a series of fine bored holes near the rim. Such small holes are not wholly unique: they are observed, *inter alia*, on the pot 44M in Badarian Civilization, pl. XIX. There they are placed in groups on the wall of the pot.

Three of our six Badarian pots are comb-rifled. From where does this combing emanate? Is it autochthonous in the Tasian and Badarian civilizations, or is it a case of cultural influence from outside? Brunton finds many parallels in pot types especially in Nubia, where pots with combed surface are common, but these are all, as far as is known, younger. He gives no answer to this question. Caton-Thompson considers this technique to belong to an indigenous African culture. She thinks that the Badarian, Fayum, and Nubian groups have a common African origin, but that the ancestral home has yet to

be found<sup>4</sup>. Scharff and Petrie believe the Badarian culture in its entirety to emanate from Asia<sup>5</sup>. This can, however, hardly apply to the combing technique, which, as far as is known, is missing in Asia. If coming from an Asiatic source it is later thought to have penetrated further southwards to Nubia and the Sudan. A wholly different answer is given by Arkell<sup>6</sup>. At the excavation of the so-called Early Settlement in Khartoum he found comb-rifled pots which he thinks to be older than those of the Badarian culture. Therefore they may be the source of the same technique at Badari. However, the chronological connection between Badari and Khartoum is far from certain. Particularly in respect of the exact dating of Khartoum we are on very insecure ground. Thus, the question of the origin of this technique must be regarded as unsolved, the only likely possibility, however, being that it must have an African home.

The flint work in the Badarian civilization is generally very rough. The implements are coarsely struck with many irregular surfaces mostly without retouche or with only one edge with some trimming. However, some few flint implements such as the saw-dented knives are treated with really good workmanship. They are well illustrated by such knives as MM 10588 and MM 13030, cf. Mostagedda pl. XXII, 31 and pl. XXVIII, 1–11.

Of the needles with eye in our collection the one with narrow eye, MM 10589 c, may have been used for sewing in both cloth and leather, while the coarser one, MM 10611, with its wide eye and cm-coarse section can only, notwithstanding its trifling length, have been used for mat-making or basket-work. The bone-awls are of the types common in all prehistoric periods.

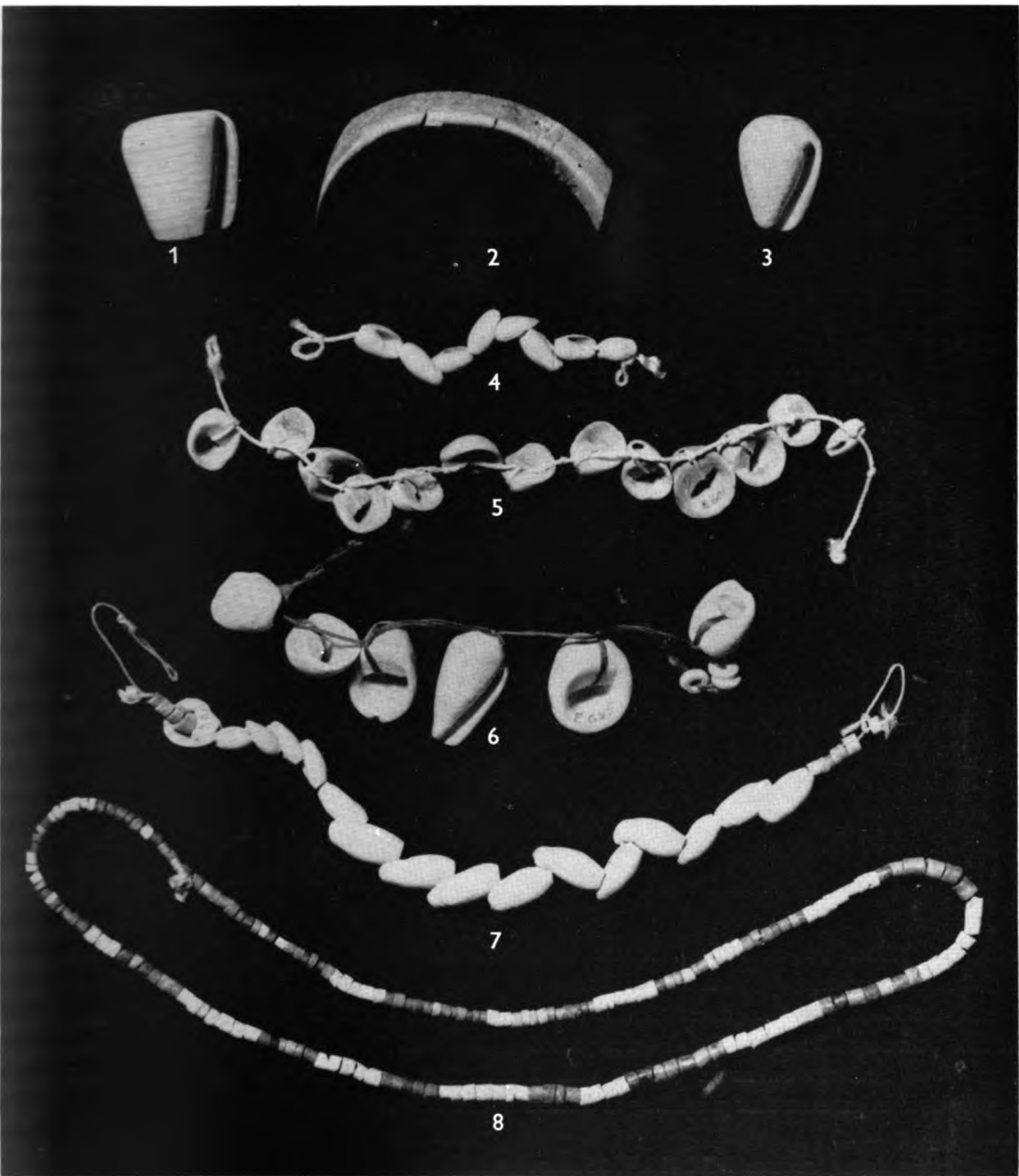
<sup>4</sup> GERTRUDE CATON-THOMPSON, *The Neolithic Industries of the Northern Fayum Desert*. JRAI Vol. LVI, 1926.

<sup>5</sup> ALEXANDER SCHARFF, *Die Altertümer der Vor- und Frühzeit Ägyptens*. I. Berlin 1931. FLINDERS PETRIE, *The Peoples of Egypt*. Ancient Egypt, 1931.

<sup>6</sup> A. J. ARKELL, *Early Khartoum*. London 1949.

<sup>3</sup> PEHR LUGN, A "Beaker" Pot in the Stockholm Egyptian Museum. JEA Vol. XVII, 1931, p. 22.





**Fig. 4. The Jewellery.**

The two fish-hooks, MM 10616 and MM 10617, are rare finds in the Badarian culture. Only three hooks have been found in Badari

and in Mostagedda nine pieces, the latter belonging to the Badarian as well as the Tasian cultures.

As to the jewellery we have in the Medelhavsmuseet both pieces of a bracelet, MM 10626 a—b, and strings of beads and shell. Jewellery belongs to the generally occurring grave gifts. The bracelet is of the common type. Such bracelets seem to have been used almost exclusively by males, adults or children, the strings, however, were carried by both sexes. The shells in our strings were mostly *Nerita* and *Ancillaria*, only in one case did *Conus* and *Natica* shells occur, but also other species were in use in Badari and Mostagedda. Single lengthwise bored *Conus* shells are also among our objects. Whether they once belonged to strings is uncertain. Two strings of glazed steatite beads, MM 10605 and MM 10621, were allotted to our museum. Glazing of beads from Egypt is not

malachite show, for the preparation of green eye paint.

There is no uncertainty about the fact that the Badarian culture is older than the Nagada periods. That is stratigraphically clearly proved by Gertrude Caton-Thompson in *Badarian Civilization, Part II. The Predynastic Settlement: North Spur Hemamieh*, pp. 73 ff. and the tables pp. 95 ff. As to the chronological relation between the Tasian and the Badarian cultures the authors rather agree in their opinion that the Tasa culture is the older, but stratigraphically all evidence is lacking. Much, however, speaks for the truth of this opinion. Copper, for instance, is totally lacking in the Tasian culture, because of that classed as neolithic; in the Badarian culture, however, the excavators have

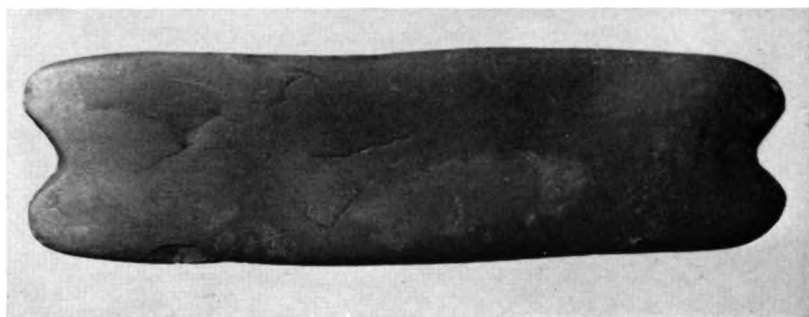


Fig. 5. Palette MM 13959.

observed before Badarian time. In the Tasa culture this technique is unknown. Brunton thinks, however, that the glazed steatite beads in the Badarian culture must have been imported from some hitherto unknown district with a higher civilization than that prevailing in Badari and Mostagedda<sup>7</sup>.

Of slate palettes, such as MM 13959, 23 were found in Qau and Badari and 6 in Mostagedda together with 4 fragments. They belong, by comparison with the large quantity of graves, to the rare gifts. They have been used, as traces of

found a small number of beads and a pin of copper. Further, there are no glazed beads in Tasa so common during the Badarian period. The Tasa culture cannot be much older than Badari, for that there are too many common characteristics. One might even consider the possibility of both cultures, supported by different races, having lived beside one another without borrowing more than certain cultural elements from each other or from the outer world.

As to the Tasian culture no attempt at an exact dating has been made as yet. Such, however, has been undertaken with reference to

<sup>7</sup> Cf. GUY BRUNTON, *Matmar*. London 1948, p. 12.

Badari. A Badarian sample was tested through C14-analysis (Gro 223) by Hl. de Vries and H. Tj. Waterbolk<sup>8</sup>. The result gave an age of  $5100 \pm 160$  years. That was a surprisingly low date. Considering the fact that a similar analysis of wood from a mastaba dating to the end of the First Dynasty (Gro 902) gave an age of  $4145 \pm 70$  years instead of the expected 4800 years and a sample from Sesostri's III grave ship (Gro 1157, 1178) respectively  $3310 \pm 55$  and  $3370 \pm 50$  years instead of the exact year of his death, 1843 B.C., it is necessary to calculate more adequate figures out of these too low results with

regard to the exact figures obtained by historical means.

In a paper in *Orientalia Suecana*<sup>9</sup> I have made an attempt. The figure received there gave the Badarian culture an age of ca. 5750 or 5850 years calculated from the C14-results for Sesostri's III and ca. 5900 years calculated from the First Dynasty find, that is, the Badarian civilization should belong to a time about 3800 B.C. or some generation more. The Tasa culture will perhaps be shown to be a couple of hundred years older.

<sup>8</sup> HL. DE VRIES and H. TJ. WATERBOLK, Groningen Radiocarbon Dates. II. Stencil Report 1956; III. Stencil Report 1957.

<sup>9</sup> HJALMAR LARSEN, Verzierte Tongefäßscherben aus Merimde Benisalame in der ägyptischen Abteilung des Mittelmeermuseums in Stockholm. *Orientalia Suecana* Vol. VII (1958). Uppsala 1959, p. 49, fig. 10.

# Altorientalische Siegelsteine

HANS HENNING VON DER OSTEN †

Die vorliegende Sammlung, die vierzig altorientalische Siegelsteine umfasst, ist ein Geschenk S. M. des Königs an das Medelhavsmuseet im Jahre 1956. Einunddreissig dieser Steine (Nr. 2–4, 6, 7, 9–14, 18–26, 29–38, 40) waren Seiner Majestät von Herrn R. v. Heidenstam, der sie in Aleppo erworben hatte, testamentarisch vermacht worden. Zwei Siegel (Nr. 27, 28) wurden Seiner Majestät im Jahre 1931, damals noch Kronprinz, vom Kgl. schwedischen Konsul in Larnaka, Herrn L. Pierides, geschenkt. Die restlichen sieben Steine (Nr. 1, 5, 8, 15–17, 39) stammen aus dem Kunsthandel in Bagdad.

Bei den (alle der Länge nach durchbohrten) *Siegelzylindern* gibt die erste Zahl die Höhe und die zweite den Durchmesser der Siegelrolle an. Bei den *Stempelsiegeln* stehen die ersten beiden Zahlen für die Dimensionen der Siegelfläche, und die letzte steht für die Höhe des Siegels. Bei den zwei *Gewichtssteinen* (Nr. 15, 16) ist noch das Gewicht in Gramm hinzugefügt.

## Liste der Abkürzungen

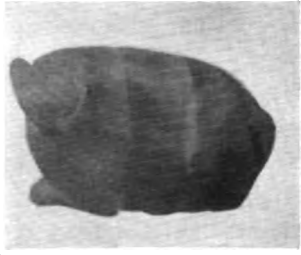
- Aulock* — H. H. VON DER OSTEN, Altorientalische Siegelsteine der Sammlung Hans Silviu von Aulock. *Studia Ethnographica Upsaliensia* XIII. Uppsala 1957.
- Berlin* — A. MOORTGAT, Vorderasiatische Roll-

siegel. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Steinschneidekunst. Berlin 1940.

- Brett* — H. H. VON DER OSTEN, Ancient oriental seals in the collection of Mrs. Agnes Baldwin Brett. Oriental Institute Publications XXXVII. Chicago 1936.
- Frankfort* — H. FRANKFORT, Cylinder Seals. A documentary essay on the art of the Ancient Near East. London 1939.
- Louvre* — L. DELAPORTE, Catalogue des cylindres cachets et pierres gravées de style oriental. Musée du Louvre. Paris 1920–1923.
- Morgan* — E. PORADA, The collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library. Corpus of ancient Near Eastern seals in North American collections I. The Bollingen Series XIV. New York 1949.
- Newell* — H. H. VON DER OSTEN, Ancient oriental seals in the collection of Mr. Edward T. Newell. Oriental Institute Publications XXII. Chicago 1934.

Für andere veröffentlichte Sammlungen, in denen Vergleichsmaterial zu finden ist, vgl. die bibliographischen Angaben in *Newell* (bis 1933) und *Aulock* (bis 1956)<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. jetzt auch — erschienen seitdem das Manuskript im Mai 1957 abgeschlossen worden war — O. E. RAVN, A Catalogue of Oriental Cylinder Seals and Impressions in the Danish National Museum. København 1960.



1



2



3



4

Nr. 1—4. Siegel der Djemdet Nasr-Zeit.

## Siegel der Djemdet Nasr-Zeit

(Nr. 1—4)

Das absolute Datum der Djemdet Nasr-Kultur ist noch nicht gesichert<sup>2</sup>. Es kann jedoch

<sup>2</sup> Letzten Endes hängt die absolute Datierung der Djemdet Nasr-Zeit vom absolut-zeitlichen Ansatz der ersten drei ägyptischen Dynastien ab. Einige absolute Datierungsversuche seien hier angeführt:

3200—3000 W. F. ALBRIGHT, *The archaeology of Palestine*. Harmondsworth 1951.

angenommen werden, dass der Beginn dieser Periode noch in das ausgehende 4. Jahrtausend v. Chr. zurückreicht und ihr Ausgang in das erste Viertel des 3. vorchr. Jahrtausends fällt. Zu Anfang dieser Phase ist sowohl die Form des

3100—2700 H. FRANKFORT, *The birth of civilization of the Near East*. London 1951.

2800—2700 A. MOORTGAT, *Ägypten und Vorderasien im Altertum*. München 1950.

Stempelsiegels als auch die des Siegelzylinders in Gebrauch; später, ihrem Ende zu, verdrängt aber in Südmesopotamien die Form des Siegelzylinders jene des Stempelsiegels vollkommen. Der bedeutende kulturelle Einfluss, den Südmesopotamien damals auf das Gesamtgebiet des Vorderen Orients ausstrahlte, findet seinen Niederschlag auch auf den Siegelsteinen dieser Länder, und zwar von Kleinasien bis nach Ägypten und bis in das Indusgebiet<sup>3</sup>.

1. Aragonit; Stempelsiegel in Form eines liegenden Stiers, der Breite nach waagrecht durchbohrt.

31.5 × 23 × 18 mm. MM 1956: 107.

Drei Vierfüßler, übereinander angeordnet, frei im Feld.

Dies ist eine während der Djemdet Nasr-Periode häufig auftretende Form des Stempelsiegels. Daneben werden, allerdings seltener, Siegel verwendet, die die Form eines Löwenkopfes oder Adlers oder einer menschlichen Figur haben, oder sie bestehen aus zwei Protomen zusammengesetzter Fabeltiere. Nahezu bei allen Stücken dieser Art ist das Siegel selber sehr sorgfältig und naturalistisch gearbeitet, seine Devise hingegen im allgemeinen recht flüchtig<sup>4</sup> und meistens unter ausgiebiger Benutzung eines Drillbohrers eingraviert. Einzelheiten, wie z. B. Läufe oder Gehörn von Tieren, sind bisweilen mit Hilfe eines schneidenden oder kratzenden Instrumentes angedeutet. Da noch keinerlei Abdrücke von Siegeln dieser Art gefunden wurden, vermuten einige Forscher, dass es sich bei solchen Steinen in erster Linie um Amulette handelt<sup>5</sup>. — Ähnliche Stücke z. B.: *Brett* 5; *Louvre* T. 18, T. 15, T. 17, S. 213, S. 210, S. 206 usw.; *Newell* 12–17.

<sup>3</sup> Dazu vgl. *Aulock* Seite 36 mit Literaturangaben.

<sup>4</sup> Vgl. dazu A. MOORTGAT, Die Entstehung der sumerischen Hochkultur. *Der Alte Orient* 43 (1945) Seite 92–93. Siehe auch die Zusammenfassung *Aulock*, Seite 35.

<sup>5</sup> Vgl. *Frankfort* Seite 1 Anm. 1, und Stratified seals from the Diyala region. *Oriental Institute Publications* LXXII. Chicago 1955, Seite 16–17.

2. Gelblichweißer Kalkstein; Siegelzylinder, an beiden Enden etwas beschädigt.

29.5 × 24.5 mm. MM 1956: 114.

Tierreihe: mähenloses Raubtier<sup>6</sup>, über seinem Rücken ein Vogel; Vierfüßler mit langem gebogenem Gehörn; zweites mähenloses Raubtier mit einem Vogel über seinem Rücken; Vierfüßler mit langem geschwungenem Gehörn wendet sich dem ersten mähenlosen Raubtier zu, wodurch die Tierreihe bei einer mehrfachen Abrollung zu einem unendlichen Fries gestaltet wird.

Die sorgfältige und sehr lebendige Wiedergabe der Tiere erinnert noch an die schönen Siegelzylinder der vorhergehenden Uruk-Periode, weshalb dieses Stück möglicherweise in den Beginn der Djemdet Nasr-Zeit zu setzen ist. Gegen Ende dieser Periode erscheinen auch auf den Siegelzylindern die Devisen überwiegend sehr schematisiert unter ausgiebiger Verwendung eines Drillbohrers eingraviert. — Vgl. z. B.: *Berlin* 10, 11; *Morgan* 22–25 (spät).

3. Braungrauer Kalkstein; Siegelzylinder, an beiden Enden abgegriffen.

30 × 21 mm. MM 1956: 112.

Tierreihe: Stier (?), vor ihm Hinterkeule eines Vierfüßlers (?) und unter ihm Kopf eines Vierfüßlers mit kurzem gebogenem Gehörn; mähenloses Raubtier (?).

Dieser (stilistisch der Djemdet Nasr-Periode angehörende) Siegelzylinder ist wahrscheinlich nicht in Südmesopotamien entstanden. Die lineare Schneidetechnik erinnert, ebenso wie die Behandlung der Tierkörper, an elamische Siegel. — Vgl. z. B.: *Louvre* S. 323, S. 324.

4. Braungrüner Serpentin; Siegelzylinder.

14 × 11.5 mm. MM 1956: 111.

Fries, der aus vier Tieren besteht, die paar-

<sup>6</sup> Für die Identifikation der verschiedenen, in der Glyptik Mesopotamiens auftretenden Tiere vgl. E. DOUGLAS VAN BUREN, Mesopotamian fauna in the light of the monuments. *Archaeological remarks upon Landsberger's „Fauna des alten Mesopotamiens“*. *Archiv für Orientforschung* 11 (1936–1937) Seite 1–37.

weise, Rücken zu Rücken, gegenständig angeordnet sind.

Für die Devise dieses Siegels ist mir bislang nur eine einzige Parallele bekannt (*Louvre A. 8*). DELAPORTE beschreibt die Darstellung folgendermassen: "*Sujets opposés. — A. Deux scolopendres. — En retournant le cylindre, deux animaux cherchent leur nourriture ...*" Die Schneidetechnik erinnert stark an jene (der Djemdet Nasr-Zeit zuzuweisende) der aus dem nördlichen Mesopotamien und Syrien bekanntgewordenen Siegel. Die geschickt in den zur Verfügung stehenden Raum hineinkomponierten, ziemlich stilisierten Tiere zeigen bereits Anklänge an den sogenannten „Brocade style“ der altsumerischen Periode, die der Djemdet Nasr-Phase folgt.

#### Siegel der altsumerischen Zeit

(Nr. 5)

Die Glyptik dieser Periode wird von FRANKFORT (*Frankfort*) in "Early (Proto) dynastic I, II, III" eingeteilt, während MOORTGAT (*Berlin*) sie unterteilt in „Übergang zur Mesilim-Zeit, Mesilim-Zeit, Übergang zur Ur I-Periode (Imdugud-Sukurru-Stufe) und Ur I-Periode". Mit Ausnahme weniger Siegelgruppen, die mit einiger Sicherheit innerhalb dieser Einteilungen zeitlich und regional eingeordnet werden können, gibt es aber immer noch eine beträchtliche Anzahl von Siegeln, die zwar in ihrer Ausführung wie auch teilweise in ihren Devisen verschiedene Stil-

arten erkennen lassen, ohne dass man sie jedoch in ein relatives Altersverhältnis zueinander bringen könnte. Die Mannigfaltigkeit der Stilarten mag nicht nur auf lokale Eigenheiten, sondern auch auf die jeweilige soziale (materielle) Position der Besitzer der Siegelsteine zurückzuführen sein.

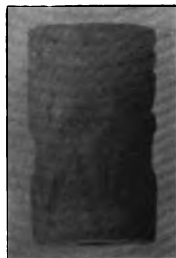
#### 5. Aragonit; Siegelzylinder.

29 × 17 mm.

MM 1956: 105.

Tierkampfgruppe: Ein diagonal über einen Hirsch gesetztes, mähenloses Raubtier schlägt einen langgehörnten Vierfüssler, der seinen Kopf samt Hals weit zurückbiegt; ein zweites mähenloses Raubtier scheint zwar den Hirsch anzufallen, dreht jedoch seinen Kopf dem vom erstgenannten Raubtier angegriffenen Vierfüssler zu. Frei im Feld: ein Symbol zwischen dem zurückgebogenen Hals und dem Körper des langgehörnten Vierfüsslers; ein annähernd vertikal stehender, etwas gebogener Stab und über ihm, zwischen dem Hirsch und dem zweiten Raubtier, eine Mondichel.

Trotz der reichlich groben Ausführung wirkt die Szene sehr lebendig. Der Steinschneider hat es auch verstanden, bei einer mehrfachen Abrollung den Eindruck eines unendlichen Frieses hervorzurufen, und zwar ohne die starke Verflechtung der einzelnen Tierdarstellungen, wie sie sonst, vor allem gegen Ende dieser Periode, üblich ist. — Vgl. u. a.: *Brett 15*.



Nr. 5. Siegel der altsumerischen Zeit.

## Siegel der akkadischen Zeit

(Nr. 6, 7)

Das Datum für den Beginn der Vorherrschaft von Akkad ist noch umstritten. Auf Grund der Herabsetzung des Zeitpunktes für die Regierung Hamurappis neigen neuerdings etliche Forscher dazu, es um 2150 v. Chr. anzusetzen<sup>7</sup>. Ich glaube, dass ein Zeitansatz um 2500 oder höchstens 2400 v. Chr. wahrscheinlicher ist. Die Glyptik dieser Periode ist durch die Vielfältigkeit sowohl der Stilarten (von denen manche für ein erhebliches Können der Steinschneider zeugen) als auch der Vorwürfe charakterisiert. Die Devisen zeigen jetzt meistens eine oder mehrere in sich geschlossene Szenen. Oft erscheint nunmehr ein Siegelbild, das in seiner Mitte eine Keilinschrift hat, die zu beiden Seiten von Kampfgruppen, wie „Gilgamesch“ mit einem Stier und „Enkidu“ mit einem Löwen, flankiert wird. Während dieser Periode bildet sich auch die für die gesamte Dauer der altorientalischen Glyptik typische Form der „Gilgamesch“- und „Enkidu“-Darstellung aus, die in verschiedenen Kombinationen auftritt, wobei es nur in ganz wenigen Fällen möglich ist, sie mit den Beschreibungen aus dem Gilgamesch-Epos in Beziehung zu bringen. Ein grosser Teil der Siegelbilder zeigt mythologische oder rituelle Szenen.

6. Bräunlichgrüner Serpentin; Siegelzylinder, sehr abgegriffen.

29 × 15 mm.

MM 1956: 130.

Zwei menschliche Gestalten in langen, mit Fransen verzierten Gewändern, die je einen Arm bedecken, sitzen sich gegenüber und halten je eine Schale vor sich (sie ist bei der einen Figur nur noch auf dem Original schwach zu erkennen). Zwischen ihnen steht eine ähnlich gekleidete Figur, die sich mit einem nach vorn erhobenen Arm einer der beiden sitzenden Gestalten zuwendet.

Dies ist eine schon in der altsumerischen Zeit

<sup>7</sup> So z. B. A. PARROT, der Ausgräber von Mari.



6



7

Nr. 6–7. Siegel der akkadischen Zeit (Abdrücke).

vorkommende Darstellung (Berlin 101, 102, 137, 138; Brett 24; Morgan 106), die entweder ein „Göttermahl“ oder eine Ritualszene wiedergibt. — Vgl. Berlin 190, 191; Louvre T. 92; Morgan 250.

7. Schwärzlicher Steatit; Siegelzylinder, abgegriffen.

25.5 × 13.5 mm.

MM 1956: 120.

Zwei Gottheiten, eine davon mit einem Dolch greifen eine dritte Gottheit an, die zwischen ihnen in die Knie gebrochen ist. Der angegriffenen Gottheit entfällt eine keulenartige Waffe. — Eine zweite Szene zeigt „Gilgamesch“, der mit „Enkidu“ ringt. Zwischen den beiden Szenen erscheint, frei im Feld eine Keule.

Die auf Siegeln dieser Periode oft vorkommende Darstellung eines Götterkampfes kann bis jetzt noch mit keinem aus der Mythologie bekannten Ereignis in Verbindung gebracht werden. Diese „Gilgamesch-Enkidu“-Gruppe aber erscheint von nun an bis zur kassitischen Zeit und später dann auch noch auf syrischen Zylindern, ohne dass sie je in einem Zusammenhang mit anderen Szenen auf den Siegeln steht (z. B. Morgan 346) — Vgl. Berlin 229–231; Morgan 173–177; Newell 153, 154.



**Siegel der Ur III-Zeit**

(Nr. 8, 9)

Während sich die in der akkadischen Periode entwickelte gute Steinschneidetechnik weiter hält, verarmt der Bildschatz. Am häufigsten ist nun die sogenannte Einführungsszene, für die Nr. 8 ein typisches Beispiel ist.

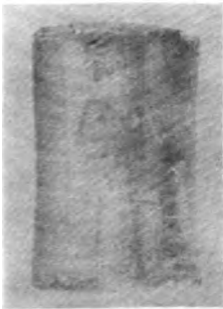
8. Bergkristall; Siegelzylinder, an beiden Enden etwas beschädigt. Die Inschrift scheint vorsätzlich abgeschliffen worden zu sein.  
35.5 × 20.5 mm. MM 1956: 106.  
Göttin mit einfacher Hörnerkrone und in einem „Kaunakes“, der, über die Schulter geworfen, einen Arm bedeckt, sitzt auf einem würfelförmigen Thron, der auf einer Estrade steht. Der unbedeckte Arm ist mit ausgestreckter Hand nach vorn erhoben; darüber eine Mondsichel im Feld. Der Göttin nähert sich eine zweite in einem langen, über die Schulter geworfenen Gewand, mit einer im Adorationsgestus zu ihr erhobenen Hand. Mit der anderen Hand führt die zweite Göttin

der sitzenden Göttin einen kalkköpfigen, ebenfalls mit einem langen Gewand bekleideten Andächtigen zu, der gleichfalls eine Hand im Adorationsgestus erhebt. Hinter der sitzenden Göttin Spuren einer Keilinschrift, die absichtlich entfernt worden ist.

Die Bezeichnung eines vornehmlich von Gottheiten getragenen Gewandes mit „Kaunakes“ ist behelfsmässig; es wird u. a. auch als „Fabelkleid“ angesprochen<sup>8</sup>. — Vgl. u. a.: *Berlin* 250, 251, 259—263; *Morgan* 274—281; *Newell* 135 (auch aus Bergkristall); A. PARROT, *Glyptique mésopotamienne*. Paris 1954, 123—182.

9. Braungrüner Serpentin; Siegelzylinder, sehr abgegriffen.  
21.5 × 11.5 mm. MM 1956: 140.  
Nur noch schwach zu erkennende Spuren einer Einführungsszene gleich der auf Nr. 8. Anscheinend war hinter der sitzenden Gottheit eine Keilinschrift in zwei Kolumnen eingraviert.

<sup>8</sup> Vgl. dazu *Newell* Seite 130 und Abb. 20; *Berlin* z. B. 202.



8



9

Nr. 8—9. Siegel der Ur III-Zeit.

## Siegel der altbabylonischen Zeit

(Nr. 10–12)

Bei teilweise sehr guter Schneidetechnik werden die Siegelbilder im Verlauf dieser Periode noch mehr genormt. An neuen Figurentypen erscheinen jetzt: eine nackte Göttin<sup>9</sup> und ein bärtiger Gott, der — in einem kurzen, enggegürteten Mantel über einem kurzen Rock — eine Keule an die Brust drückt. Beide Gottheiten sind wohl ursprünglich in Nordmesopotamien-Nordsyrien beheimatet. Nach Ansicht einiger Forscher könnte es sich bei der bärtigen Gottheit um die Darstellung eines vergöttlichten Herrschers handeln<sup>10</sup>.

**10. Hämatit; Siegelzylinder, unfertig und sehr abgegriffen.**

20.5 × 12 mm.

MM 1956: 118.

Menschliche Figur in einem langen, vorn offenen Gewand, mit einem nach vorn gesetzten Bein. Ihr nähert sich eine andere

<sup>9</sup> Vgl. G. CONTENAU, *La déesse nue babylonienne*. Paris 1914.

<sup>10</sup> *Berlin* Seite 28, 35–38; E. DOUGLAS VAN BUREN, *Homage to a deified king*. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* NF 16 (1952) Seite 92–120.

menschliche Gestalt in einem kurzen, rockartigen Gewand, mit einem an die Brust gedrückten und einem frei nach hinten herunterhängenden Arm. Hinter der ersten Figur Spuren einer dritten Gestalt (?).

Die erstgenannte menschliche Gestalt soll wohl den auf den Siegeln dieser Periode oft vorkommenden Sonnengott darstellen, wie er — einen sägeförmigen Gegenstand (Himmelsschlüssel[?]) vor sich haltend — auf den Berg des Sonnenaufgangs hinaufsteigt (möglicherweise ist es auch die Kriegsgöttin oder der „Gott mit dem Ring“). Die als nächstes beschriebene Figur soll den „Gott mit der Keule“ bzw. einen vergöttlichten Herrscher wiedergeben, während die Spuren der dritten Gestalt vermuten lassen, dass die „Göttin im Kaunakes“, mit im Adorationsgestus nach vorn erhobenen Händen, hier eingraviert werden sollte. — Für alle drei Typen vgl. das besonders sorgfältig geschnittene Siegel *Newell* 218.

**11. Hämatit; Siegelzylinder, stellenweise beschädigt.**

18.5 × 8 mm.

MM 1956: 131.

Menschliche Figur in einem kurzen, rockähnlichen Gewand, in Schrittstellung, mit



10



11



12



Nr. 10–12. Siegel der altbabylonischen Zeit.

einem an die Brust gepressten und einem frei nach hinten herunterhängenden Arm. Vor ihr eine zweite menschliche Gestalt in einem langen, gefältelten und vorn offenen Gewand, mit einem an die Brust gepressten und einem leicht nach vorn erhobenen Arm. Hinter der ersten Figur erscheint die nackte Göttin mit unter den Brüsten gefalteten Händen.

Zweifellos sollen die beiden menschlichen Gestalten den „Gott mit der Keule“ bzw. den Sonnengott darstellen. Der grobe Schnitt wie auch die Art der Darstellung des „Gottes mit der Keule“ lassen den Ursprung dieses Siegels eher in Nordmesopotamien-Nordsyrien, als im eigentlichen Babylonien vermuten. — Vgl. *Berlin* 363; *Louvre* A. 415; *Morgan* 483, 484.

**12. Hämatit; Siegelzylinder, etwas abgegriffen.**  
 19.5 × 12 mm. MM 1956: 121.  
 „Enkidu“, der einen Stier an einem Hinterlauf und am Schweif hochhält und zugleich dem Tier auf den Nacken tritt. Hinter „Enkidu“ ein aufrecht stehender Löwe mit weit aufgerissenem Maul. Hinter dem Löwen kniet, mit einem Schurz bekleidet, „Gilgamesch“ mit auf der Brust gefalteten Händen. Im Feld: drei Kugeln als Füllmuster.  
 Obwohl nicht daran zu zweifeln ist, dass dieses Siegel zeitlich der altbabylonischen Periode angehört, ist sein Ursprung wahrscheinlich in Nordsyrien-Nordmesopotamien zu suchen; möglicherweise kann dieser Stein auch als „altassyrisch“ angesprochen werden. Die eckige Wiedergabe der beiden Tiere, des Stiers und des Löwen, erinnern ein wenig an kappadokische Steine aus der Zeit der assyrischen Handelskolonien. Die Darstellung des „Gilgamesch“ auf diesem Stein geht auf ein nicht seltenes, ursprünglich südmesopotamisches Motiv zurück, das den „Gilgamesch“, stehend oder knieend und nur mit einem breiten Gürtel bekleidet, zeigt; dazu hält er eine kugelige Vase vor sich, aus der nach beiden Seiten Wasserstrahlen fließen.



Nr. 13. Assyrisches Siegel (Abdruck).

### Assyrisches Siegel

(Nr. 13)

Während die Siegel der altassyrischen Periode insgesamt als eine provinzielle Abart des jeweilig in Südmesopotamien vorherrschenden Stils angesehen werden können<sup>11</sup>, bildet sich seit der zweiten Hälfte des 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr. ein eigener assyrischer Stil aus. Die Gravierung ist meistens sehr flach, und die Darstellungen sind stereotyp: eine inthronisierte Gottheit vor einem tischartigen Altar und einem Andächtigen; zwei sich gegenüberstehende Andächtige; „Jagdszenen“ eines Gottes oder Dämons auf einem Fabeltier, und — vereinzelt — profane Jagdmotive<sup>12</sup>. Häufig erscheint nunmehr ein Lebensbaum, über ihm eine geflügelte Sonnenscheibe oder ein Stern (ein Motiv, das vor allem auf hurritisch-mitannischer Glyptik auftritt).

**13. Braungrüner Serpentin; oberer Teil eines sehr abgegriffenen Siegelzylinders.**

21 × 14 mm. MM 1956: 122.

Zwischen zwei bärtigen Männern in enggürteten, langen, am unteren Ende mit Fransen verzierten Gewändern kniet ein „Gilgamesch“, der nur mit einem breiten Gürtel bekleidet ist. Einer der beiden Männer bedroht ihn mit einer Axt und einem Dolch. Über den nach vorn erhobenen Armen des zweiten Mannes erscheint eine Mondsichel im Feld. Als Abschluss der Szene ist ein Lebensbaum angebracht, der von einem siebenstrahligen Stern bekrönt

<sup>11</sup> Vgl. dazu *Berlin* Seite 46; *Morgan* Seite 108.

<sup>12</sup> Hierzu vgl. A. MOORTGAT, Assyrische Glyptik des 13. (bzw. 12.) Jahrhunderts. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 13 (1942) Seite 50–58, und 14 (1944) Seite 23–44.

wird. An einer Seite des Lebensbaumes sind die Reste einer grösstenteils weggebrochenen Zeichnung zu erkennen. Schwache Spuren einer die Szene am oberen Rand begrenzenden, einfachen Linie.

Vgl. *Berlin* 608 und *Morgan* 686 mit ähnlichen Darstellungen, die jedoch beide schon der neoassyrischen Periode angehören. Steine, die wie dieses Siegel geschnitten sind, bezeichnet E. PORADA mit „Neo-Assyrian, Linear Style“, und A. MOORTGAT rechnet sie dem 9.—8. vorchr. Jahrhundert zu.



14



15



16

Nr. 14–16. Neobabylonisches Siegel und Gewichtssteine.

### Neobabylonisches Siegel und Gewichtssteine

(Nr. 14–16)

In der neobabylonischen Zeit treten wiederum Stempelsiegel in grosser Menge auf; charakteristisch für die Glyptik dieser Periode ist die nahezu ausschliessliche Verwendung von Quarzen als Material, besonders von Chalzedonen jeder Art. Das in erster Linie vorkommende Motiv auf den Stempelsiegeln und Siegelzylindern zeigt einen Andächtigen vor einem Göttersitz oder Altar, auf welchem Symbole stehen. Siegelzylinder mit diesem Motiv sind meistens sehr fein ausgeführt; Stempelsiegel mit dieser Darstellung sind dagegen in der Mehrzahl

äusserst grob und summarisch, unter reichlicher Verwendung eines Drillbohrers wie auch eines Rädchens, geschnitten, ohne dass sich der Steinschneider der Mühe unterzogen hätte, die grob ausgeschliffene Darstellung noch zu überarbeiten. Zu dieser Gruppe gehören auch Darstellungen von Tierkampfszenen oder Dämonen („Helden“) kämpfen mit Fabeltieren, alle nur vereinzelt gut ausgeführt<sup>13</sup>. Eine öfters vorkommende Form für Stempelsiegel ist eine Ente gleich Nr. 16, mit einer Durchbohrung zwischen Hals und Körper.

14. Bläulicher Chalzedon (Saphirin) mit durch Brand verfärbter Oberfläche; Siegelzylinder, am oberen und unteren Rand etwas beschädigt.

28.5 × 13 mm.

MM 1956: 129.

Bärtiger Adorant in einem langen, mit Fransen verzierten Gewand vor einem Göttersitz oder Altar, auf dem ein von einer Mondsichel bekrönter Gegenstand steht. Dahinter ein Blitzsymbol und ein Hahn, der ebenfalls auf einem Göttersitz oder Altar (?) steht.

Der von der Mondsichel bekrönte Gegenstand ist verschiedentlich als „Göttermütze“, „heiliger Stein“, als „Altar“ oder „Tempeltür“ bezeichnet worden. MOORTGAT, der die beiden letzten Deutungen vorschlägt, nennt den hier mit Göttersitz oder Altar bezeichneten Gegenstand „Symbolsockel“. — Vgl. *Berlin* 754; *Brett* 132; *Louvre* 776, 796, 797, 800; *Morgan* 781; *Aulock* 332 (mit Beischrift in ägyptischen Hieroglyphen).

15. Hämatit; Gewicht in Form eines Tierkopfes.

9 × 16 × 11 mm; 4.2430 gr. MM 1956: 110.

Vgl. *Brett* 161 (5.72 gr).

16. Hämatit; Gewicht in Form einer Ente mit zurückgedrehtem Kopf, der ebenso wie der Hals auf dem Körper liegt.

12 × 15.5 × 8 mm; 2.9327 gr. MM 1956: 109.

Vgl. *Brett* 160 (8.6 gr).

<sup>13</sup> Vgl. E. PORADA, Suggestions for the classification of Neo-Babylonian cylinder seals. *Orientalia* NF 16 (1947) Seite 145–165.

Diese Form gibt es, wie schon erwähnt wurde, bisweilen auch mit einer Durchbohrung zwischen Hals und Körper und mit einer Gravierung auf der Unterseite, weshalb es sich vermutlich um ein Siegel handelt (z. B. *Louvre R. 1* [mit Fassung]; *Newell 500*), womit aber seine Verwendung als Gewicht nicht auszuschliessen ist. Solcherart geformte Gewichte gibt es von der kassitischen Periode an mehrfach.

### Mitanni-Siegel

(Nr. 17)

Die hurritischen Siegel und die Mitanni-Siegel sind von E. PORADA gründlich untersucht und behandelt worden<sup>14</sup>. Zum mindesten bei einer Art von Mitanni-Siegeln, die von ihr mit „Elaborate Style“ bezeichnet werden, bin ich der Ansicht, dass es sich um Motive und um eine Schneidetechnik handelt, die zur Zeit der Blüte des Mitannireichs insgesamt über ganz Syrien

17. Hämatit; Siegelzylinder mit leicht konvexem Mantel.

29 × 12 mm.

MM 1956: 103.

Geflügelter Dämon, in Schrittstellung, hat seine Arme gewinkelt gegen die Hüften abgestützt. Vor ihm, über drei Kreisen mit markierten Zentren, ein kauender Löwe und ein Fisch. Über dem Löwen, frei im Feld: eine sitzende menschliche Figur, die mittels eines langen Saugrohrs aus einem Gefäß trinkt. Zwischen der sitzenden Figur und dem Gefäß ein Tisch, auf diesem eine leicht durchgebogene Linie (Brotfladen [?]) und ein Fisch. Zwischen dem Gefäß und einem Flügel des Dämons ein Skorpion (?), und zwischen dem Dämon und dem Löwen, frei im Feld: eine ausgestreckte Hand. Hinter dem geflügelten Dämon ein kauender, langgehörnter Vierfüßler mit zurückgewandtem Kopf, über einem Spiralband. Über dem Kopf des Vierfüßlers ein Stern im Feld. Oben und



Nr. 17. Mitanni-Siegel.

verbreitet waren. Ähnliche Siegel wurden auch auf Cypern gefunden, und S. MARINATOS hat vor kurzem ein solches Siegel aus einem um 1425 v. Chr. zu datierenden Tholosgrab in Pylos geborgen<sup>15</sup>. Bezeichnend für diese Siegelart ist das Bestreben des Steinschneiders, den Eindruck von Symmetrie zu erwecken.

<sup>14</sup> *Morgan* Seite 139–147, und für die hurritischen Siegel E. PORADA, *Seal impressions from Nuzi. Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 24 (1947).

<sup>15</sup> Briefliche Mitteilung von S. MARINATOS. Es ist interessant, dass die wenigen bislang auf dem griechischen

unten wird die Darstellung von einer einfachen Linie begrenzt. — Vgl. *Morgan 1030*; *Newell 657*. Für die Darstellung des geflügelten Dämons vgl. M. T. BARRELET, *Les déesses armées et ailées. Syria* 32 (1955), 222–260.

Festland gefundenen Siegelzylinder Mitanni-Siegel sind oder diesen ähneln. (Vgl. dazu die bibliographischen Angaben unter FO. *Agäis* in *Aulock*.)

## Syrische Siegel

(Nr. 18—38)

Unter diese Bezeichnung fallen hier alle jene Steine, die aus dem einen oder andern Grund *regional* und meistens auch *zeitlich* nicht genauer eingeordnet werden können, die aber den für das gesamte syrische Gebiet eigentümlichen „Misch“-Stil aufweisen. Als syrisch kann schon Nr. 4 (Djemdet Nasr-Zeit) angesprochen werden. Siegel in der Art, wie Nr. 18—23, hat FRANKFORT auf Grund von Stil und Darstellung in *Syrian I, II, III* aufzuteilen versucht, und zwar nach chronologischen Gesichtspunkten<sup>16</sup>. Um seine Annahme erhärten zu können, liegen noch zu wenige Siegel aus Grabungen vor. Die beiden Steine Nr. 28, 29, die aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach aus Cypern stammen, werden auch in die obengenannte Gruppe mit einbezogen, da sie keine der bislang als typisch cypriotisch zu bezeichnenden Merkmale aufweisen, weshalb sie ebensogut in Cypern wie an der syrischen Küste hergestellt sein können<sup>17</sup>.

18. Hämatit; Siegelzylinder, dessen Oberfläche stellenweise zerstört ist.

21 × 12 mm.

MM 1956: 125.

Bärtige menschliche Figur in einem enggegürteten, vertikal gefältelten, vorn offenen Gewand tritt auf einen jetzt nicht mehr kenntlichen Gegenstand. Die Figur hält einen grossen Dolch vor sich und in der frei nach hinten herabhängenden Hand einen ebenfalls nicht mehr zu deutenden Gegenstand. Vor der Figur sind nur noch Spuren einer Zeichnung (menschliche Gestalt [?], Gottheit [?]) auszumachen. Eine zweite (bärtige [?]) menschliche Gestalt ist der zuerst beschriebenen zugewandt und trägt eine spitzkegelige Mütze sowie ein

mantelartiges, mit Fransen verziertes Gewand. Von den Händen ist nur noch die nach hinten frei herabhängende, mit einem Sichelschwert, erhalten. Hinter dieser Figur frei im Feld: ein Fisch, ein sitzender Löwe mit einer erhobenen Vorderpranke (nur noch am Original zu erkennen). Die unter dem Löwen einst eingravierte(n) Devise(n) ist (sind) jetzt unkenntlich.

19. Hämatit; Siegelzylinder, stark abgegriffen. 24 × 13 mm. MM 1956: 126.

Ein vertikal im Feld stehendes Flechtband<sup>18</sup> wird von zwei menschlichen Gestalten in Schrittstellung flankiert. Beide tragen runde Kappen und weite, über die Schultern geworfene Mäntel (einer von ihnen ist am Rand mit Fransen verziert) über enggegürteten, kurzen Röcken. Beide Figuren halten in ihrer frei nach hinten herabhängenden Hand je ein Sichelschwert; während der andere Arm der einen Figur vom weiten Mantel verhüllt wird, hält die Hand der zweiten Gestalt einen länglichen Gegenstand (noch ein Sichelschwert [?]) vor sich. — Eine zweite Gruppe besteht aus einem schreitenden Gott, der eine am unteren Rand mit einem Hörnerpaar verzierte Kappe und einen enggegürteten kurzen Rock trägt, und aus einer diesem Gott zugewandten menschlichen Gestalt in einem langen, mit Fransen verzierten Mantel. Der Gott, dessen Haare in einem dicken Zopf mit sich aufbiegendem Ende gesammelt sind, hält vor sich einen Speer mit der Spitze nach unten, in seiner anderen Hand schwingt er einen doppelzüngelnden Blitz. Ein Arm der menschlichen Gestalt ruht, vom Gewand bedeckt, angewinkelt auf der Brust, der andere ist im Adorationsgestus, dem Gott zugewandt, erhoben. Hinter der menschlichen Figur frei im Feld: ein *libra*artiges Symbol und ein

<sup>16</sup> Vgl. ausser Frankfort Seite 252—258, 260, 288—291, U. MOORTGAT-CORRENS, Neue Anhaltspunkte zur zeitlichen Einordnung syrischer Glyptik. Zeitschrift für Assyriologie NF 17 (1955) Seite 88—101.

<sup>17</sup> Vgl. hierzu A. FURUMARK, A scarab from Cyprus. Opuscula atheniensia 1 (1953) Seite 47—65.

<sup>18</sup> Vgl. H. H. v. DER OSTEN, The snake symbol and the Hittite twist. American Journal of Archaeology 2:30 (1926) Seite 405—417.



18



19



20



21



22



23

Nr. 18–23. Syrische Siegel (Abdrücke).

kleines Gefäß. Oben und unten wird die Darstellung von einer einfachen Linie begrenzt.

20. Grüner Jasper; Siegelzylinder mit leicht konvexem Mantel und etwas beschädigten Rändern.

22 × 12 mm.

MM 1956: 128.

Zwei bartlose menschliche Gestalten nähern sich, mit je einem im Adorationsgestus nach vorn erhobenen und je einem angewinkelt auf der Brust ruhenden Arm, einer dritten, aber bärtigen Menschenfigur, deren Hände unter der Brust gefaltet sind. Alle Gestalten tragen runde, am unteren Rand aufgeklappte Kappen. Die bärtige Figur ist mit einem langen, gegürteten, mit Fransen verzierten Gewand bekleidet; die zwei bartlosen Gestalten tragen weite, an den Rändern mit Fransen verzierte Mäntel über einem kurzen, bis zu den Knien reichenden Rock (nur bei einer Figur noch deutlich zu erkennen). Vor der bärtigen Figur frei im Feld: ein Hase, ein bienenförmiges Symbol und ein achtstrahliger Stern.

21. Hämatit; Siegelzylinder, sehr abgegriffen.

23.5 × 7 mm.

MM 1956: 124.

Gott, der eine am unteren Rand mit einem Hörnerpaar verzierte Kopfbedeckung und ein halblanges Gewand trägt, hält eine nicht mehr zu deutende Waffe. Vor ihm die Göttin im Kaunakes. Die nächste Figur ist vollkommen zerstört; ihr gegenüber stand (nur noch aus den Spuren am Original zu ersehen) eine weitere Göttin im Kaunakes. Hinter dieser, in drei Registern übereinander angeordnet: ein sitzender geflügelter Greif, ein Flechtband und eine andere, jetzt nicht mehr kenntliche Darstellung. Hinter dem Gott mit der Waffe, vertikal im Feld liegend, ein Vierfüßler mit langem geschwungenem Gehörn, den zurückgedrehten Kopf nach unten. Über dem Tier eine in eine Mond-sichel gesetzte Sonnenscheibe, in die ein sternförmiges Muster eingraviert ist.

**22. Hämatit; Siegelzylinder mit Beschädigungen am oberen Rand.**

9.5 × 7.6 mm.

MM 1956: 127.

Gottheit, die eine runde, am unteren Rand mit einem Hörnerpaar verzierte Kappe und ein langes, über die Schulter geworfenes Gewand trägt, sitzt auf einem Stuhl oder Thron mit hoher Rückenlehne. Sie hält vor sich ein Alabastron-artiges Gefäß, ein Arm ist vom Gewand bedeckt. Der Gottheit nähert sich, mit einer im Adorationsgestus erhobenen Hand, ein bärtiger, barhäuptiger Andächtiger in langem Gewand. Hinter dem Andächtigen eine zweite Gottheit, die ebenfalls eine Hand im Adorationsgestus erhoben hat, mit einfacher Hörnerkrone und in langem Gewand. Hinter der zweiten Gottheit ein kauender Vierfüßler mit langem gebogenem Gehörn; über dem Tier ein Laufvogel. Vor der sitzenden Gottheit eine in eine Mondsichel gesetzte Sonnenscheibe; zwischen dem Andächtigen und der zweiten Gottheit frei im Feld: ein *libra*artiges Symbol. Oben und unten wird die Darstellung von einer einfachen Linie begrenzt.

**23. Hämatit; unterer Teil eines Siegelzylinders, der am unteren Rand eine Beschädigung aufweist.**

15.5 × 8 mm.

MM 1956: 123.

Geflügelte Gottheit in einem langen, vorn offenen und vertikal gefältelten Gewand, das von einem Gürtel, an dem ein Dolch befestigt ist, gehalten wird, hält — in Schrittstellung — eine Axt vor sich. Hinter der Gottheit eine kleinere, bezopfte Figur in kurzem rockartigem Gewand, eine Hand mit nach oben gewandter Handfläche erhoben, die andere frei nach hinten herabhängende Hand hält ein kleines *anch*-Zeichen. Über der bezopften Figur frei im Feld: eine (nur teilweise noch erhaltene) Mondsichel. Der geflügelten Gottheit nähert sich eine menschliche Gestalt in kurzem Rock und über die Schulter geworfenem, mit Fransen

verziertem Mantel, um den Hals ein Halsgeschmeide. Ein Arm wird vom Mantel bedeckt; die frei nach hinten herabhängende Hand hält ein kleines *anch*-Zeichen. Hinter der menschlichen Gestalt eine weitere Menschenfigur in einem reich verzierten, langen Gewand, mit unter der Brust gefalteten Händen. Vor und hinter der geflügelten Gottheit frei im Feld: je ein *anch*-Zeichen.

Nr. 18—23 gehören ausnahmslos in die Gruppe der von FRANKFORT mit Syrian I—III bezeichneten Siegel; der Einfluss der mesopotamischen Vorbilder aus der altbabylonischen Zeit ist deutlich zu erkennen. Andererseits lässt sich aber auch der durch hurritisch-mitannische Vorstellungen hervorgerufene Umdeutungsprozess feststellen, zu dem bei Nr. 23 überdies noch der Einfluss ägyptischer Darstellung, wenngleich in syrischer Form, hinzukommt. Die Gottheit mit dem Dolch auf Nr. 18 geht sicher auf die Darstellung des Sonnengottes Schamasch in ähnlicher Haltung zurück (z. B. Newell 206; auf altassyrischen Siegeln, wie z. B. OIP XXIX Abb. 207 c350, hält der Gott die „Säge“ in ähnlicher Art wie hier den Dolch). Die „Göttin im Kaunakes“, mit ihren im Adorationsgestus nach vorn erhobenen Händen, ist eine immer wiederkehrende Darstellung seit der Isin Larsa-Periode. Weiterhin kann nicht daran gezweifelt werden, dass die Figur vor der geflügelten Gottheit auf Nr. 23 auf den „Gott mit der Keule“ zurückgeht. Schliesslich gehört die auf Nr. 22 wiedergegebene Einführungsszene in dieser Form (z. B. Brett 46, 51; Morgan 296) zu den beliebtesten Motiven der mesopotamischen Glyptik seit der Isin Larsa-Periode. Abgesehen von den Gewändern, vor allem den Mänteln auf Nr. 19 und 23, weist namentlich Nr. 19 in der Darstellungsart der beiden sich dem zwischen ihnen stehenden Flechtband nähernden Figuren „nördliche“, d. h. mitanni-hurritische Einflüsse auf. Morgan 925 zeigt, sehr gut erhalten, genau die gleiche Darstellung. Nr. 22 und 18, 21 (bei den beiden letzten sehr beschädigt) haben die bei den



Siegeln dieser Gruppe sehr beliebte Darstellung der in einem oder zwei Registern (von denen das mittlere meistens ein Flechtband ist) übereinander angeordneten Symbole oder Tiere (z. B. *Brett* 86–88; *Morgan* 928 ff.; *Newell* 297 ff.). Der blitzschwingende Gott auf Nr. 19 ist identisch mit der seit der amoritischen Vorherrschaft in Babylon oft vorkommenden Darstellung des Wettergottes (Adad), der dann auch häufig auf Mitanni-Siegeln wie auch auf hethitischen Bildwerken als Teshup erscheint. In fast unveränderter Gestaltung ist er ebenfalls auf Orthostaten<sup>19</sup> aus der Zeit der aramäischen Staaten zu sehen. Vermutlich war diese Gottheit in Nordsyrien beheimatet und seine vornehmlichste Kultstätte bei dem heutigen Dorf Dülük (dem alten Doliche) gewesen, wo er dann zur Zeit der römischen Vorherrschaft als Jupiter-Dolichenus verehrt wurde. Die geflügelte Gottheit oder Dämon (vgl. u. a.: *Berlin* 537–540; *Brett* 94; *Newell* 320, 322, 324–329) auf Nr. 23 gehört ebenfalls dem Mitanni-Kreis an.

Eine genauere zeitliche oder regionale Zuweisung von Siegeln dieser Art ist bis jetzt aus Mangel an Grabungsfunden noch nicht möglich. Ihre Bezeichnung mit syro-hethitisch u. ä. aber ist irreführend, da bislang keine derartigen Siegel in einwandfrei hethitischen Schichten, und zwar weder in solchen des älteren Reichs noch in solchen der Grossreichszeit, gefunden wurden<sup>20</sup>. Die Ähnlichkeit in den Einzelheiten oder in der Wiedergabe von Götterfiguren mit echt hethitischen Werken ist zwar unverkennbar; wir wissen indessen bis jetzt noch nicht in allen Fällen, inwieweit die Hethiter mitanni-hurritische Formen übernommen haben, bzw. in welchem Umfang diese Formen gemeinsames Kulturgut sind<sup>21</sup>. Man wird wohl nicht fehl-

gehen, wenn man bis auf weiteres die ganze Gruppe (*Frankfort* Syrian I–III) in den Zeitraum von rund 1550–1100 v. Chr. setzt, wobei in einigen Fällen eine genauere Datierung gewagt werden kann (so ist von den vorliegenden Steinen Nr. 22 gewiss jünger als die übrigen, und Nr. 19 und 21 sind sicherlich die ältesten). Nach *Frankfort* würden Nr. 18–22 in Syrian I fallen, während Nr. 23 Syrian II zugeschrieben werden könnte.



Nr. 24. Syrisches Siegel (Abdruck).

#### 24. Grün-schwarzer Serpentin; Siegelzylinder mit leicht konvexem Mantel, abgegriffen.

26.5 × 12 mm.

MM 1956: 134.

Eine Reihe schreitender menschlicher Gestalten, von denen die erste ein weites, langes, gemustertes und enggürtetes Gewand trägt. Eine ihrer Hände ist leicht nach vorn erhoben und hält einen nicht mehr zu erkennenden Gegenstand (vielleicht ein Gefäß), aus dem die Gestalt einer vor ihr erscheinenden Figur (Pflanze oder Lebensbaum [?]), von der nur noch eine leicht gebogene, vertikal im Feld stehende Linie auszumachen ist, eine Libation darbringt. Hinter der Gestalt der Gott Redjeb in der für Syrien-Palästina typischen Art. Die dritte Figur soll vermutlich ein tierköpfiger Dämon sein, der einen gekrümmten, stabartigen Gegenstand vor sich hält. Vor der ersten Menschenfigur frei im Feld: eine missverstandene *anch*-Zeichnung. Oben und unten wird die Darstellung von einer einfachen Linie begrenzt.

<sup>19</sup> Vgl. z. B. H. T. BOSSERT, *Altanatolien*. Berlin 1942, Nr. 928 (Zencirli).

<sup>20</sup> Vgl. *Frankfort* Seite 284–288; C. F. A. SCHAEFFER, *Ugarit und die Hethiter*. Nach den im Süd-Archiv des Palastes 1953 entdeckten Keilschrifttexten. *Archiv für Orientforschung* 17 (1954–1955) Seite 93–99.

<sup>21</sup> Siehe dazu K. BITTEL, *Nur hethitische oder auch hurritische Kunst? Zeitschrift für Assyriologie NF* 15 (1949) Seite 256–290.

Stil und Gravierung dieses Siegels sind für Palästina und Syrien aus dem 16. vordhr. Jahrhundert belegt, und der ägyptische Einfluss ist unverkennbar<sup>22</sup>. Die eigentümliche Figur des Dämons, nämlich seine weitgespreizten Beine, scheint der Prototyp der später besonders auf cyprischen Siegeln wiederkehrenden Darstellungen zu sein (z. B. *Morgan* 1072). — Für die häufig auf Siegeln dieser Stilart erscheinende Redjeb-Darstellung vgl. u. a.: *Newell* 323.

**25. Schwarzbrauner Serpentin; vierseitige Schmuckperle mit abgeschnittenen Ecken, abgegriffen.**

11 × 8 × 7 mm. MM 1956: 139.

- (1) Unkenntliche lineare Zeichnung (Symbol [?]).
- (2) Menschliche Gestalt in langem Gewand, mit einem im Adorationsgestus erhobenen, der Zeichnung 1 zugewandten Arm.
- (3) Zwei vertikal im Feld nebeneinander und fischgrätenartig angeordnete Reihen von je vier kleinen, etwas schrägliegenden, keilförmigen Strichen mit nach oben gerichteten Spitzen.

<sup>22</sup> Vgl. vor allem J. NOUGAYROL, *Cylindres-sceaux et empreintes de cylindres trouvés en Paléatine (au cours de fouilles régulières)*. Paris 1939.

(4) Menschliche Gestalt gleich der auf 2 und in derselben Orientierung.

Auf den vier, infolge des Abschneidens entstandenen, sehr schmalen Flächen erscheinen dreimal je vier, und einmal je drei kleine, etwas schräg im Feld übereinander angeordnete, keilförmige Linien mit nach oben gerichteten Spitzen.

**26. Schwarzbrauner Serpentin; achtseitige Schmuckperle, abgegriffen.**

14.5 × 7.5 × 6 mm. MM 1956: 138.

- (1) Unkenntliche lineare Zeichnung (Symbol [?]).
- (2) Vier kleine, übereinander angeordnete, keilförmige Striche mit nach oben gerichteten Spitzen.
- (3) Menschliche Gestalt in langem Gewand, mit einem im Adorationsgestus erhobenen, der Zeichnung 1 zugewandten Arm.
- (4) Wie 2.
- (5) Zwei vertikal im Feld nebeneinander angeordnete Reihen von je vier kleinen, keilförmigen Strichen mit nach oben gerichteten Spitzen.
- (6) Wie 2.
- (7) Menschliche Gestalt gleich der auf 3 und in derselben Orientierung.
- (8) Wie 2.



25



26



27



28



Nr. 25–28. Syrische Siegel.

27. Chalzedon mit durch Brand verfärbter Oberfläche; Skarabäus in einem Teil seiner ursprünglichen, silbernen Fassung.

18.5 × 14 × 7.5 mm. MM 1956: 93.

„Held“ in einem halblangen, vorn offenen, enggürteten Gewand, im Kampf mit einem Vierfüßler (Löwen [?]). Die Grundlinie ist angedeutet.

28. Schwarzbrauner Serpentin; vierseitige Schmuckperle mit Gravierungen auf zwei einander gegenüberliegenden Seiten.

14.5 × 11.5 × 12 mm. MM 1956: 92.

(1) Zum Sprung ansetzender Löwe in einem Rahmen, der aus einer einfachen, dem Rand der Seiten folgenden Linie besteht.

(2) Stark stilisierter Stierkopf, mit zwei Kugeln zwischen den Hörnern, innerhalb einer nicht zu deutenden Zeichnung. Diese besteht aus einer horizontal im Feld liegenden Linie, an deren beiden Enden zwei kürzere, etwas nach innen durchgebogene Linien ansetzen. Um die Darstellung ein Rahmen, der aus einer einfachen, dem Rand der Seiten folgenden Linie besteht.

So schwierig es ist, Nr 25–28 regional genauer als lediglich mit syrisch zu bezeichnen, umso leichter fällt ihre Einweisung in das 8.–6. vorchr. Jahrhundert. Schmuckperlen (Amulette, Siegel) in der Form von Nr. 25, 26, 28 sind aus dem syrischen Kreis seit dem 3. Jahrtausend v. Chr. bekannt, wenngleich die älteren Steine dieser Art meistens grösser sind. Die Darstellung auf Nr. 25, 26 ist sicher auf die (namentlich in der neobabylonischen Zeit so beliebte) Szene eines oder zweier Adoranten in langem Gewand vor einem oder mehreren Symbolen auf einem Göttersitz oder Altar zurückzuführen<sup>23</sup>. Das üblichste Symbol ist u. a. einmal das des Marduk

(Lanzenspitze oder Spaten<sup>24</sup>) und zum andern jenes des Gottes Nebo (meistens zwei Schreibgriffel, die nebeneinander stehen). Die auf den beiden Steinen (Nr. 25 und 26) nur noch undeutlich zu erkennende Zeichnung mag dem letztgenannten Symbol entsprechen. Der Schnitt von Nr. 28 ist, ebenso wie seine Devisen, vor allem der Stierkopf, häufig auch auf glyptischen Objekten, die sowohl in Cypern<sup>25</sup> als auch auf den griechischen Inseln gefunden wurden, anzutreffen. Beide Devisen, der Stierkopf wie auch der zum Sprung ansetzende Löwe, sind darüber hinaus auch auf Steinen, die mit Sicherheit als syrisch (phönikisch) festzulegen sind<sup>26</sup>, zu finden. Nr. 28 dürfte in das 8. oder 7. vorchr. Jahrhundert zu datieren sein.

Die Originalfassung von Nr. 27 ist wohl bekannt: der sogenannte „swivel“-Ring. Derartige Ringe mit Skarabäen oder Skaraboiden sind während des 8.–6. vorchr. Jahrhunderts im Mittelmeergebiet zahlreich vorhanden. Besonders viele Stücke dieser Art stammen aus Grabungen auf Cypern<sup>27</sup> und letztlich auch von Ischia. Nach brieflicher Mitteilung des dortigen Ausgräbers, Herrn Dr. G. Buchner, wurden diese Ringe mit Skarabäen oder Skaraboiden nahezu ausschliesslich in Kleinkindergräbern gefunden, weshalb er ihnen, zum mindesten jenen aus Ischia, in erster Linie einen amulettartigen Charakter beimessen möchte<sup>28</sup>. Der Fundort von Nr. 27 und 28 kann mit einiger Sicherheit irgendwo auf Cypern angenommen werden. Die Möglichkeit aber, dass tatsächlich beide Steine in Cypern geschnitten worden sind, ist nicht von der Hand zu weisen. Da jedoch weder Nr. 27

<sup>23</sup> So E. DOUGLAS VAN BUREN, Symbols of the gods in Mesopotamian art. *Analecta Orientalia* 23 (1945) Seite 14–20.

<sup>24</sup> Ein ähnliches Stück wie Nr. 28 hier aus Curion (J. L. MYRES, Handbook of the Cesnola collection of antiquities from Cyprus. New York 1914, Seite 444 Nr. 4381.). Vgl. auch E. PORADA, The cylinder seals of the late Cypriote bronze age. *American Journal of Archaeology* 52 (1948) Seite 178–198.

<sup>25</sup> *Aulock* Nr 113.

<sup>23</sup> Vgl. Nr. 14 hier und die grosse Menge der sog. neobabylonischen Stempelsiegel, z. B. *Louvre* Taf. 92; *Newell* 470–497 u. a. m.

<sup>26</sup> Siehe z. B. MYRES o. c. Seite 413 Nr. 4150, Seite 417 Nr. 4196 usw.

<sup>28</sup> Briefliche Mitteilung von Dr. G. BUCHNER.

noch Nr. 28 keines der bislang als typisch cypriotisch anzusehenden Merkmale aufweist<sup>29</sup>, wir andererseits aber wissen, wie stark der kulturelle Austausch zwischen der Insel und der syrischen Küste damals war, ziehe ich es vor, auch diese beiden Stücke bis auf weiteres noch als „syrisch“ zu bezeichnen. Die Devise von Nr. 27, ein uraltes orientalisches Motiv, ist in jenem flachen und etwas flüchtigen Schnitt wiedergegeben, wie er seit dem beginnenden 6. vorchr. Jahrhundert in Mesopotamien und

nordsyrische Herkunft von Nr. 29—38 kann in Anbetracht der Schneidetechnik wie auch des Materials und, wenigstens was Nr. 30—38 betrifft, ebenfalls auf Grund des Siegelbildes kaum in Zweifel gezogen werden. Abgesehen von Nr. 38 scheint mir die Echtheit der Steine gesichert zu sein.

29. Braungrüner Serpentin; Siegelzylinder.  
24.5 × 8.5 mm. MM 1956: 113.  
Nicht zu deutende Devise.



Nr. 29. Syrisches Siegel (Djemdet Nasr-Zeit?). Abdruck.

Syrien sehr oft, vor allem, wenn es sich um Steine aus Quarzen handelt, angewendet wird. Der königliche, das Herdentier schützende oder Untiere bekämpfende Held Gilgamesch aus altsumerischer Zeit ist (nachdem er zuvor die Gestalt des die Tiamat bekämpfenden Marduk angenommen hatte und auf den assyrischen Königssiegeln der neuassyrischen Phase zum löwenbezwingenden König geworden war<sup>30</sup>) hier zu einem „Helden“, im Kampf mit einem Untier, schlechthin geworden. Unter der achämenidischen Periode wird aus dem Helden der Grosskönig selbst, der als Vertreter Ahuramazdas, nämlich des Guten und Lichten, mühelos das Schlechte und Dunkle besiegt, um sich schliesslich in christlicher Zeit zum drachenbezwingenden St. Georg zu verwandeln, der insbesondere in Armenien verehrt wurde.

Die syrische, in diesem Falle genauer: die

Als einzige Parallelen für diese Devise sind mir nur Abdrücke aus Ur, die in die Djemdet Nasr-Zeit zu datieren sind, bekannt<sup>31</sup>. Vielleicht müsste also dieses Siegel zeitlich mit Nr. 4 gleichgesetzt werden.

30. Grünlichgrauer Serpentin; Siegelzylinder, am oberen Teil stark abgenutzt.  
27 × 13 mm. MM 1956: 115.  
Menschliche Gestalt in langem, diagonal gefälteltem Gewand vor einem Lebensbaum wird rückwärts von einem Löwen (?) angegangen. Über dem Löwen ein stark stilisierter Vogel mit gespreizten Flügeln. Unter der erhobenen Vorderpranke des Löwen ein Stab, der sich am oberen Ende gabelartig teilt. Beiderseits des Lebensbaumes ein Skorpion bzw. ein *anch*-Zeichen. Unten sind noch Reste einer die Darstellung abgrenzenden, einfachen Linie zu erkennen.

<sup>29</sup> Vgl. FURUMARK O. C.

<sup>30</sup> Zusammengestellt bei A. J. SACHS, *The late Assyrian Royal-seal type*. Iraq 15 (1953) Seite 167—170.

<sup>31</sup> Ur Excavations III. L. LEGRAIN, *Archaic seal-impressions*. Oxford 1936.

**31. Grünlichgrauer Serpentin; Siegelzylinder.**

28 × 11.5 mm.

MM 1956: 116.

Ein Lebensbaum, der von zwei kleinen Vierfüßlern flankiert wird. Von der einen Seite nähert sich dem Lebensbaum eine menschliche Gestalt mit einem (sehr verkürzt dargestellten) vorgestreckten Arm, der andere ist nach hinten erhoben. Von der anderen Seite schreitet ein Vierfüßler (Löwe [?]) auf den Baum zu; über dem Löwen (?) ein Laufvogel und hinter ihm ein Skorpion frei im Feld. Zwischen der Vorder- und Hinterhand des Löwen (?) ein undeutbares Füllmuster. Oben und unten wird die Darstellung von einer einfachen Linie begrenzt.



30

**32. Braungrüner Serpentin; Siegelzylinder.**

23.5 × 9.5 mm.

MM 1956: 117.

Sitzende menschliche Figur, die mittels eines langen Saugrohrs aus einem kleinen, durch eine „Kugel“ angedeuteten Gefäß trinkt; über diesem eine Mondsichel im Feld. Hinter der Figur, vertikal im Feld liegend, ein Vierfüßler mit langem gebogenem Gehörn. Vor dem Tier eine zweigartige Zeichnung und ein Skorpion (?).



31



32

Nr. 30–32. Syrische Siegel (Abdrücke).

Die Motive aller drei Siegel sind wohl bekannt und weisen engste Beziehungen zum hurritisch-mitannischen Kreis auf. Die Darstellungsart an sich wie auch die Schneidetechnik datieren diese Steine um die Wende des 1. vorchr. Jahrtausends oder ein wenig später. Allerdings sind Tierdarstellungen, in annähernd gleicher Technik geschnitten, auf Siegeln zu finden, die auf Grund ihrer Fundumstände noch in das 3. vorchr. Jahrtausend zu datieren sind (z. B. *Berlin* 777; *Louvre* S. 360). In Material, Darstellung und Schnitt ähnliche Siegel sind auch aus Cypern bekannt, ohne dass allerdings die Insel als Ursprungsort zu beweisen ist (vgl. auch die Bemerkungen zu Nr. 25–28). Trotz der sehr alten Motive ist eine Datierung in das letzte Viertel des 2. Jahrtausends — erstes Viertel des 1. Jahrtausends, ganz abgesehen von der Schneidetechnik wie auch vom Gesamteindruck der

Szenen, durchaus vertretbar. Wie lange sich die (zumindest bis in das beginnende 2. vorchr. Jahrtausend zurückgehende) hurritische Tradition gerade im südöstlichen Vorland der Taurus-Antitaurus Barriere gehalten hat, zeigen u. a. die Darstellungen auf den Orthostaten von Tell Halaf, Zencirli und Karkemiş<sup>22</sup>, die teilweise erst in das 10., 9. Jahrhundert, ja vielleicht sogar noch später, angesetzt werden müssen.

Die übrigen Siegel dieser Art sind auf Grund ihrer Devisen in zwei Gruppen einzuteilen: I = Nr. 33–35; II = Nr. 36–38.

<sup>22</sup> So z. B. H. T. BOSSERT, *Altanatolien*. Berlin 1942, Nr. 847, 861 (Karkemiş); Nr. 908–948 (Zencirli). — *Ders.*, *Altsyrien*. Tübingen 1951, Seite 139–148 (Tell Halaf).

**33. Grünlichgrauer Serpentin; Siegelzylinder.**

24 × 13.5 mm.

MM 1956: 135.

Sitzende menschliche Gestalt auf einem Stuhl oder Thron mit hoher Rückenlehne; in der nach vorn erhobenen Hand ein zweigartiger Gegenstand. Hinter dieser Gestalt steht eine zweite Menschenfigur in langem Gewand; eine ihrer Hände liegt auf der Stuhl(Thron)lehne, die andere Hand hält einen spitzovalen Gegenstand mit einem Stiel (Fliegenwedel [?], Fächer [?]). Vor der sitzenden Gestalt ein langgehörnter Vierfüßler (Hirsch [?]), und vor dem Tier eine dritte menschliche Figur in langem Gewand, einen Arm nach vorn erhoben, während der andere, unnatürlich verlängert, bis zu einem auf der Grundlinie stehenden, vasenartigen Gegenstand zu reichen scheint. Oben und unten wird die Darstellung von einer einfachen Linie begrenzt.

**34. Grünlichgrauer Serpentin; Siegelzylinder, am oberen Teil zerstört.**

29 × 12.5 mm.

MM 1956: 132.

Die dargestellte Szene gleicht im allgemeinen jener auf Nr. 33. Die Füße der sitzenden Figur ruhen hier aber auf einem Schemel; die vor ihr angebrachte Zeichnung (sicher wie auf Nr. 33 als Tier aufzufassen) wirkt wie ein Tisch mit durchgebogener Platte; über dieser, etwas nach einer Seite verschoben, eine mondsichelartige Zeichnung im Feld. Darüber ist (nur noch auf dem Original zu erkennen) die Spur einer Sonnenscheibe mit eingraviertem Stern auszumachen. Der verlängerte „Arm“ der vor der sitzenden Figur stehenden Gestalt lässt auf dem Original erkennen, dass seine untere Hälfte entweder aus kleinen, ineinandergesetzten Winkeln bestand, oder durch kleine, horizontal-liegende Striche gekreuzt war. Der Vasencharakter des Gegenstandes, in welchen dieser „Arm“ zu enden scheint, tritt hier deutlich zutage. Eine die Darstellung ab-

grenzende Linie ist nur noch auf dem unteren Teil der Siegelrolle zu erkennen.

**35. Grünlichgrauer Serpentin; Siegelzylinder.**

30 × 12 mm.

MM 1956: 136.

Eine im Vergleich zu den anderen menschlichen Gestalten kleinere, menschliche Figur sitzt auf einem hohen Stuhl oder Thron, dessen Rückenlehne ganz nach unten umgebogen ist. Die Figur scheint einen stabartigen Gegenstand vor sich zu halten; in dem Winkel zwischen Unter- und Oberarm ist eine keilartige Zeichnung angebracht, der sich drei menschliche Figuren, mit je einem gewinkelt nach oben erhobenen Arm, nähern. Die erste dieser Figuren hat ihren zweiten



33



34



35

Nr. 33–35. Syrische Siegel (Abdrücke).

Arm nach hinten gewinkelt erhoben und, ausgehend von ihm, fällt ein Wasserstrahl herab, der unten von einer Vase aufgefangen wird. Bei der nächsten Figur fällt der andere Arm frei nach hinten herab, während der zweite Arm der dritten Figur nicht mehr zu erkennen ist. Die letztgenannte Figur könnte wohl einen tierköpfigen Dämon darstellen. Oben und unten wird die Szene von einer einfachen Linie begrenzt.

Die auf den letzten drei Steinen wiedergegebene Szene ist an und für sich eine auf altorientalischen Siegeln sehr oft zu findende Darstellung, nämlich die Verehrung einer inthronisierten Gottheit, mit oder ohne dienender Gestalt hinter ihr, der sich ein Andächtiger nähert (z. B. *Brett* 54; *Newell* 123, 130). Die nächste vor der Gottheit stehende Gestalt auf den drei Siegeln bringt ihr eine Libation dar (so auch *Brett* 107); das sie ausgießende Gefäß ist allerdings auf keinem dieser drei Steine zu erkennen, doch zeigt Nr. 35 deutlich den Wasserstrahl, und auch die Behandlung des unteren Teiles des verlängerten „Arms“ auf Nr. 33 und 34 lässt darauf schliessen, dass eine solche dargestellt werden sollte. Das vasenartige Gefäß, das die Spende aufnimmt, ist auf jedem der drei Steine deutlich zu erkennen. Wie schon gesagt, kann die sich auf Nr. 35 der Gottheit nähernde, dritte Gestalt möglicherweise ein tierköpfiger Dämon sein von jener Art, wie er auf Mitanni-Siegeln und bestimmten cyprischen Steinen hinter einem Andächtigen (so z. B. *Morgan* 983; *Newell* 354) oder aber am Ende einer Reihe von mehreren Adoranten bisweilen erscheint. Diesen Darstellungen die Deutung maskierter Priester zu geben, ist nicht von der Hand zu weisen. Als Parallele für einen vor der Gottheit stehenden Hirsch kenne ich nur die auf Skaraboiden, welche ich mit phönikisch bezeichnen möchte und wie sie jetzt u. a. auf Ischia gefunden wurden. Obgleich es sich bei den aufgeführten drei Siegeln sowohl um eine ganz andere Siegelform als auch um völlig verschiedene Schneidetechnik

handelt, möchte ich sie dennoch (genauso wie die drei nächsten, Nr. 36—38) zeitlich mit den auf Ischia gefundenen Stücken gleichsetzen, d. h. sie nicht älter als das 8. Jahrhundert, aber auch nicht später als das 7. Jahrhundert datieren. E. PORADA, die den auf Ischia gefundenen Stücken ähnelnde Steine in einer sehr lehrreichen Studie bearbeitet hat<sup>33</sup>, möchte sie nicht früher als das beginnende 7. Jahrhundert ansetzen und (was die Skaraboide usw. anbelangt) ihren Ursprung auf Rhodos suchen. Der Ausgräber von Ischia dagegen, Herr Dr. BUCHNER, möchte die Schicht, in der solche Siegel bzw. Amulette geborgen wurden (vgl. die Bemerkungen zu Nr. 26—28), nicht später als das 8. Jahrhundert annehmen. Was das Alter der Steine betrifft, so ist diese Ansetzung zweifellos richtig; jedoch können sie selbst keinesfalls zur Datierung der Schichten mit herangezogen werden, es sei denn: als ein Datum *post quem*. Nach den Untersuchungen von A. FURUMARK und G. SÄFLUND<sup>34</sup> ist eine Datierung der in Frage kommenden Fundschichten in das 7. Jahrhundert überzeugender.

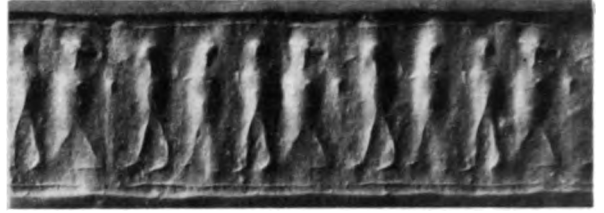
36. Grünlichgrauer Serpentin; Siegelzylinder.  
22.5 × 9 mm. MM 1956: 133.  
Eine Reihe von vier menschlichen Gestalten mit je einem gewinkelt nach vorn erhobenen Arm; der andere Arm der letzten Figur hängt frei nach hinten herab. Oben und unten wird die Darstellung von einer einfachen Linie begrenzt.
37. Braungrüner Serpentin; Siegelzylinder, sehr abgegriffen.  
24 × 10 mm. MM 1956: 119.  
Eine Reihe von vier menschlichen Figuren. Vor der ersten Gestalt steht, vertikal im Feld, ein kleiner Keil; die letzte Figur scheint eine runde Kappe zu tragen. Oben und unten wird die Darstellung von einer einfachen Linie begrenzt.

<sup>33</sup> A lyre player from Tarsus and his relations. The Aegean and the Near East, Studies presented to Hetty Goldman. New York 1956, Seite 185—211.

<sup>34</sup> Zuletzt G. SÄFLUND in *Historia* 5 (1957) Seite 10—22.



36



37



38



39

*Nr. 36—38. Syrische Siegel. Nr. 39. Fälschung.*

**38.** Gelblichgrüner Serpentin; Siegelzylinder mit leicht konvexem Mantel.

44 × 12 mm.

MM 1956: 137.

Grosse männliche Gestalt mit einem gewinkelt nach vorn erhobenen Arm, der andere hängt frei nach hinten herab. Hinter der Gestalt eine Reihe von vier kleineren, menschlichen Figuren; die letzte davon scheint eine Libation darzubringen. Unter den vier kleineren Figuren erscheinen zwei

einander gegenüberstehende Vierfüssler, zwischen diesen, etwas schräg im Feld liegend, ein drittes Tier und ausserdem ein Skorpion.

Die Darstellung einer Reihe von zwei, drei oder mehreren menschlichen Figuren ist, entweder als Hauptmotiv oder als Nebenszene, von kappadokischen und Mitanni-Siegeln bekannt (z. B. *Brett* 97; *Louvre* A. 897, 901, 904, 920; *Morgan* 947, 972, 973, 989, 992 usw.). Die Siegel



Nr. 36 und 37 sind ähnlich wie Nr. 33—35 zu datieren und als ihr Ursprungsland kann ebenso wie bei diesen der syrische Kreis im weitesten Sinn angenommen werden. Für Nr. 38 liegt allerdings die Möglichkeit einer Fälschung vor (: die Form des Skorpions; die Tatsache, dass die *letzte* Figur in der Reihe die Libation darbringt — auf dem Original ist die Stellung der Füße ganz klar zu erkennen, d. h. die vier kleineren Figuren sind *hinter* der grösseren hergehend dargestellt).

39. Dieser Siegelzylinder, der aus sehr schönem, dunkelgrünem, kristallinischem Kalkstein gearbeitet ist, ist eine Fälschung.

31.5 × 17.5 mm.

MM 1956: 104.

40. Grünlichgrauer Serpentin; Siegelzylinder, vollkommen abgegriffen, weshalb, ausser einigen wenigen Spuren, von der Devise nichts mehr zu erkennen ist.

19 × 8 mm.

MM 1956: 141.

# Einige ägyptische Grabdenkmäler

STEN V. WÄNGSTEDT

In der Sammlung ägyptischer Antiquitäten des Mittelmeermuseums nehmen die Grabdenkmäler einen ziemlich hervorragenden Platz ein. Vorzugsweise handelt es sich um Stelen oder Bruchstücke von Stelen; einige Relieffragmente aus Gräbern sind aber auch zu notieren. Von dem Bestande ist schon ein erheblicher Teil veröffentlicht worden, und zwar die Denkmäler, die früher zu der ägyptischen Abteilung des Nationalmuseums gehört haben<sup>1</sup>. Die übrigen sind entweder von dem ägyptischen Staate gekauft oder als Stiftung dem Museum übergeben worden<sup>2</sup>. Die Mehrzahl von diesen ist noch unveröffentlicht.

Von den Denkmälern des Alten und Mittleren Reiches sowie der 1. Zwischenzeit sind bisher nur drei publiziert worden<sup>3</sup>. Die im folgenden

erörterten Denkmäler, die in den dreissiger Jahren des 20. Jahrh. in Ägypten gekauft worden sind, stammen ebenfalls aus den erwähnten Zeitperioden. Betreffs der Fundorte liegen in einigen Fällen keine oder sehr unvollständige Angaben vor. Andere in Verbindung mit dem Freilegen der Denkmäler gemachte Notizen sind auch nicht vorhanden. Eine genaue Feststellung des Standortes und der Datierung der verschiedenen Denkmäler sowie eine Identifizierung der vorkommenden Personen lässt sich deswegen schwerlich machen.

Ausser den oben (Anm. 3) erwähnten beiden Scheintüren und dem Relieffragmente sind noch zwei Denkmäler des Alten Reiches (oder der 1. Zwischenzeit) zu verzeichnen: eine Stele in Gestalt einer Scheintür und ein Bruchstück, das ein Teil einer Scheintür sein dürfte<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> MARIA MOGENSEN, *Stèles égyptiennes au Musée National de Stockholm*, Copenhague 1919; SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, *Einige ägyptische Denkmäler in Schweden*, Uppsala 1945, S. 5 ff. u. S. 21 ff.; PIEHL, *Petites études égyptologiques*, Vienne 1881, S. 48 ff.; — *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques recueillies en Europe et en Égypte*, Leipzig 1888, S. 18 u. Taf. 93, S. 19 u. Taf. 15–16.

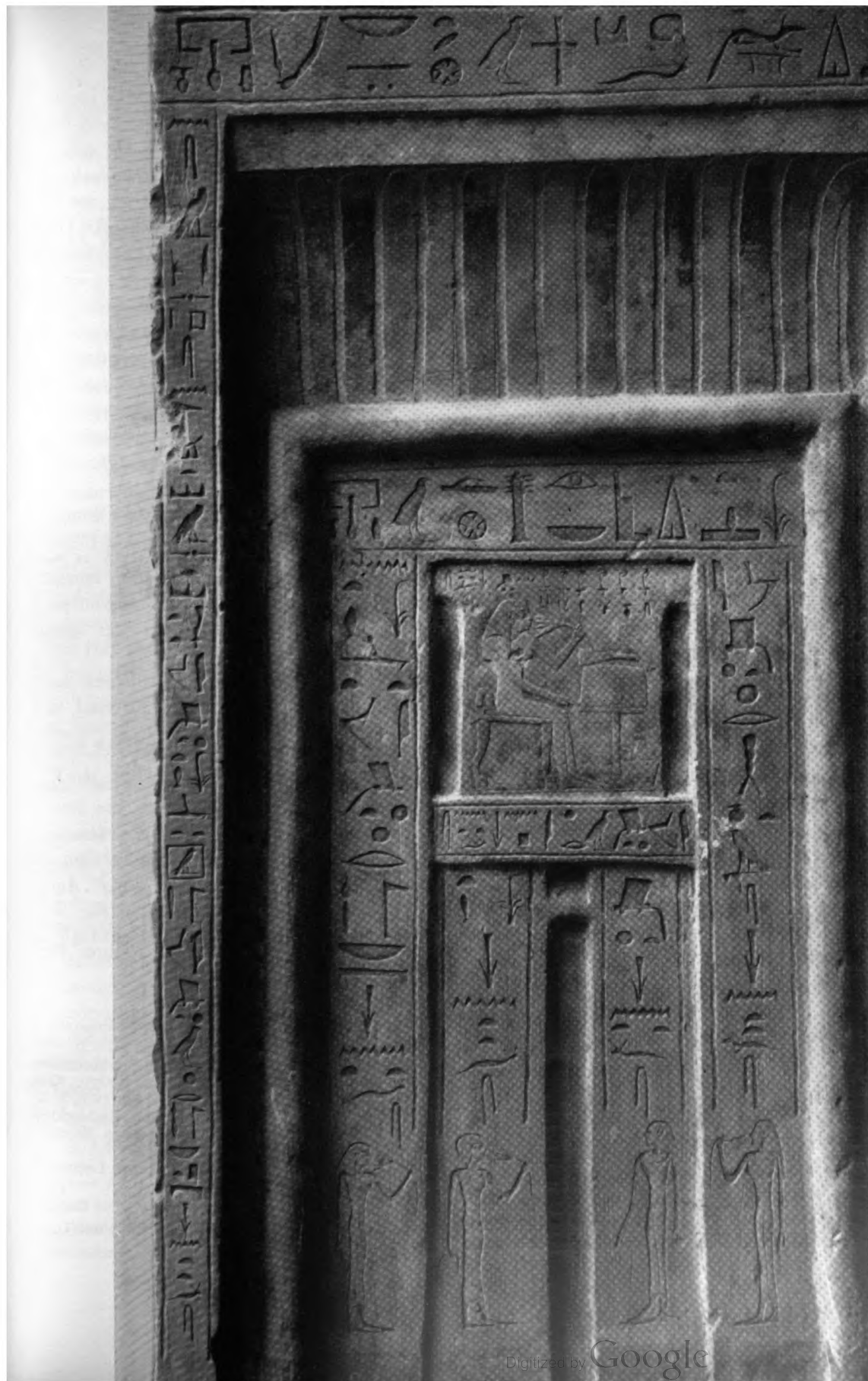
<sup>2</sup> In erster Linie hat das Museum dem damaligen Kronprinz Gustaf Adolf mehrere wertvolle Neuerwerbungen zu verdanken. Zwei (MM 11434 und MM 11424) werden in dem vorliegenden Aufsatz behandelt.

<sup>3</sup> MM 11406. Scheintür des *Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-<sup>c</sup>ntj*. 4. Dynastie

(JUNKER, Giza 6, Wien u. Leipzig 1943, S. 239 f.); MM 11407. Scheintür des *Hr-š.f-nht*. 6. Dyn. oder 1. Zwischenzeit (FIRTH-GUNN, *Excavations at Saqqara. Teti pyramid cemeteries*, Kairo 1926, Vol. 1, S. 184:8; Vol. 2, Pl. 71:2); MM 11408. Relieffragment aus dem Grabe des *Hr-š.f-nht* (ib., Vol. 1, S. 205 ff.).

<sup>4</sup> Vgl. oben Anm. 2.

Abb. 1. Scheintür der *Šn.t-Itf-š* (*Senetitefes*).



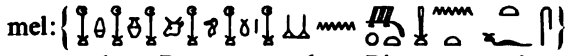
## Scheintür (Abb. 1)

MM 11434. *Material*: Kalkstein. *Grösse*: 105 × 61 × 13 cm. *Datierung*: Späte 6. Dynastie oder 1. Zwischenzeit. *Herkunft*: Saqqara.


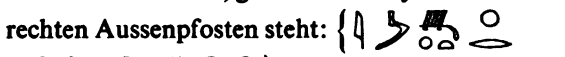
Die Scheintür<sup>5</sup>, die für eine Frau *Šn.t-ḫf-š*, mit den Titeln „einzige Palastdame des Königs“, „Priesterin der Hathor“, gemacht worden ist, ist bis auf einige geringfügige, oberflächliche Beschädigungen gut erhalten. Sie ist an drei Seiten von einem Rundstab eingerahmt und von einer Hohlkehle gekrönt; ein mit dem Rundstabe parallel laufender, glatter Rahmen dient als äussere Einfassung<sup>6</sup>. Die ziemlich schmale und tiefe Nische (die eigentliche Tür) in der Mitte der Stele ist von doppelt abgesetzten Pfosten umgeben. Der Untersturz ragt ein wenig über die Innenpfosten hervor, ohne aber bis an die Fläche der Aussenpfosten hinanzureichen. Der Obersturz liegt in gleicher Fläche mit den Aussenpfosten. Die Platte mit der Speisetischszene — von den beiden Architraven und Aussenpfosten eingefasst — wird durch senkrechte, schmale Vertiefungen an den Seiten von dem Untergrund hervorgehoben. Die ganze Stele ist mit Inschriften und Darstellungen bedeckt, und noch sichtbare Farbenreste zeigen, dass sie ursprünglich bemalt gewesen ist. Bis auf die Darstellung auf der Platte und das Blattornament der Hohlkehle, die in Flachrelief hervortreten, sind alle Inschriften und Figurendarstellungen in versenktem Relief ausgeführt.

Das auf der Platte wiedergegebene Motiv zeigt die verstorbene *Šn.t-ḫf-š* vor einem Speisetisch<sup>7</sup>. Sie sitzt auf einem Sessel mit niederer


Rücklehne, dessen Beine Tierfüssen nachbilden und unter welchen Sockel in Gestalt der Pyramidenstümpfe angebracht sind<sup>8</sup>. Sie trägt eine lange, glatthaarige Perücke, eng anliegendes Kleid, Halskragen und Armringe; die rechte Hand ist gegen den Tisch ausgestreckt, und mit der linken Hand hält sie eine Lotusblume vor die Nase. Den Farbenspuren nach zu schliessen ist die Perücke schwarz und die Hautfarbe rotbraun gewesen; dieselbe rotbraune Farbe zeigen ausserdem sowohl Sessel als Speisetisch, sowie die auf der Tischplatte liegenden Brothälften<sup>9</sup> — nach altägyptischer Darstellungsart stehend abgebildet<sup>10</sup> — und der Ochsenchenkel; unter dem Tisch ist rechts der Wassernapf mit Giesskanne hingestellt.

Über der Speisetischszene steht die Wunschformel: {  } „tausend an Brot, tausend an Bier, tausend an Rindern, tausend an Geflügel, tausend an Salben, tausend an Gewändern der geehrten *Šn.t-ḫf-š*“.

Die Inschrift des oberen Architravs, die sich auf dem linken Aussenpfosten fortsetzt, lautet:

{  } „der König sei gnädig und gebe (und) Osiris, der Herr von Busiris, ein Totenopfer der einzigen Palastdame<sup>11</sup> des Königs, der von dem grossen Gott, dem Herrn des Himmels, geehrten *Šn.t-ḫf-š*“. Auf dem rechten Aussenpfosten steht: {  }


„die bei ihrer Herrin geehrte *Šn.t-ḫf-š*“.

Scheintür des *Htp* (  ) (QUIBELL, Excavations at Saqqara 1906–1907, Kairo 1908, S. 72, Pl. 6:2).

<sup>5</sup> Die Sockel sollten das Einsinken der Stuhlbeine in den Nilschlammestrich verhindern (HELCK-OTTO, Kleines Wörterbuch der Aegyptologie, Wiesbaden 1956, S. 227).


<sup>6</sup> Das auf dem Tisch nachgeahmte Rechteck. Der Steinmetz hat unterlassen, die einzelnen Brothälften anzugeben.

<sup>10</sup> Vgl. SCHÄFER, Von ägyptischer Kunst, Leipzig 1930, S. 147.



<sup>11</sup>  eig. „Schmuck des Königs“. Zur Bedeutung „Palastdame“ vgl. JUNKER, Giza 12, S.174 und Giza 2, S. 111.

<sup>5</sup> Im Jahre 1930 in Ägypten gekauft.

<sup>6</sup> Vgl. BORCHARDT, Denkmäler des Alten Reiches I, Berlin 1937, Nr. 1395 und Nr. 1455. (Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire.)

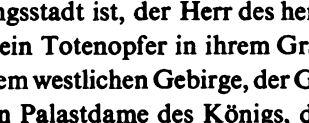
<sup>7</sup> Vgl. die Darstellungen bei JUNKER, Giza 12, S. 71. Auf dem Speisetisch liegen nur Brothälften — in Gestalt eines Rechtecks wiedergegeben — und ein Ochsenchenkel. Dieselbe Darstellung erscheint u. a. auf der Scheintür der *Hnw.t.w-j* (  ) und auf der des *Hr-š.f-nht*, beide von der 6. Dyn. oder der 1. Zwischenzeit (FIRTH-GUNN, a. A., Vol. 1, S. 183, Vol. 2, Pl. 71:1); ferner auf der von Anfang der 1. Zwischenzeit datierende

„die von  
Anubis geehrte Sn.t-*t*f-s”.

Auf dem linken Innenpfosten lautet die Inschrift: {  } „die Palastdame des Königs *Šn.t-ıtf-s*“, und auf dem rechten: {  } „die geehrte *Šn.t-ıtf-s*“.

Nach dem Namen ist auf den vier Pfosten die Verstorbene stehend dargestellt. Während sich die Figuren der Aussenpfosten ganz entsprechen (die eine Hand ist nach unten gestreckt, die andere — mit Lotusblume — gegen die Nase gerichtet) weichen die Figuren der Innenpfosten von einander ab. Auf dem linken Innenpfosten erscheint *Śn.t-ṭf-š* ohne Perücke in einer kurzen Löckchenfrisur, und mit Lotusblumen in den Händen; die eine Blume hält sie — wie auf den Aussenpfosten — vor die Nase. Der rechte Innenpfosten zeigt *Śn.t-ṭf-š* mit nach unten gestreckten Händen, ohne Blumen.

Die Inschrift auf dem äusseren Rahmen der Scheintür besteht aus zwei Wunschformeln. Die längere Formel, die auf dem Querstück beginnt und sich auf der linken Langseite des Rahmens fortsetzt, lautet:

{}, der König sei gnädig und gebe (und) Anubis auf seinem Berge, der in der Balsamierungsstadt ist, der Herr des herrlichen Landes, ihr ein Totenopfer in ihrem Grab der Nekropole in dem westlichen Gebirge, der Geehrten, der einzigen Palastdame des Königs, der Priesterin der Hathor, der bei dem grossen Gott, dem Herrn des Himmels, geehrten Sn.t-Itf-s”.

Auf der rechten Seite des Rahmens liest man:

„der  
König sei gnädig und gebe(und) Anubis, der Herr  
des herrlichen Landes, dass sie schön bestattet

Noch vorhandene Farbenreste zeigen, dass die Hieroglyphenzeichen sowie die eingeritzten Begrenzungslinien der Inschriften ursprünglich bemalt gewesen sind. Auch von der Umschnürung des Rundstabes — durch eine schwarze Zickzacklinie bezeichnet<sup>12</sup> — sind schwache Spuren sichtbar; vor allem hat sich aber die Farbe der Nische, der Vertiefungen der Opferplatte und des Blattornaments der Hohlkehle gut erhalten. In den beiden ersten Fällen ist die Farbe rotbraun. Für das Hohlkehlenornament, das eine Reihe von aneinander errichteten Palmenblättern darstellt, sind verschiedene Farben verwendet worden; die Blätter sind wechselweise schwarzgrün, gelb und rotbraun.

Die Darstellungen der Scheintür sind bis auf die vor dem Speisetisch nachgeahmte *Šn.t-ḫf-š*, die Lotusblume und den Sessel, auf dem sie sitzt, ziemlich schlecht gearbeitet. Dieselbe Ungenauigkeit seitens des Künstlers kommt auch in den Inschriften zum Vorschein, indem mit grösster Sorgfalt ausgeführte Hieroglyphen mit ziemlich nachlässig eingeritzten Zeichen wechseln<sup>13</sup>.

Angebl ich soll die Scheintür in dem Totenfelde bei Saqqara gefunden worden sein<sup>14</sup>. M.W. liegen aber keine bei der Ausgrabung gemachten Notizen vor, weshalb sich der genaue Standort nicht feststellen lässt. Angaben von der Freilegung eines Grabes, das in Verbindung mit der Inhaberin dieser Scheintür gebracht werden könnte, sind mir auch nicht bekannt.

Was wir von *Šn.t-ltf-š* wissen ist nur, dass sie teils *hkr.t-nšwt w<sup>c</sup>.t.t* „einzige Palastdame des Königs“ gewesen ist, teils das Amt *hm.t-ntr*

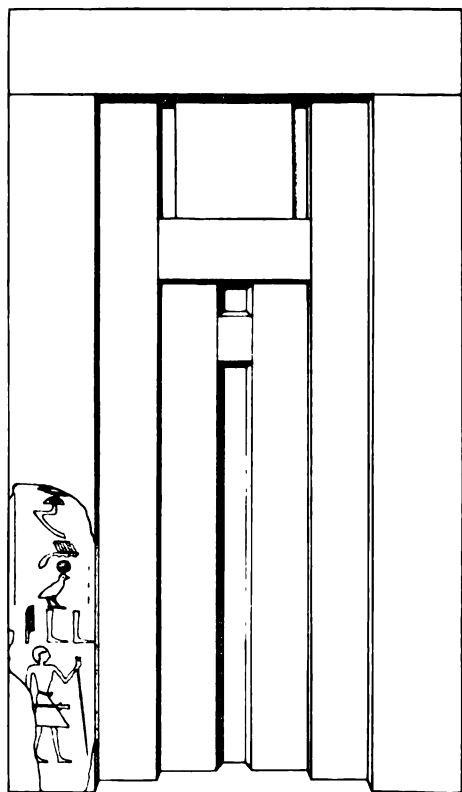
<sup>12</sup> Für Rundstabe mit eingeritzter Überschnürung siehe BORCHARDT, a. A., passim.

<sup>13</sup> Die Unterlassung des Künstlers, eine durchaus tadellose Arbeit zu machen, hat vielleicht ihre Erklärung darin, dass die Tote eine Frau ist. Nach RUSCH zeigt oft die Scheintür der Frau eine einfachere Ausführung als die ihres Gatten (ÄZ 58, S. 113).

<sup>14</sup> Nach freundlicher Mitteilung von GUNHILD LUGN.



**Abb. 2–3. Bruchstück und Rekonstruktion der Scheintür des Bbj (Bebi).**



*Hthr* „Priesterin der Hathor“ bekleidet hat. Im Alten Reiche wurde dieses Amt vorzugsweise den vornehmeren Frauen verliehen, aber gegen Ende der 6. Dynastie lässt sich die soziale Stellung der Inhaberin nicht mehr feststellen<sup>15</sup>. Der erste Titel deutet aber darauf hin, dass die Inhaberin des Amtes auch in späterer Zeit der höheren Gesellschaftsschicht angehört hat<sup>16</sup>. *hkr.t-nšwt w<sup>c</sup> t.t hm.t-ntr Hthr* ist eine der häufigeren Titelkombinationen der späteren 6. Dynastie (von der Zeit Pepi des Zweiten an) und der 1. Zwischenzeit<sup>17</sup>. Obwohl diese Tatsache in Bezug auf die Datierung kein entscheidendes Kennzeichen ist, deutet sie aber darauf hin, dass der Denkstein mit grösster Wahrscheinlichkeit zu einem der erwähnten Zeitabschnitte zu setzen ist — eine Datierung, die u. a. von anderen wesentlichen Einzelheiten bestätigt wird<sup>18</sup>.

#### Bruchstück einer Scheintür (Abb. 2)


MM 11424. *Material*: Kalkstein. *Grösse*: 18 × 13,7 × 6,7 cm. *Datierung*: Wahrscheinlich 6. Dynastie<sup>19</sup>. *Herkunft*: Unbekannt.

Sowohl die Form des Bruchstückes als die vorkommende Inschrift mit abschliessender Bilddarstellung deuten darauf hin, dass das Fragment mit grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit einer Scheintür angehört hat. Die Fläche der Vorderseite und die der rechten Langseite sind sehr sorgfältig gehauen. Die linke Langseite sowie die

Rückseite sind dagegen roher behauen gewesen; diese beiden Seiten sind aber später eben gemacht worden<sup>20</sup>.

Die Inschrift — durch parallellaufende, eingeritzte Linien begrenzt — und die Darstellung sind mit der grössten Sorgfalt in versenktem Relief ausgeführt. Unter der Inschrift, die nur die Wörter . . . *hm<sup>3</sup> h<sup>w</sup> Bbj* „... der geehrte Bbj“ umfasst, ist der Verstorbene stehend, nach rechts gewandt, dargestellt. Er trägt eine kurze Löckchenfrisur und ist in den spitzen Knieschurz gekleidet. In der linken Hand hält er den Stab und in der herabhängenden rechten das Szepter.

Allem Anschein nach ist das Bruchstück der untere Teil der linken Aussenpfosten der Scheintür (Abb. 3). Die oben angeführten Einzelheiten in Bezug auf die Form des Bruchstückes zeigen, dass das Mittelstück und die Aussenpfosten der Scheintür getrennt hergestellt worden sind<sup>21</sup>. Zurückgebliebene Mörtelreste in Vertiefungen der linken Langseite des Bruchstückes zeigen ferner, dass der Pfosten der Grabwand angelegen hat, während das Mittelstück der Scheintür ohne Bindemittel zwischen die Pfosten hineingesetzt gewesen ist.

Von dem auf den Pfosten geschriebenen Totengebet sind nur zwei zum Teil beschädigte Zeichen des Wortes {  } *nfr.t* „gut“, „schön“ (die fem. Form) erhalten<sup>22</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> Vgl. JUNKER, Giza 5, S. 18.

<sup>16</sup> Vgl. JÉQUIER, La pyramide d'Oudjebten, Le Caire 1928, S. 15 f.



















<sup>17</sup> Für die 1. Zwischenzeit vgl. DUNHAM, Naga ed-Dér Stelae, London 1937, S. 117:31 u. S. 118:40.

<sup>18</sup> So ist z. B. der Aussenrahmen der Scheintür mit Text versehen (Vgl. JÉQUIER, Tombeaux de particuliers contemporains de Pepi II, Le Caire 1929, S. 87, 93, 118, 121; — Le mastaba Faraoun, Le Caire 1928, S. 29; BORCHARDT, a. A., Nr. 1395, 1400, 1455, 1504 und JUNKER, Giza 7, S. 25 f., Taf. 6b. [Ende 6. Dyn.]); ferner haben die Pfosten je nur eine Textzeile, welche mit dem Bilde der verstorbenen Frau abgeschlossen ist, und von den ebenso einzeiligen Architraventexten zeigt der Untersturz nur den Namen der Frau. (Für eine ausführlichere Zusammenstellung von Merkmalen, die für Scheintüren der späteren 6. Dynastie und der folgenden Zeit bezeichnend sind, siehe RUSCH a. A., S. 115 f. und S. 123; zu der Form der Scheintür vgl. auch FIRTH-GUNN, a. A., S. 179 f.)

<sup>19</sup> Für die Datierung siehe unten Anm. 22.

<sup>20</sup> Die Zurichtung, mutmasslich von dem Finder gemacht, dürfte — den ziemlich tiefen Riefen nach zu schliessen — mit einem Zahneisen oder einem ähnlichen Werkzeug gemacht worden sein.

<sup>21</sup> Vgl. JUNKER, Giza 6, S. 229 f. und Giza 7, S. 190 f.

<sup>22</sup> Das Totengebet dürfte entweder mit dem Wunsche, dass der Verstorbene „in Frieden zum schönen Westen ziehe“ beendet sein (vgl. BORCHARDT, a. A., Nr. 1453. Scheintür des  .[...      ]); QUIBELL, Excavations at Saqqara, 1905–1906, Pl. 15. Scheintür des  .[...      ]) oder dass er „auf den schönen Wegen wandeln möge“ (vgl. QUIBELL, Excavations at Saqqara, 1906–1907, Pl. 6:1. Scheintür der  .[...      ]).







Die angeführten Formeln sind auf den linken Aussenpfosten der betreffenden Scheintüren wiedergegeben. Eine Variante der letzteren Wunschformel—       „möge er in Frieden auf den schönen Wegen des



Abb. 4. Stele des Grafen *Im-rrj* (*Temreri*).

Westens wandeln" — erscheint ferner auf dem getrennt hergestellten linken Aussenpfosten der Scheintür des  $\text{A}=\text{Q}Q$  (JUNKER, Giza 6, S. 229 f.). Bis auf die Scheintür des  $\text{I}=\text{A}$ , die der 10. Dynastie angehören dürfte, stammen alle aus der 6. Dynastie.

Was die Datierung des Bruchstückes betrifft, liegen

keine eindeutigen Merkmale vor, die eine genaue Zeitbestimmung zulassen. Doch scheint mir die sehr sorgfältig ausgeführte Inschrift und die Darstellung sowie die wahrscheinliche Abfassung der Wunschformel (in der oben wiedergegebenen Formen) für die 6. Dynastie zu sprechen.



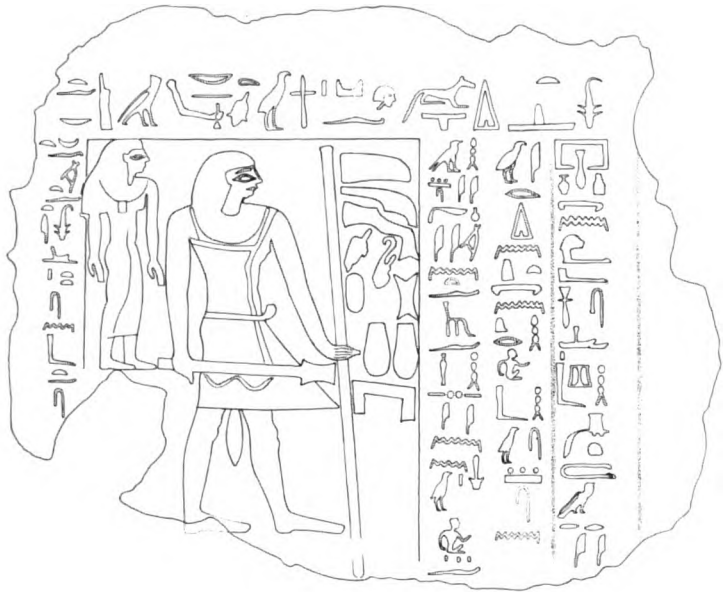


Abb. 5. Zeichnung der Stele des Grafen Tm-rrj.

#### Stele des Grafen Tm-rrj (Abb. 4–5)

MM 11419. *Material*: Kalkstein. *Grösse*: 55 × 64 × 12 cm. *Datierung*: 1. Zwischenzeit. *Herkunft*: Wahrscheinlich Naga ed-Dêr.

Die Stele — aus einem weissgelben Kalkstein von wenig guter Qualität gehauen — ist ziemlich stark beschädigt. Die Beschädigungen sind aber hauptsächlich an den Seiten der Stele lokalisiert. Die für Darstellungen und Inschriften eben gemachte Vorderseite zeigt stellenweise Vertiefungen von herausgefallenen Feuersteinknollen sowie durch äussere Gewalt entstandene Absplitterungen, welche zum Teil die Inschriften getroffen haben.

Die Darstellungen sind in Flachrelief gearbeitet, während die Inschriften in versenktem Relief ausgeführt sind. Die Arbeit ist in Bezug auf die Qualität ziemlich mittelmässig.

Die Hauptfigur der Darstellung, Tm-rrj<sup>23</sup>, ist in vorschrittmässigem Rechtsprofil stehend wiedergegeben. Er trägt lange, glatthaarige Perücke,

breiten Halskragen und ist in den spitzen Knieschurz gekleidet; er trägt ausserdem ein Pantherfell, dessen Rute zwischen seinen Beinen sichtbar ist. In der linken Hand hält er den langen Stab und in der herabhängenden rechten Hand das Szepter. Die unbedeckten Körperteile sind rotbraun gefärbt.

Vor dem Grabherrn steht im Niveau mit seinem Schurz ein niedriger Tisch mit Opfergaben verschiedener Art. Die Gaben sind — von oben herab: ein Rippenstück, ein Gemüse (?)<sup>24</sup>, das Vorderbein eines Rindes, ein Kalbskopf, ein Gazellenkopf, zwei ungleich geformte Brote und zwei Krüge. Die Fleischstücke sind bis auf den Gazellenkopf mit rotbrauner Farbe bemalt (der Kalbskopf nur fleckenweise). Das Gemüse zeigt schwache Spuren von sowohl grüner als rotbrauner Farbe. Die untere Hälfte der beiden Krüge ist ebenfalls rotbraun angestrichen, nach oben hin durch einen Querstrich in derselben Farbe abgegrenzt. Der Gazellenkopf, die Brote und die obere Hälfte



<sup>23</sup> Zu diesem Namen vgl. RANKE, Personennamen I, Glückstadt 1935, S. 390:32.

<sup>24</sup> Vgl. DUNHAM, a. A., S. 18, Anm. 1.







Das mittlere Register hat als Motiv die Speisetsche. Die Darstellungen sowie die begleitende Inschrift ist in versenktem Relief gemacht. Links im Bildfeld sitzt der Grabherr auf einem Sessel mit Tierbeinen, dessen Pfoten auf konischen Untersätzen ruhen. Die Lehne des Sessels reicht etwas über Ellenbogenhöhe. Unter dem Sessel steht der Wassernapf mit Giesskanne. Das Geschirr ist auffallend gross und nimmt den ganzen Raum zwischen den Sesselbeinen ein. Der Grabherr in eng anliegendem Knieschurz, trägt lange Löckchenperücke, Kinnbart, breiten Halskragen und Armringe. Der linke Arm ist vor der Brust gebogen, und in der Hand hält er ein gefaltetes Schweisstuch. Die rechte Hand ist gegen den Speisetisch ausgestreckt. Die unbedeckten Körperteile sowie die untere Perlensektion des Halskragens sind rot gefärbt; die zwei oberen Sektionen scheinen grün gewesen zu sein. Stellenweise ist aber die Farbe abgenutzt. Die Perücke, die ursprünglich in einer dunkelgrünen Farbe bemalt sein dürfte, ist ganz entfärbt.

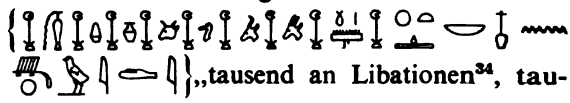
Der Speisetisch — mit roten und grünen Farbentüpfchen dekoriert — ist auf einen ziemlich langen, niedrigen Tisch hingestellt. Auf der Platte des Esstisches liegt eine Reihe rot gefärbter Brothälften. Der untere Tisch ist mit Lebensmitteln verschiedener Art gefüllt. Auf der Platte stehen vier rote Näpfe, von denen drei wahrscheinlich mit Beeren gefüllt sind, während der vierte Brote (?) und Bierkrüge (?) enthält<sup>30</sup>. Über den beiden linken Näpfen liegen ein Ochsenchenkel und ein Bund Zwiebeln. Oberhalb der rechten ist ein {  }-geformtes Brot (?), ein Lattich<sup>31</sup> und noch eine Gabe (ein Papyrusstrauss?) abgebildet, ferner ein rundes und ein in der *bd*<sup>3</sup>-Form gebackenes Brot. Zwischen den letzterwähnten Näpfen ist ein {  }-geformtes Fleischstück sichtbar<sup>32</sup>.

<sup>30</sup> Vgl. ÄZ 63 (1927), Taf. II.

<sup>31</sup> Vgl. JUNKER, Giza 6, S. 49, Abb. 11.

<sup>32</sup> Auch der Raum zwischen den zwei linken Näpfen dürfte mit einer Art Speise ausgefüllt gewesen sein.

Rechts vom Esstisch ist der Raum mit **wei**ren Gaben ausgefüllt, die teils auf einen **Anricht**tisch, teils unter seiner Platte auf den **Boden** **hir**gestellt sind. Von den letzteren sind **nur di** unter dem Tisch abgebildeten Weinkrüge (**m** konischem Verschluss und im Untersatz **ge**steckt) und {  }-Vasen erhalten. Auf der **Tisch**platte steht eine Reihe von niedrigen Krügen. **Vo**den oberhalb der Krüge dargestellten **Opfergabe**n — zum Teil ganz oder fast ganz verwischt — **las**sen sich die folgenden mit ziemlicher **Sicherhei** identifizieren: ein Rippenstück, ein {  }-geformtes Brot, zwei gekreuzt liegende, **ungerupft**e Gänse, ein Kalbskopf und oben links ein **Bro** aus der *bd*<sup>3</sup>-Form und eine Gurke. Rechts im Bildfeld steht ein Salbengefäss<sup>33</sup>, und über dieserr ein grösserer Krug<sup>33</sup>. Zwei Vasen sind **ausser**dem rechts von den nach oben gestreckten Gänseflügeln sichtbar. Die Gaben rechts im Felde sind dagegen zu stark beschädigt, als dass man ihre Art feststellen könnte.

Über der Darstellung steht die Wunschformel:  
  
 „tausend an Libationen<sup>34</sup>, tausend an Brot, tausend an Bier, tausend an Rindern, tausend an Geflügel, tausend an Gazellen, tausend an Antilopen, tausend an Leinen (und) tausend an allen schönen Dingen dem geehrten *Idi*“.

Das untere Register zeigt in der Mitte die Abbildung einer rot gestrichenen Tür, rechts und links von in versenktem Relief ausgeführten, senkrecht laufenden Inschriften abgegrenzt. Die Tür ist mit zwei Riegeln versehen und in der Mitte sind zwei Augen gezeichnet<sup>35</sup>. Der Rundbalken ist durch schwach gebogene, mit grüner Farbe gefüllte Ritzlinien bezeichnet, um eine Rundung vorzutäuschen.

<sup>33</sup> Auf dem Original schwach sichtbar.


<sup>34</sup> Zu diesem ungewöhnlichen Anfang der Wunschformel vgl. BORCHARDT, a. A., Nr. 1428 und Nr. 1430. Das Libationsgefäss ist auf dem Original schräggestellt.

<sup>35</sup> Nach RUSCH treten Riegel und Augen in der späten sechsten Dynastie auf; nach dieser Zeit sind nur wenige sichere Beispiele nachweisbar (a. A., S. 116).

Die Inschrift links von der Tür lautet:  „der König

sei gnädig und gebe (und) Anubis auf seinem Berge ein Totenopfer dem geehrten *Idi*“.

Die rechte Inschrift hat die Abfassung:

 „der König sei gnädig und gebe (und)

Osiris ein Totenopfer dem von seinem Vater geliebten und seiner Mutter geliebten *Idi*“.

Auf dem freien Felde links und rechts von der Tür ist in versenktem Relief der Grabherr in schreitender Stellung dargestellt<sup>36</sup>. Die linke Figur ist in einem weiten, spitzen Knieschurz, dessen Gürtelstreifen bis an die rechte Kniekehle hinreicht. Er ist ohne Kinnbart<sup>37</sup>, trägt aber dieselbe lange Löckchenperücke wie in der Speisetischszene, einen breiten Halskragen mit grün gefärbter unterer Perlensektion (die zwei oberen Sektionen sind rot gewesen) und Armringe. In der herabhängenden rechten Hand hält er das Szepter und in der linken den langen Stab<sup>38</sup>.

Auf dem rechten Felde erscheint *Idi* nach links schreitend. Er hat hier Kinnbart und ist in einen eng anliegenden, kurzen Schurz gekleidet. Die Löckchenperücke, die deutliche, grüne Farbspuren zeigt, sowie die übrige Ausschmückung ist dieselbe wie auf der gegenüberstehenden Figur. Den langen Stab fasst er mit der rechten Hand und hält das zum Teil hinter dem Schurz versteckte Szepter in der nach unten gestreckten linken Hand.

In Anbetracht des wenig guten Steinmaterials sind sowohl die Inskriptionen als die Bilddar-

stellungen von einer verhältnismässig hohen Qualität. Das Vorkommen von Feuersteinknollen und Höhlungen in dem Kalkstein hat aber stellenweise unbezwingbare Hindernisse für das Ausführen einer im einzelnen tadellosen Arbeit gebildet. Die Knollen haben den Künstler genötigt, Einzelheiten des nachgeahmten Gegenstandes entweder auszulassen oder ihn allein in Farbe auszuführen (vgl. Anm. 36 u. 38). Das letztere Verfahren ist gewählt worden, wenn die Höhlungen und die Unebenheiten der Fläche zu gross und tief gewesen sind, um eine Darstellung zu erlauben<sup>39</sup>.

Eine zeitlich sichere Bestimmung der Amtsperiode des *Idi*, lässt sich wegen des Mangels an unmittelbaren Angaben nicht machen, aber die Komposition der Inskriptionen und der Darstellungen des Denksteines deuten darauf hin, dass er entweder gegen Ende der 1. Zwischenzeit oder — was wohl wahrscheinlicher sein dürfte — am Anfang des Mittleren Reiches tätig gewesen ist. Für die letztere Alternative spricht vor allem das Anbringen der Opferformel in mehreren wagerecht laufenden Zeilen in einem Felde über der Speisetischdarstellung<sup>40</sup> — eine Anordnung, die für Denksteine der ersten Hälfte des Mittleren Reiches bezeichnend ist<sup>41</sup>.

Sowohl *Idi* als der früher erwähnte *Tm-rrj*, scheinen — der Titulatur nach zu schliessen — eine hervorragende Stellung unter den Gaubeamten eingenommen zu haben. Es handelt sich aber hier nicht um Titel, die eine ausübende Funktion bezeichnen, sondern um Rangtitel. Beide, die drei Titel führen, nennen sich *h<sup>3</sup> tj-<sup>c</sup>* und *šmr-w<sup>c</sup> tj*. *Idi* bezeichnet sich ausserdem in seinem zweiten Titel als *šd<sup>3</sup> w.tj-bjtj*, während *Tm-rrj* als niedrigsten Titel *hrj-hb* angibt.

Ursprünglich führten nur Prinzen, als Inhaber der höchsten Ämter am Hofe und in der Staatsverwaltung, diese Titel. Als die Mitglieder des

<sup>36</sup> Beide Figuren zeigen Beschädigungen auf. So fehlen der linken Figur der rechte Fuss und die linke Hand (ein Feuersteinknollen hat hier den Grabstichel gehemmt; auch die linke Schulter ist aus demselben Grunde defekt). Die Beschädigungen der rechten Figur sind hauptsächlich durch Absplitterungen an der Steinfläche entstanden.

<sup>37</sup> Vgl. Anm. 36, die Parenthese.

<sup>38</sup> Wegen des Vorkommens eines grösseren Feuersteinknollens ist nur die obere Hälfte des Stabes in Relief dargestellt; die untere Hälfte des Stabes ist durch eine schwarze Farbenlinie bezeichnet, zum Teil auf der Stele sichtbar.

<sup>39</sup> Z. B. die zwei ersten Krüge links auf dem Anrichtetisch; ferner ein Teil des Rahmens unten rechts.

<sup>40</sup> Die Opferformel entspricht der Inskription auf dem oberen Architrav der Scheintür.

<sup>41</sup> Nach MÜLLER bis in die Regierungszeit Sesostri's I (a. A., S. 199).

königlichen Hauses gegen Ende der 4. Dynastie aus der Verwaltung ausgeschaltet wurden, behielten aber die Prinzen die alten Titel, die sich bald zu reinen Rangtiteln entwickelten. Das Rangverhältnis, das dadurch entstand, und das sich zunächst vorzugsweise auf Titelinhaber königlicher Herkunft begrenzt war, dehnte sich gegen Ende der 5. Dynastie auf fast die ganze Beamtenschaft aus. Sich alte Titel beizulegen, wurde für die Beamten eine wesentliche Angelegenheit. Der Rangordnung wurden auch neue Stufen zugefügt, indem eine Reihe von Amtstiteln in Rangtitel umgewandelt wurden. Der grosse Wert, den man auf die Rangtitel legte, zeigt sich u. a. darin, dass bei der Titelangabe, die Rangtitel vor den Amtstiteln aufgezählt

werden oder — wie hier der Fall ist — dass man sich damit begnügt, nur die Rangtitel anzugeben. In der 6. Dynastie macht sich eine fortlaufende Entwertung der alten Rangtitel merkbar — eine Entwertung, die in der 1. Zwischenzeit ihren Gipfelpunkt erreichte. Nicht nur Leute in sehr niedrigen Amtstellungen legten sich Titel wie *ḥ<sup>3</sup> tj-<sup>c</sup>*, *śd<sup>3</sup> w. tj- bjtj* und *śmr- w<sup>c</sup> tj* bei, sondern auch Beamte, die im Dienste der Gaufürsten waren, treten als Inhaber von hohen Rangtiteln auf<sup>42</sup>.

<sup>42</sup> Vgl. HELCK, Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen alten Reiches, Glückstadt-Hamburg-New York 1954, S. 118; vgl. auch DUNHAM, a. A.

# Recent acquisitions of Roman portraits

OLOF VESSBERG

The three portraits discussed here were acquired in 1959 thanks to the generous donations of His Majesty the King and Mrs. Astrid Willman, Stockholm. They were all acquired in the same year, and from the museum's point of view there is a special connection between them since each one represents a main period in the history of Roman portraiture — the end of the Republic, the blest Empire and late antiquity.

Of the first, MM 1959: 2, reproduced on the cover, I shall only give a brief description, as I have already published it<sup>1</sup>. It is a head from a tomb relief from the time of the second triumvirate or the beginning of the Empire, roughly the period from 50—20 B.C. It is a characteristic work of that time. The detailed realism of Roman portraiture in the middle of the last century B.C. became more restrained in the forties and was gradually replaced by a more distinct and synthetic style. A principal feature is the devotion to a beautiful, distinct line. This style, which I have called the linear style of the second triumvirate<sup>2</sup>, seems to mark a transition

to the classicism of the Augustan period. The style of this head has definite parallels in the portraits on coins and the free sculptures of the forties such as the coin portraits of Brutus<sup>3</sup> as well as the coin-types of Labienus Parthicus<sup>4</sup> and the portraits in the round of Cato the Younger<sup>5</sup>.

The portrait of a woman in figs. 1—4, MM 1959: 1, shows the features of a young woman wearing a diadem or stephane which rises above an immense Flavian coiffure of curls. She has beautiful almond-shaped eyes and a very personal mouth which together with the rather strong chin and the wide jaws give her features the impression of will-power. The mouth is small and sullen like a child's with the corners slightly drooping. The brow is shaded by a high arrangement of small curls, round or spiral, which are set in parallel rows up to the diadem which delimits this part of the artistic coiffure.

<sup>1</sup> H. A. GRUEBER, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum* II p. 480, III Pl. 111: 17. E. A. SYDENHAM, *The Coinage of the Roman Republic*, p. 203, Pl. 30.

<sup>2</sup> GRUEBER, *o. c.* II p. 501, III Pl. 113: 19—20. SYDENHAM, *o. c.*, p. 212, Pl. 30.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. M. R. THOUVENOT in *Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres, Comptes rendus* 1945, pp. 592 ff.; F. POULSEN, *Acta Archaeologica* XVIII (1947), pp. 117 ff.; O. VESSBERG, *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* XXI (1952), pp. 1 ff.

<sup>1</sup> *Septentrionalia et Orientalia. Studia Bernhardo Karlgren dedicata*, pp. 450 ff. (Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar Del 91, 1959.)

<sup>2</sup> O. VESSBERG, *Studien zur Kunstgeschichte der römischen Republik*, pp. 167, 196 ff.

It projects quite a distance over the forehead. Behind the diadem the hair is plaited in thin plaits which are laid backwards and twisted together in a knot with a hollow in the middle. The diadem, which must be imagined in metal, stood quite high above the hair, but is now partly broken. There is a moulding round the upper part.

The height of the head, including the diadem, is 34.5 cm. The face is 16 cm. high. The head has been broken off at the base of the neck, and on the right-hand side there is a small part of the shoulder intact. The neck has been levelled off underneath. It is not possible to determine whether the head was worked to be inserted into a statue or whether it was broken off from a statue or bust.

The material is white marble, rich in crystals. It is probably Italic. The surface is fresh antique with several traces of plant roots, especially on the right-hand side of the face. Most of the nose has been broken, and there are smaller superficial marks on the lips, on the left cheek-bone and on the left side of the neck.

The diadem worn by the woman — *stephane* or *stephanos* is likely to be the correct ancient name for this form of head ornament — is the head ornament of the goddesses, a crescent-shaped diadem band which is broadest in the centre. This diadem was already worn by the female members of the Ptolemaic dynasty<sup>6</sup> and was later gradually adopted by the Roman Imperial family where it first occurs in coin-types of Julia Titi. Because of the diadem we may rightly assume, I think, that this portrait must represent a member of the Imperial house, and judging from the hair-style she must be a Flavian. There are, then, only two to choose between, Julia Titi and Domitia.

Unfortunately, we do not know for certain when the Emperor Titus's daughter Julia was born, nor when she died. But she was not born

before the year 64 A. D.<sup>7</sup> and her death took place between 87 and 90 A. D. In a poem by Martial (VI, 3, 6) from the year 90 A. D., she is called *diva*, but her death could have occurred long before the publication of the poem<sup>8</sup>. Julia was therefore young when she died; she may have been twenty-six at the most. She lived openly as the mistress of her uncle Domitian, presumably from 80 or 81 A. D. onwards, and is very likely to have appeared officially as the real Empress while Domitia was banished from court, probably in 82–84 A. D.<sup>9</sup>

Nor is it known when Domitia was born, but this was probably between 50 and 55 A. D.<sup>10</sup> She was the wife of L. Aelius Lamia, but Domitian made her his mistress and later married her. She was his legitimate wife on his accession to the throne in 81 A. D. and she retained this position until his death in 96 A. D., if one excepts the years when she was banished.

The only sources of both Julia's and Domitia's iconography are the coin-types. Unfortunately, these do not reproduce physiognomical details as faithfully as contemporary portraits of the Emperors. Julia has a straight nose and a strikingly full face, Domitia an aquiline nose and a somewhat stronger chin. But even this extremely summary differentiation is not always dependable. One may venture to say, I think, that Domitia always appears a little older than Julia, as one would expect. The mouth on portraits of Domitia seems small, with rather thin, compressed lips, as on the portrait in the Medelhavsmuseet, while Julia is depicted with fuller lips, just as Julia's picture as a whole gives a more exuberant impression than that of Domitia. As far as the hair-style is concerned,

<sup>7</sup> Cf. M. FLUSS in RE. Suppl. VI Sp. 133 ff.

<sup>8</sup> FLUSS, o. c. Sp. 136 f.

<sup>9</sup> O. c. Sp. 136.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. STEIN in RE. V Sp. 1513 ff.

<sup>6</sup> A. ALFÖLDI, Insignien und Tracht der römischen Kaiser, Röm. Mitt. 50 (1935), pp. 123 f.

Fig. 1. Female portrait, probably the Empress Domitia.







*Fig. 2 - 4. Portrait of Domitia (?).*

there is no really distinct difference between the two ladies. Certainly Domitia, especially in earlier coin-types, usually has the Flavian curls in front combined with a long "Agrippina knot" at the back — a sort of typological transitional style between the Agrippina and Flavian hair-styles. However, in what is one of the clearest portraits of Domitia on coins, a sestertius<sup>11</sup>, the hair-style resembles that of our portrait. Even Julia appears with the early type of coiffure with the Agrippina knot<sup>12</sup> but usually has it tied higher at the back in a bun<sup>13</sup>. The hair-style that corresponds most closely with our museum head appears on an aureus with the inscription *Diva Iulia Augusta*<sup>14</sup>. Here she is also wearing a diadem. Another good parallel as regards the hair-style is the portrait on the beautiful aquamarine in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, which Furtwängler<sup>15</sup> identifies without reservation as Julia.

If we turn from the coin-types to the sculptured portraits we can see, as I have already indicated, that there are no portraits either of Julia or Domitia which can be reliably identified by an inscription or by the find circumstances. Many

female portraits with the curly Flavian hair-style go under the name of Julia. There are many doubtful and clearly erroneous attributions. Since the time of Visconti and Bernoulli a head in the Ludovisi Collection in the Museo Nazionale in Rome<sup>16</sup> has usually been accepted as one of the most certain portraits of Julia. It has a young and full face with large eyes and a hair-style nearly related to certain portraits of Julia on the coins. Even the facial features correspond closely with the coin-types. But the head has no diadem, and one cannot consider the identification to be certain, even if there is much to be said in its favour. At all events, it depicts quite a different person from the head in the Medelhavsmuseet.

Also in the case of Domitia's iconography we are again on unsure, although slightly firmer ground. At least, it seems to me as though the bust in the Louvre, which even Bernoulli adopted as a fairly reliable portrait of Domitia<sup>17</sup>, belongs to the more trustworthy attributions. The head has a diadem and the hair-style corresponds quite strikingly with that of the

<sup>11</sup> H. MATTINGLY, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum II*, Pl. 82: 3.

<sup>12</sup> MATTINGLY, *o. c. II*, Pl. 47: 16.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. MATTINGLY, *o. c. II*, Pl. 53: 6—8.

<sup>14</sup> MATTINGLY, *o. c. II*, Pl. 67: 20.

<sup>15</sup> *Die antiken Gemmen*, Taf. 48: 8.

<sup>16</sup> B. M. FELLETTI MAJ, *Museo Nazionale Romano, I Ritratti*, N. 156. J. J. BERNOULLI, *Römische Ikonographie II*: 2, pp. 47 f.

<sup>17</sup> BERNOULLI, *o. c.*, p. 65, Taf. XXI. M. BORDA, *Le famiglie imperiali da Galba a Commodo*, Roma 1943, pp. 44 ff. R. WEST, *Römische Porträt-Plastik*, München 1941, pp. 33 ff.



Fig. 5. Coin-portraits of Julia (left) and Domitia (right).

Stockholm portrait. The nose is restored and will not be discussed, but characteristic features are the strong chin and the small mouth with thin, compressed lips, which reappear in the Stockholm portrait, too. The diadem is of course an important detail in this connection. A portrait in Copenhagen<sup>18</sup>, which also has a diadem and which previously went under the name of Julia, was published in the later, English edition of Frederik Poulsen's catalogue as a portrait of Domitia. This head is certainly not a replica of the portrait in the Louvre but has very much in common with the Louvre head and with the coin-types both as regards coiffure and physiognomical details. I believe that the identification as Domitia is correct. We can, although with some hesitation, also include among the fairly reliable portraits of Domitia the head in the Sala delle Colombe in the Museo Capitolino<sup>19</sup>, where she is a little older, with a hair-style already showing a slight trend towards the Trajanic fashion. This portrait, too, has a diadem or stephane, a detail which I insist is an almost essential prerequisite for identification, when there is no other supporting evidence than a physiognomical similarity to the coin-types.

To this group of tolerably certain portraits of Domitia cited here we can, without hesitation, refer our Stockholm portrait. It belongs to them not only because of the complicated hair-style and the diadem, but also because of the similarity, feature for feature: the almond-shaped eyes, the small mouth with compressed lips and the strong chin. And, to return to the coin-types, it is significant that our Stockholm head has so much of the nose preserved that one can clearly see that it was aquiline as on the portraits of Domitia on coins. The line of the ears also corresponds in a striking manner with the coin-types. The special shape of the bun on

our head, a large knot with a hollow in the middle, appears most clearly in the coin-portraits of Domitia, cf. figs. 3 and 5<sup>20</sup>. The thick neck, as though swollen, also corresponds quite strikingly if one compares the profile in fig. 3 with the coin-portrait. It is a detail which should be noted, although one to which undue importance should not be attached.

The conclusion is that our recently acquired female portrait is in all probability a portrait of the Empress Domitia. The other alternative, that it could represent Julia Titi, may be considered unlikely on the grounds of the subject's age alone. As stated, Julia died young at the age of twenty-six at the most, and our portrait does not seem to represent such a young woman. The impression of proud and conscious beauty which the portrait conveys is also consistent with the descriptions of Domitian's wife Domitia Longina.

The late antique head, figs. 6—7, MM 1959: 11, is of Italic marble, and has been broken off at the base of the neck. It is 28.5 cm. high and the face 20 cm. high. The tip of the nose has been broken off and there are as well some minor chips in the surface of the head. A piece of the right eyebrow has been restored with plaster.

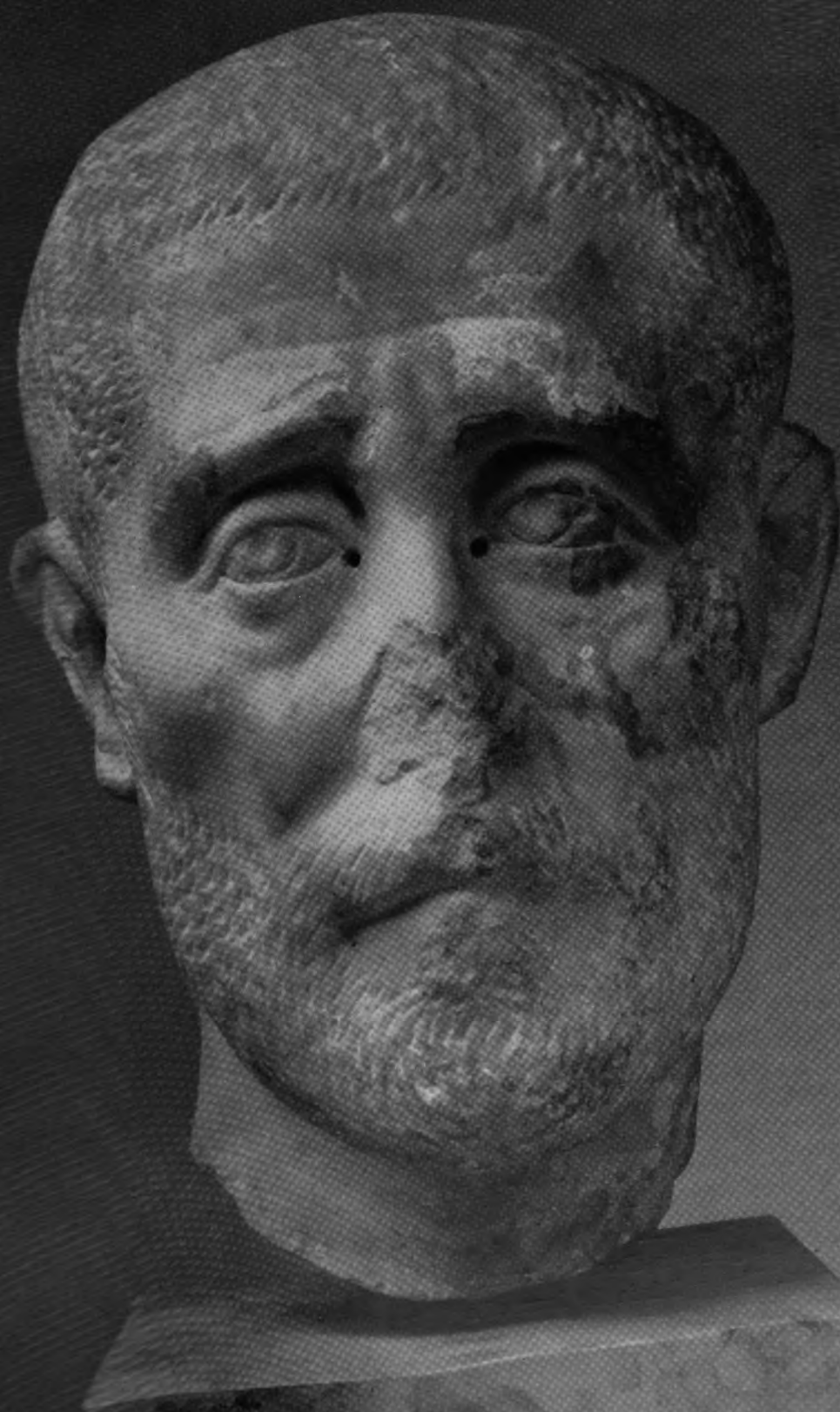
The portrait represents an elderly man with a mournful expression. His face is thin with strongly marked cheek-bones. His forehead is wrinkled and the eyes lie deep with very protruding eye-balls. They are deeply sculptured above, the upper lids are large and heavy while the lower are thin and sensitively carved, as is also the swollen part below the eyes. The nose is straight, the mouth protrudes rather strongly with the lower lip pushed upwards and the

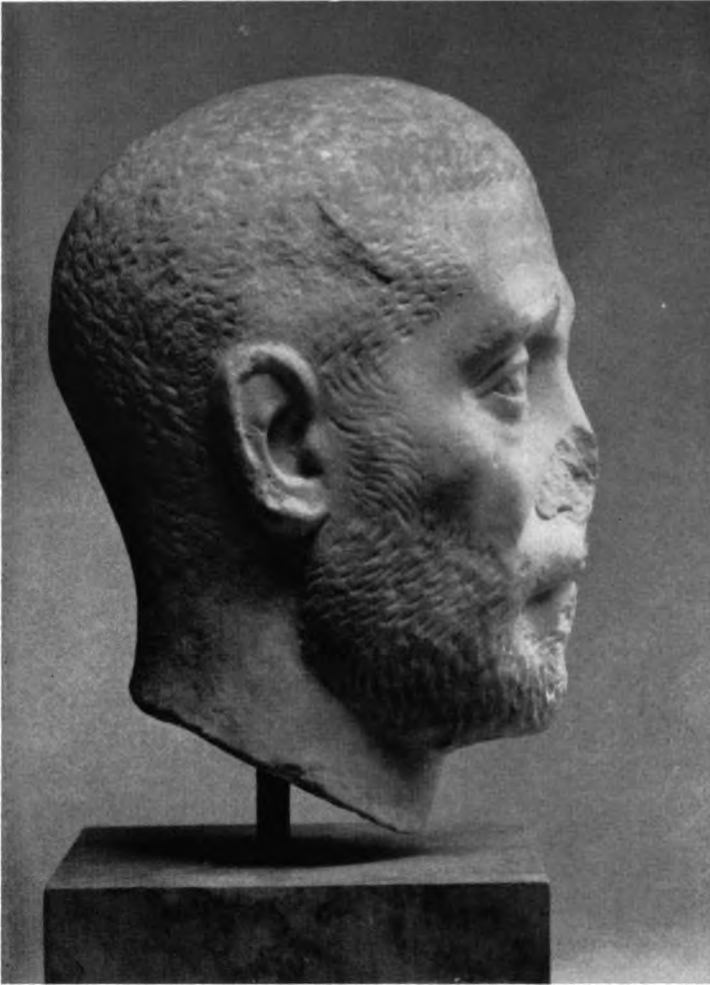
<sup>20</sup> For excellent casts of coins in the British Museum I thank Mr. R. A. G. Carson. Fig. 5 shows casts of the coins, MATTINGLY, *Coins of the Roman Empire* II, Pl. 53: 6 (Julia) and 82: 3 (Domitia).

<sup>18</sup> F. POULSEN, *Catalogue of Ancient Sculpture in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* 661, Billedtavler Pl. LIV.

<sup>19</sup> H. STUART JONES, *The Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino, Sala delle Colombe* 20, Pl. 37.

*Fig. 6. Roman male portrait, 3rd cent. A. D.*





*Fig. 7. Roman male portrait, 3rd cent. A.D.*

corners drooping. The hair covers the head like a hood, with a straight edge along the forehead and deep inlets at the temples, and continues in side-whiskers and beard which frame the face. The hair is executed with very short strokes or cuts and is besides very roughly done at the back. The side-whiskers and moustache are executed with longer strokes, the beard with shorter, but still with longer and deeper gashes than the hair. The beard on the jaw-bone is lined in a different direction — crossways to the direction of the side-whiskers.

The very lifelike glance is directed forwards and to the right. The pupil is in the form of a

spherical depression which is slightly cut off by the eyelid. The iris is deeply incised. A striking detail are the deeply drilled holes by the tear-canals, which appear as an insignificant relict of the sculpture technique of a bygone epoch.

The rapidly sketched, sensitive realism of this portrait and the strong spiritual expression show that it belongs to the third century and my thoughts went first to the middle of that century. The entirely graphical treatment of the hair is found in the portraits of Maximinus, Philippus Arabs and Decius, and the beard etched cross-wise to the direction of the whiskers is a characteristic feature of the period 235—250 A. D. and



is particularly evident on coin-types of Philippus<sup>21</sup>. Perhaps at first sight it may seem as though the realism of our portrait places it just in this short period when the realistic portrait tradition of the late Republic, continuing as a strong undercurrent through the various styles of the Empire, really attains its peak. But discussions in Rome with Hans Peter L'Orange led me to a different conclusion.

The portraits of Maximinus, Philippus and Decius have a strong dynamic force, and even though the spiritual aspect is greatly emphasized they still retain a very intensive contact with their surroundings owing to their glance or pose. The attempt to reproduce movement, in both the spiritual and the physical sense, is a very distinctive feature, which culminates in the

portrait of Decius. If we focus on these characteristics in the art of portraiture of the two hundred and forties A. D., our head appears much calmer and in a way rigid. The eyes under the heavy lids have already received something of that far-seeing look that belongs to a much later period. Our portrait has, as it were, advanced a step further on the way towards the portraiture of the tetrarchy and Constantine epoch. It should belong to the second half of the century.

In his fundamental work on late antique portraiture H. P. L'Orange has brought together a group of portraits which stylistically should be placed between the "Gallienic Renaissance" and the tetrarchy<sup>22</sup>. They continue the tradition from the two hundred and forties A. D. but do not have the same richly differentiated organic

<sup>21</sup> B. M. FELLETTI MAJ, *Iconografia Romana Imperiale da Severo Alessandro a M. Aurelio Carino*, Tav. XXIII, 2-73.

<sup>22</sup> H. P. L'ORANGE, *Studien zur Geschichte des spätantiken Porträts*, pp. 35 ff.

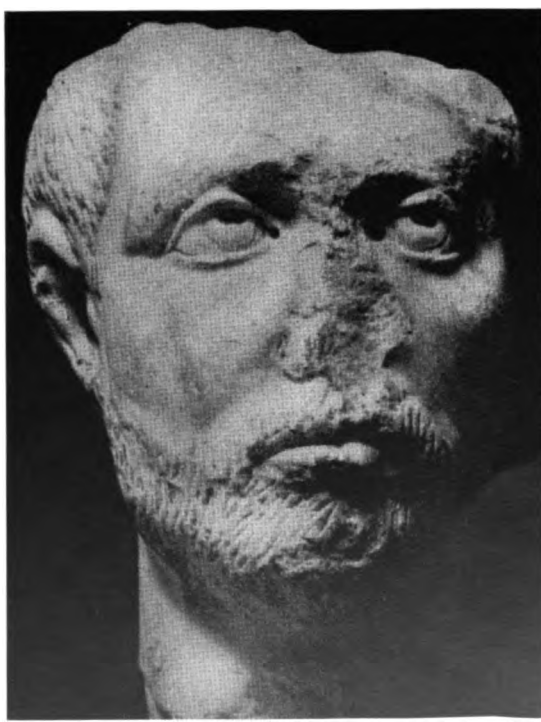


Fig. 8-9. Portrait in Ostia, Museo.

structure as the portraits of that period; instead they appear more compact and rigid, and to a much greater degree than before the whole expression is concentrated to the eyes. A feature typical of this time is the mouth with drooping corners, which greatly contributes to the sorrowful expression of the faces. A head in Ostia<sup>23</sup> (figs. 8—9) and a recently published head in Zürich<sup>24</sup>, both of which are clear stylistic parallels to the head in Stockholm, may be mentioned as examples of this group. Compare with the Ostia head the treatment of the hair, the thick upper eyelids, the protruding mouth with drooping corners and a technical detail of great interest: the deep drill holes in the corners of the eyes, which are a characteristic feature of the whole of this group but which, on the other hand, do not seem to occur previously in this very unrelieved form. The treatment of the hair also coincides. In the

Ostia head it has in the main preserved the style of the two hundred and forties.

The portraits from the second half of the third century A. D. cannot be linked to the coin-types with the same certainty as the earlier, and they therefore present quite difficult problems of chronology. The group of portraits here in question has been assigned by L'Orange to the interval between two stylistic complexes, the Gallienic Hellenism or Renaissance, as it is often called, and the increasingly stereometric style of the tetrarchy, roughly about 270—285 A. D. Within this period our head — which is undoubtedly a private portrait and not a portrait of an Emperor — should be dated early, since it comes so close to the art of portraiture of the two hundred and forties, thus to c. 270 A. D., rather a little before than after this date. For presumably the realism of the middle of the century survived side by side with the Gallienic Romantic Hellenism which is particularly evident in the portraits of the Emperor himself, just as earlier the realism of the late Republic lived on during the period of Augustan classicism.

<sup>23</sup> L'ORANGE, *o. c.*, p. 36, No. 41, figs. 87 and 93.

<sup>24</sup> H. JUCKER, *Zwei römische Bildnisköpfe aus der Wende zur Spätantike*, *Antike Kunst* II, 1959, pp. 57 ff., Taf. 31, 32: 1—2.





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BULLETIN

Number 2 1962

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**The Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities**  
**M E D E L H A V S M U S E E T**

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# **BULLETIN**

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*To his Majesty King Gustaf VI Adolf,  
the Museum's gracious patron,  
on account of his Jubilee in 1962.*





# The Collection of Luristan Bronzes

TURE J. ARNE

In 1925 the Russian professor M. Rostowzeff published a bronze statuette, which he assumed was from Cappadocia in Asia Minor. Some years later (about 1930) similar statuettes and other objects of bronze began to pour in to the antique dealers in Teheran, and it became clear that these bronzes had been found in rifled stone cists with skeletons in the Luristan area in western Iran, south of Hamadan and Nehavand. During my excavations at Shah Tepé in 1933 I was able to purchase in Teheran and Ispahan a number (200–300) of similar bronze objects, a collection that was later added to by His Royal Highness the Crown Prince, later His Majesty King Gustaf VI Adolf, when travelling in Iran in 1934.

As the graves had not been scientifically excavated, little is known about the conditions in which the various bronzes (and perhaps pottery) were found together and the position they had in the grave. A small number of undamaged Luristan graves appear, however, to have been investigated by the eminent specialists on Iran Sir Aurel Stein and Dr. Erich Schmidt.

A large number of bronzes from Luristan were acquired in the 1930's by various important museums in Europe and America, chiefly

through antique dealers in Paris. Those which found their way to the Museum of National Antiquities in Stockholm and were later transferred to the Medelhavsmuseet were, however, with few exceptions, bought in Iran. When the grave robbers in Luristan noticed that the demand for bronzes was increasing in Teheran, the destruction of the graves also increased. About eighty "duplicates" were acquired by me for the prehistoric collections of Cambridge University. A few Persian bronzes were purchased direct from dealers in Sweden.

In Teheran the principal dealers were Nejat Suleiman Rabbi and Ibrahim Chenassa, both exceedingly obliging. The former even lent a samovar and a floor-rug for me to use during my excavations out on the steppes.

The bronze objects acquired may be grouped as follows:

- 1) Human statuettes (male and female).
- 2) Animal statuettes, either single, or double in heraldic position, or as bridle mounts or pendant ornaments.
- 3) Weapons, as short swords (daggers), spear-heads, axes, shield-bosses, club-heads, arrow-heads, bronze handles.
- 4) Bridles and other horse trappings.



*Fig. 1. Gilgamesh statuettes. Slightly enlarged.*



*Fig. 2. Two-horned figure. 1:1.*

*Fig. 3. Human figurines. 1:1.*

- 5) Personal ornaments, as ear-rings, armlets and bracelets, bells and bronze clappers or pendants, ornamental pins, small bronze wheels, finger-rings, belts.
- 6) Toilet accessories, as mirrors, pins.
- 7) Bronze vessels.
- 8) Bronze spits and other implements.

Among the statuettes the so-called Gilgamesh statuettes hold a special place. They represent a man with a conical cap, who is grasping the necks of two serpents issuing from his waist. From the hips of his body issue two legs, sometimes with tails. Why they have been named after the hero of the Babylonian Epic of Gilgamesh, is difficult to say. It is beyond doubt, of course, that a Babylonian cultural influence had been operative among the equestrian people of Luristan. This is proved, for instance, by the cuneiform inscriptions occasionally seen on some of the bronze vessels.

At least eight Gilgamesh statuettes were acquired. Among other human figures may be noted a tubular female figure with hands raised towards the breast, and a figurine in an awkward Chaplin posture. Rather curious



is a two-horned little "imp" with a long nose, bulging eyes and arm-stumps. He was found with a whole lot of others. A female statuette has a centre horn with a loop on the back. Among the animal statuettes we observe a couple of quadrupeds (dogs?) with two heads facing in opposite directions and with a loop between them. Other animal statuettes show

two confronted creatures in heraldic posture. Between them is fixed a hollow rod that was once mounted on a pin-like base. Among the weapons we notice a bronze dagger very similar to a gold dagger found in one of the graves of the kings at Ur in Mesopotamia. A usual type of bronze daggers—short bronze swords—exhibits a flat hilt with raised edges on both



*Fig. 4. Animal statuettes. 1:1.*



*Fig. 5. Animal group (ibexes). 1:1.*

sides for wood or bone insets. Furthest down these edges widen into curved rims. Such daggers are dated by means of cuneiform names or for other reasons to the fourteenth to twelfth centuries B. C. The handles are otherwise varied, especially in the case of the part enclosing the blade. Blades of bronze daggers are altogether very numerous in the collection.

A dagger with a vertically pierced pommel probably enclosing an inlay of organic material, is interesting.

Spear-heads occur with and without socket, also loose tubular sockets including one with a "Janus head".

The bronze axes are a chapter by themselves. The Museum has primitive flat axes. An axe of that kind has two protuberances at the middle (lugged axe). Then there are picks with shaft-hole. Some of the shaft-hole axes with an elongated socket are fairly plain. Other bronze axes have a slanting socket with grooves that are prolonged into three or four spike-like



*Fig. 6. Daggers, swords, spear-heads, arrow-heads, sockets. C. 1:4.*



*Fig. 7. Axes, shield-boss, mace-heads. C. 1:4.*



*Fig. 8. Bridle. Slightly reduced.*

projections. A shaft-hole dagger axe is without an elongated socket but has double edges standing at right angles to each other.

Furthermore, we will here mention bronze plates of various kinds (up to 27.6 cm in diameter), probably mounts for shields, and also club-heads and club-handles. Some of the club-heads are tubular and spiked, others rounder.

The bronze bridles are also interesting. They suggest that an equestrian people lived in Luristan. We have, unfortunately, no informa-

tion about the presence of horse skeletons in the graves. A selection of Luristan bridles from different collections has been made by Hanns A. Potratz of Hanover in *Prähistorische Zeitschrift*, Volume 1941–42. It is entitled “Die luristanischen Pferdegebisse”. The Medelhavsmuseet has five specimens, unfortunately only of Potratz’ simplest types with a snaffle of the simplest model; the bridle thus consists of two linked bars, plain or twisted, with rings at the ends and cross-guards, sometimes furnished



with loops. The more elaborate bridles have cheek-plaques in the shape of animal figures with a hole in the middle. We possess a couple of these in the form of horses and pigs.

Among the personal adornments we note solid armlets and bracelets of sheet-bronze, neck-rings, finger-rings, ear-rings and pendant ornaments, belts and belt mounts, bronze

wheels, and pins of various kinds. We have thick, solid bronze rings with ornaments (ankle-ring?, troth ring?), a neck-ring with coiled ends, an armlet of sheet-bronze with pierced ends, rolled spirals, armlets with finials of dogs', horses' or web-footed birds' heads (as well as purely stylized heads), twisted armlets and also an armlet of iron, and a decorated

*Figs. 9—10. Cheek-plaques of bridles. 1:1.*





*Fig. 11. Bells. 1:1.*

finger-ring of broad bronze band. The armlet of iron is likely to date from the time immediately preceding the year 1000 B.C.

Belonging to the personal adornments are also small figures of dogs with a loop on the back and ornamental pins with heads in the shape of ducks, poppy-like fruits, round discs, etc.

The ring-shaped ear-rings are sometimes decorated with knobs.

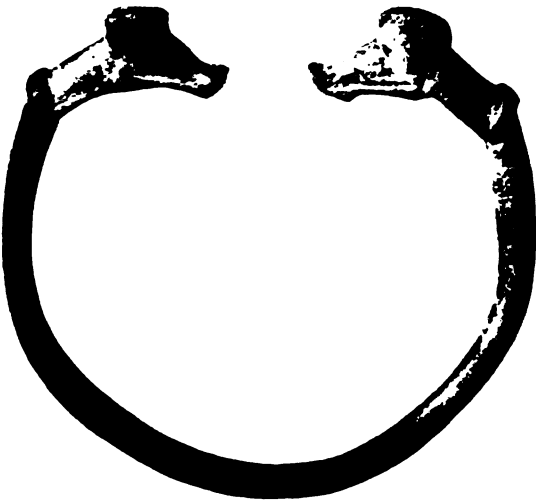
The personal adornments also include the

open-work bells furnished with loops and the small bronze wheels with up to eight spokes.

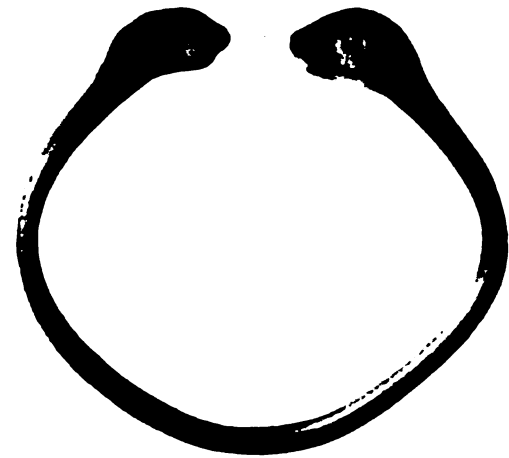
Finger-rings were also made of bone. The club-heads were made both of bronze and alabaster.

A group of bottle-shaped bronzes with a long neck are assumed to have served as bases or stands for Gilgamesh statuettes.

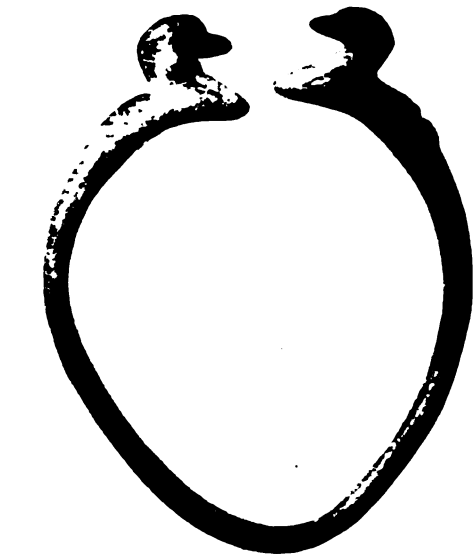
Our collection further comprises about thirty vessels of sheet-bronze. Three of these are characterized by a long lip extending from the



*Fig. 12. Bracelet with finials of animals' heads (boar?). Diam. 7.9 cm.*



*Fig. 13. Bracelet with finials of animals' heads. Diam. 7 cm.*



*Fig. 14. Bracelet with finials of birds. Diam. 6.3 cm.*



*Fig. 15. Bronze vessels. Scale 1:3, in the foreground 1:2.*

mouth. One of them (from Khakavand) is decorated besides with a ring of convex bubbles around a projecting breast below the lip. In addition, there are half a dozen hemispherical bronze bowls and related bronze pans with handles. Some are decorated. Notable are "cylindrical" drinking-vessels with concave walls and sometimes a handle. A cup with pointed bottom and handle at mouth is less usual. Some of the vases have a projecting sharp rim and above it a cylindrical neck; others are divided at the middle by raised lines, which separate body and neck.

Some of the bowls are, as mentioned, ornamented. It sometimes happens in Iran that genuine bronze vessels are supplied by the antique dealers with figures to make them more desirable. It is annoying when these figures are taken from an art 2,500 years later.

Forms resembling those of the bronze vases occur at the same time also in clay.

In the case of the Luristan bronzes agreement

has not yet been reached as regards either the people to which they belonged or their chronology. The influences from Mesopotamia are obvious from the middle of the third millenium B.C., and armlets with animal head finials correspond with gold rings from Darius' time, c. 500 B.C. The beautiful bronze swords, or daggers, here mentioned, may, it seems, be traced back to c. 1400–1200 B.C. Thus the Luristan bronzes extend over two millenia and show connections with Mesopotamia, Syria, Asia Minor, the Caucasus region, south-eastern, central and even northern Europe, and perhaps a link with Far Eastern forms, too. There is doubt as to which people was the bearer of this culture in the Luristan region. The Indo-European Kassites have been suggested. It was they who descended from their habitations in the Zagros mountains in the middle of the 1700's B.C. and later conquered Babylon, where a Kassite dynasty was founded which lasted until 1185 B.C.

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# Ägyptische Siegelamulette

STEN V. WÄNGSTEDT

Die gegen vierhundertfünfzig altägyptischen Siegel und Siegelamulette, die im Besitze des Mittelmeermuseums sind, und von denen hier achtzig veröffentlicht werden, haben zum überwiegenden Teil der Sammlung des englischen Obersten Gayer-Anderson Pascha angehört. Für diesen nicht nur zahlenmässig sondern auch vom kulturgeschichtlichen Gesichtspunkt her bedeutenden Erwerb, ist das Museum vor allem dem neulich verstorbenen Herbert Rettig zu grossem Dank verpflichtet. Wertvolle Zuschüsse sind der Sammlung ferner durch die schwedischen Grabungen in Abu Ghâlib 1932/34 und 1936/37 zugeführt worden sowie durch die Stiftung von S. Bredberg im Jahre 1951.

Bisher sind nur die Abu Ghâlib-Funde des Mittelmeermuseums publiziert worden<sup>1</sup>.

Von den hier vorgelegten Siegelamuletten, die hauptsächlich aus der 6. Dynastie bis zum Anfang des Neuen Reiches datieren, sind etwa die Hälfte Knopfsiegel, die übrigen – bis auf einige sog. „mid-pieces“, d. h. an Halsketten als Amulette getragene Schmuckstücke – sind

Skarabäen oder Sonderformen des Skarabäus, als Skaraboid, Cowroid und Plaque bezeichnet<sup>2</sup>.

Die Siegelamulette sind vorzugsweise aus Steatit und glasiertem gebranntem Ton, einige Knopfsiegel ausserdem aus Serpentin. In vereinzelt Fällen sind Stoffe wie Elfenbein, Karneol, Feldspat, Lapislazuli, Amethyst und Jaspis als Material verwendet worden.

Das aus dem Mittelmeerkreis stammende Knopfsiegel, dessen Blütezeit in Ägypten in die spätere Hälfte des Alten Reiches und in die 1. Zwischenzeit fiel, ist – wie auch aus der Form hervorgeht – als Siegel beabsichtigt gewesen. Der häufig wenig zweckmässige Griff deutet aber darauf hin, dass es vor allem als Amulett gedient hat. Der Griff ist durchbohrt und das Siegel wurde entweder als Zentralperle an einer Halskette oder allein auf eine Schnur aufgezogen getragen.

Die Siegelplatte ist meistens kreisförmig. Knopfsiegel mit viereckiger Platte kommen auch vor, obwohl in bescheidenem Umfang. Die Oberseite (der Griff) ist auch verschieden ausgestaltet. Viele Knopfsiegel haben halbkreis-

<sup>1</sup> LARSEN, Vorbericht über die Schwedischen Grabungen in Abu Ghâlib 1932/34 (MDAIK 6, 1935, S. 61 ff.); Vorbericht ... Abu Ghâlib 1936/37 (MDAIK 10, 1941, S. 14 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. HALL, Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, Etc. in the British Museum. London 1913, S. XIV.

förmigen Griff, andere giebel- oder halbovalförmigen. Auf einigen Siegeln hat der Griff die Gestalt eines Menschen- oder eines Tierkörpers<sup>3</sup>.

Die Darstellung der Siegelfläche ist fast ausnahmslos stark stilisiert. Häufig vorkommende Motive sind menschliche Figuren oder Tiere verschiedener Art. Von den letzterwähnten scheint dabei die Eidechse ein beliebtes Motiv gewesen zu sein. Unter den wiedergegebenen Kreuzmotiven ist vor allem die Swastika von besonderem Interesse; aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach ist dies Motiv von asiatischen Einwanderern nach Ägypten eingeführt worden<sup>4</sup>. Mehrere Knopfsiegel tragen nichtidentifizierbare Darstellungen.

Eine zeitlich genaue Bestimmung lässt sich wegen des Mangels an unmittelbaren Provenienzangaben hier nicht durchführen, was auch für die Skarabäen gilt. Die Datierung muss sich deswegen auf andere Indizien stützen, in erster Linie auf die äussere Form des Siegelamuletts und auf das Motiv, das bisweilen nur während einer mehr oder weniger begrenzten Zeitperiode auftritt. Zu der letzten Gruppe gehört u. a. das Knopfsiegel mit Griff in Gestalt eines Frosches, eine Form, die nur in der 7. Dynastie vorkommt<sup>5</sup>. Zeitlich begrenzte Motive sind z. B. der Hase und die Eidechse sowie der Pavian und der stilisierte Käfer, welche mit der 6. bzw. der 7. Dynastie aufhören<sup>6</sup>. Das „mid-piece“ hingegen, dessen Herstellung in der 9. Dynastie anfängt, dauert bis an das Ende des Mittleren Reiches, mit Seilschleifenmuster von der 12. Dynastie an<sup>7</sup>.

Mit dem Ausgang der 1. Zwischenzeit verschwindet das Knopfsiegel, um durch den Skarabäus und seine Sonderformen ersetzt zu werden. Schon am Ende des Alten Reiches tritt der Skarabäus auf, aber der nicht gravierten

Unterseite nach zu schliessen, ist er anfänglich nur als Amulett verwendet worden. Er sollte später die Funktion des Knopfsiegels übernehmen, wobei die Unterseite (Siegelfläche) mit Verzierungen und Inschriften versehen wurde.

Wie das Knopfsiegel weist der Skarabäus fast ausnahmslos eine Durchbohrung auf und wurde entweder an einer Halskette getragen oder in einen Fingerring gefasst.

Zu allgemeinerer Anwendung gelangte er erst in der späteren Hälfte des Mittleren Reiches, als auch seine Sonderformen — bis auf den Cowroid, der schon in der 10. Dynastie hergestellt wurde<sup>8</sup> — zum ersten Male auftreten<sup>7</sup>. Das skarabäenförmige Siegelamulett, das zuerst eine sorgfältige Nachahmung seines lebenden Vorbildes war, erhielt in der 12. Dynastie eine schematisierte Form — eine Erscheinung, die auch während der 2. Zwischenzeit fort dauerte<sup>8</sup>.

Die Siegelfläche zeigt häufig ein aus Spiralen oder Schlingen zusammengesetztes Muster, das entweder die ganze Fläche deckt<sup>9</sup> oder als Borte einzelne Hieroglyphenzeichen oder Inskriptionen umrahmt<sup>10</sup>. Das Spiralmuster, am Anfang des Mittleren Reiches aus der ägäischen Inselwelt nach Ägypten gekommen, und das später auftretende Seilschleifenmuster<sup>11</sup>, deren Blütezeit in die 12. Dynastie und die 2. Zwischenzeit fiel, weisen in Bezug auf die Komposition eine Fülle von verschiedenartigen Formen auf<sup>12</sup>. Im allgemeinen ist die Gravierung sorgfältig ausgeführt, vor allem aber weisen die Siegelamulette der 12. und der 13. Dynastien meisterhaft geschnittene Muster auf. Das Pflanzenmuster, vorzugsweise mit dem Lotus als Hauptmotiv, ist bis in die 18. Dynastie

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. PBDS, S. 9.

<sup>7</sup> Das „mid-piece“, das auf die 9. Dynastie zurückgeht, hört in derselben Zeit auf.

<sup>8</sup> Zu den verschiedenen Formen vgl. HALL, a. a. O., S. XXX ff.

<sup>9</sup> Nr. 44, 46–54.

<sup>10</sup> Nr. 45, 55 bzw. Nr. 42, 43. Die letzteren gehören den sog. „nr“-Typ an (vgl. STOCK, Ägyptologische Forschungen 12, 1955, S. 23 f.).

<sup>11</sup> Nr. 37.

<sup>12</sup> Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 7, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Nr. 18, Isis mit dem Horuskind; Nr. 14 u. 20, Frosch; Nr. 8, 24 u. 34, Nilpferd(?). Für andere Formen vgl. PBDS, Pl. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Vgl. Nr. 32, Anm.

<sup>5</sup> Vgl. PBDS.

hinein sehr geschätzt gewesen und erscheint in zahlreichen Variationen, bisweilen in Verbindung mit Hieroglyphenzeichen<sup>13</sup>. Skarabäen mit Tierdarstellungen sind auch häufig. Dieses Motiv ist vor allem in der 2. Zwischenzeit in Mode gewesen, u. a. mit Tieren, wie dem Löwen, dem Krokodil, der Gazelle und dem Uräus als beliebte Objekte. Sie sind – manchmal in tadelloser Ausführung – allein oder paarweise dargestellt. Der Löwe erscheint oft mit dem Uräus, der letztere (als Zentralfigur) mit hieroglyphischen Zeichen<sup>14</sup>. Auf Skarabäen mit zwei Tieren sind diese, wenn es sich um dasselbe Tier handelt, symmetrisch abgebildet, umgekehrt einander gegenübergestellt<sup>15</sup>.

Über die Herkunft der hier vorgelegten Siegelamulette ist wenig bekannt. Nur in vereinzelten Fällen ist der Erwerbsort von dem früheren Besitzer mitgeteilt worden, häufig aber hat er sich für eine ganze Gruppe damit begnügt, mehrere Orte anzugeben, ohne die verschiedenen Erwerbungen zu spezifizieren.

**1. Siegelamulett aus Elfenbein. Griff weggebrochen.**

Inv. Nr. MM 14949.

Grösse: D. 21 mm.; H. 4 mm.

Siegelfläche: menschliche Figur mit über den Kopf gebogenen Armen und stark aufgezogenen Beinen<sup>16</sup>.

Altes Reich.

Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 11, Nr. 56–58.

**2. Siegelamulett aus grünlichgrauem Serpentin, mit halbovalförmigem Griff.**

Inv. Nr. MM 14576.

Grösse: D. 19 mm.; H. 9 mm.

Siegelfläche: stehende menschliche Figur, mit nach unten gestreckten Armen.

1. Zwischenzeit.

<sup>13</sup> Nr. 56–61, 63, 65 bzw. Nr. 66, 67.

<sup>14</sup> Nr. 68, 69 bzw. Nr. 79.

<sup>15</sup> Nr. 75, 76.

<sup>16</sup> Nach PETRIE möglicherweise eine Wiedergabe des Hathorkopfes; die ursprüngliche Form ist falsch verstanden (PBDS, S. 5).

**3. Siegelamulett aus Karneol, mit halbkreisförmigem Griff. Ein Teil der Siegelplatte weggebrochen.**

Inv. Nr. MM 14577.

Grösse: D. 16 mm.; H. 9 mm.

Nur der obere Teil der Darstellung der Siegelfläche – wahrscheinlich eine menschliche Figur – ist erhalten.

1. Zwischenzeit.

**4. Siegelamulett aus hellgrünem Serpentin, mit halbkreisförmigem Griff.**

Inv. Nr. MM 14559.

Grösse: D. 9 mm.; H. 5 mm.

Siegelfläche: liegender Hase.

Wahrscheinlich 6. Dynastie.

**5. Siegelamulett aus gelblichgrauem, glasiertem Steatit, mit wagerechtem, durch zwei parallele Rillen in Sektionen aufgeteiltem Griff.**

Inv. Nr. MM 14632.

Grösse: D. 14 mm.; H. 7 mm.

Siegelfläche: stilisierte Biene.

1. Zwischenzeit.

Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 1, Nr. 21–24, 26.

**6. Siegelamulett aus gelblichgrauem, glasiertem Steatit, mit halbkreisförmigem Griff.**

Inv. Nr. MM 14624.

Grösse: D. 15 mm.; H. 7 mm.

Siegelfläche: stilisierte Biene.

1. Zwischenzeit.

**7. Siegelamulett aus gelblichgrauem Steatit, mit giebelförmigem Griff.**

Inv. Nr. MM 14580.

Grösse: D. 18 mm.; H. 6 mm.

Auf der Siegelfläche ein Kriechtier – möglicherweise eine Eidechse.

Wahrscheinlich 6. Dynastie.

Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 3, Nr. 164; Pl. 6, Nr. 104 A.

**8. Siegelamulett aus hellgrün glasiertem gebranntem Ton, mit Griff in Gestalt eines Nilpferdes(?).**





**Abb. 1. Siegelamulette. Siegelfläche. Nr. 1, 7, 16, 21, 32, 36, 37, 42, 45, 49, 54, 55, 57, 72, 73, 75, 80.**

**Abb. 2. Siegelamulette. Rückseite. Cowroid und Skarabäen. Nr. 42 (Skarabäus), 49 (Cowroid), 57, 74, 75, 80 (Skarabäen).**



**Inv. Nr. MM 14582.**

**Grösse: D. 13 mm.; H. 7 mm.**

**Siegelfläche: stilisierte Eidechse.**

**Wahrscheinlich 6. Dynastie.**

**Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 3, Nr. 172.**

**9. Siegelamulett aus grün glasiertem gebranntem Ton, mit giebelförmigem Griff.**

**Inv. Nr. MM 14566.**

**Grösse: D. 15 mm.; H. 7 mm.**

**Siegelfläche: stilisierte Eidechse zwischen zwei gebogenen Ritzen.**

**Wahrscheinlich 6. Dynastie.**

**Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 3, Nr. 171.**

**10. Siegelamulett aus grünbraun glasiertem gebranntem Ton, mit halbkreisförmigem Griff.**

**Inv. Nr. MM 14641.**

**Grösse: D. 17 mm.; H. 9 mm.**

**Siegelfläche: Skarabäus(?).**

**6. oder 7. Dynastie.**

**11. Siegelamulett aus grünlichbraun glasiertem gebranntem Ton, mit halbkreisförmigem Griff.**  
Inv. Nr. MM 14584.

Grösse: D. 16 mm.; H. 8 mm.

Auf der Siegelfläche ein nachlässig dargestellter stilisierter Skarabäus(?).

7. Dynastie(?).

**12. Siegelamulett aus schwarzbraunem Serpentin. Griff weggebrochen.**

Inv. Nr. MM 14637.

Grösse: D. 20 mm.; H. 5 mm.

Auf der an drei Stellen durchbohrten Siegelplatte eine Eidechse(?) in stilisierter Darstellung.

Wahrscheinlich 6. Dynastie.

In Edfu gekauft.

**13. Siegelamulett aus graubraunem Steatit, mit schwach gerundetem Griff.**

Inv. Nr. MM 14650.

Grösse: 15 × 13 × 8 mm.

Auf der fast quadratischen Siegelplatte ein stilisiertes Kerbtier oder Eidechse.

Wahrscheinlich 6. Dynastie.

**14. Siegelamulett aus gelblichbraunem Steatit, mit Griff in Gestalt eines Frosches.**

Inv. Nr. MM 14627.

Grösse: 16 × 14 × 10 mm.

Auf der ovalen Siegelplatte ein stilisiertes Kerbtier(?).

1. Zwischenzeit (7. Dynastie).

**15. Siegelamulett aus gelblichgrauem Steatit, in zwei Stücke zerbrochen, mit zum Teil beschädigtem Griff.**

Inv. Nr. MM 14647.

Grösse: D. 18 mm.; H. 7 mm.

Siegelfläche: Kerbtier(?).

Wahrscheinlich 1. Zwischenzeit.

**16. Siegelamulett aus grauschwarzem Steatit, mit halbkreisförmigem Griff.**

Inv. Nr. MM 14569.

Grösse: D. 17 mm.; H. 8 mm.

Siegelfläche: stilisiertes Kerbtier(?).

Wahrscheinlich 1. Zwischenzeit.

**17. Siegelamulett aus schwarzem Serpentin, mit giebelförmigem Griff.**

Inv. Nr. MM 14644.

Grösse: D. 14 mm.; H. 7 mm.

Auf der Siegelfläche Eidechse und Skorpion in stilisierter Darstellung.

Wahrscheinlich 6. Dynastie.

**18. Siegelamulett aus grauweissem Steatit, mit Griff in Gestalt der Göttin Isis mit dem Horuskind<sup>17</sup>.**

Inv. Nr. MM 14941.

Grösse: 15 × 16 × 27 mm.

Auf der halbovaleförmigen Siegelplatte dieselbe Darstellung wie auf Nr. 17.

Wahrscheinlich 6. Dynastie.

In Assuan gekauft.

**19. Siegelamulett aus schwarzbraun glasiertem gebranntem Ton, mit schwach gerundetem Griff.**

Inv. Nr. MM 14649.

Grösse: D. 14 mm.; H. 7 mm.

Siegelfläche: stark stilisierte Darstellung eines über einem Gefangenen(?) liegenden Löwen(?).

1. Zwischenzeit.

Vgl. PBDS, S. 5, Pl. 2, Nr. M 78, M 100.

**20. Siegelamulett aus weisslichgrauem Steatit, mit Griff in Gestalt eines Frosches.**

Inv. Nr. MM 14599.

Grösse: D. 17 mm.; H. 9 mm.

Siegelfläche: stark stilisierter Vogel(?)<sup>18</sup>.

1. Zwischenzeit (7. Dynastie).

Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 1, Nr. 25, 26.

<sup>17</sup> Vgl. PBDS, S. 3, Pl. 1: A 1. Oder handelt es sich vielleicht um eine profane Darstellung dieses Motivs? (Vgl. *Egyptian Art in the Brooklyn Museum Collection*, 1952, Fig. 28.)

<sup>18</sup> Oder eine Biene?

**21. Siegelamulett** aus grünlichem Feldspat, mit giebelförmigem oben gerundetem Griff.

Inv. Nr. MM 14596.

Grösse: D. 17 mm.; H. 10 mm.

Siegelfläche: Vogel mit erhobenen Flügeln.

1. Zwischenzeit.

In Luxor gekauft.

Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 5, Nr. 305.

**22. Siegelamulett** aus schwarzem Steatit, mit halbovalförmigem Griff. Die Durchbohrung beschädigt.

Inv. Nr. MM 14950.

Grösse: D. 17 mm.; H. 6 mm.

Siegelfläche: laufender Vogel mit erhobenen Flügeln.

1. Zwischenzeit.

**23. Siegelamulett** aus grün glasiertem gebranntem Ton, mit halbkreisförmigem Griff.

Inv. Nr. MM 14579.

Grösse: D. 15 mm.; H. 8 mm.

Siegelfläche: nicht identifizierbare Darstellung.

1. Zwischenzeit.

**24. Siegelamulett** aus grün glasiertem gebranntem Ton, mit Griff in Gestalt eines Nilpferdes.

Inv. Nr. MM 14572.

Grösse: D. 18 mm.; H. 10 mm.

Siegelfläche: nicht identifizierbare Darstellung.

1. Zwischenzeit.

**25. Siegelamulett** aus grün glasiertem gebranntem Ton, mit halbkreisförmigem Griff. Ein Teil der Siegelplatte weggebrochen.

Inv. Nr. MM 14571.

Grösse: D. 16 mm.; H. 9 mm.

Siegelfläche: nicht identifizierbare Darstellung.

1. Zwischenzeit.

**26. Siegelamulett** aus schwarzem Serpentin, mit giebelförmigem Griff.

Inv. Nr. MM 14574.

Grösse: D. 15 mm.; H. 8 mm.

Siegelfläche: Tier (das Set-Tier?) in stilisierter

Darstellung.

1. Zwischenzeit.

Vgl. PBDS, S. 5, Pl. 2, Nr. 125, 126.

**27. Siegelamulett** aus schwarzbraunem Steatit. Griff weggebrochen.

Inv. Nr. MM 14948.

Grösse: D. 16 mm.; H. 5 mm.

Siegelfläche: nicht identifizierbare Darstellung.

1. Zwischenzeit.

**28. Siegelamulett** aus grünlichbraun glasiertem gebranntem Ton, mit halbkreisförmigem Griff.

Inv. Nr. MM 14558.

Grösse: D. 17 mm.; H. 9 mm.

Siegelfläche: nicht identifizierbare Darstellung.

1. Zwischenzeit.

**29. Siegelamulett** aus weisslichgrauem Steatit, mit giebelförmigem Griff. Am Rande der Siegelplatte eine Beschädigung.

Inv. Nr. MM 14573.

Grösse: D. 12 mm.; H. 6 mm.

Siegelfläche: spiralähnliches Muster<sup>19</sup>.

1. Zwischenzeit.

**30. Siegelamulett** aus gelblichgrau glasiertem Steatit, mit halbkreisförmigem Griff.

Inv. Nr. MM 14621.

Grösse: D. 12 mm.; H. 6 mm.

Siegelfläche: geometrische Darstellung in Gestalt eines Kreuzes mit in den Quadranten eingeschriebenen Winkeln.

1. Zwischenzeit.

Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 5, Nr. 339.

**31. Siegelamulett** aus gelblichgrau glasiertem Steatit, mit halbkreisförmigem Griff.

Inv. Nr. MM 14625.

Grösse: D. 12 mm.; H. 6 mm.

Siegelfläche: dasselbe Muster wie auf Nr. 29.

1. Zwischenzeit.

<sup>19</sup> Möglicherweise eine sich ringelnde Schlange.



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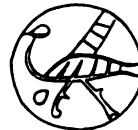
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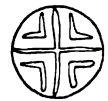
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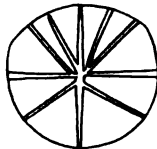
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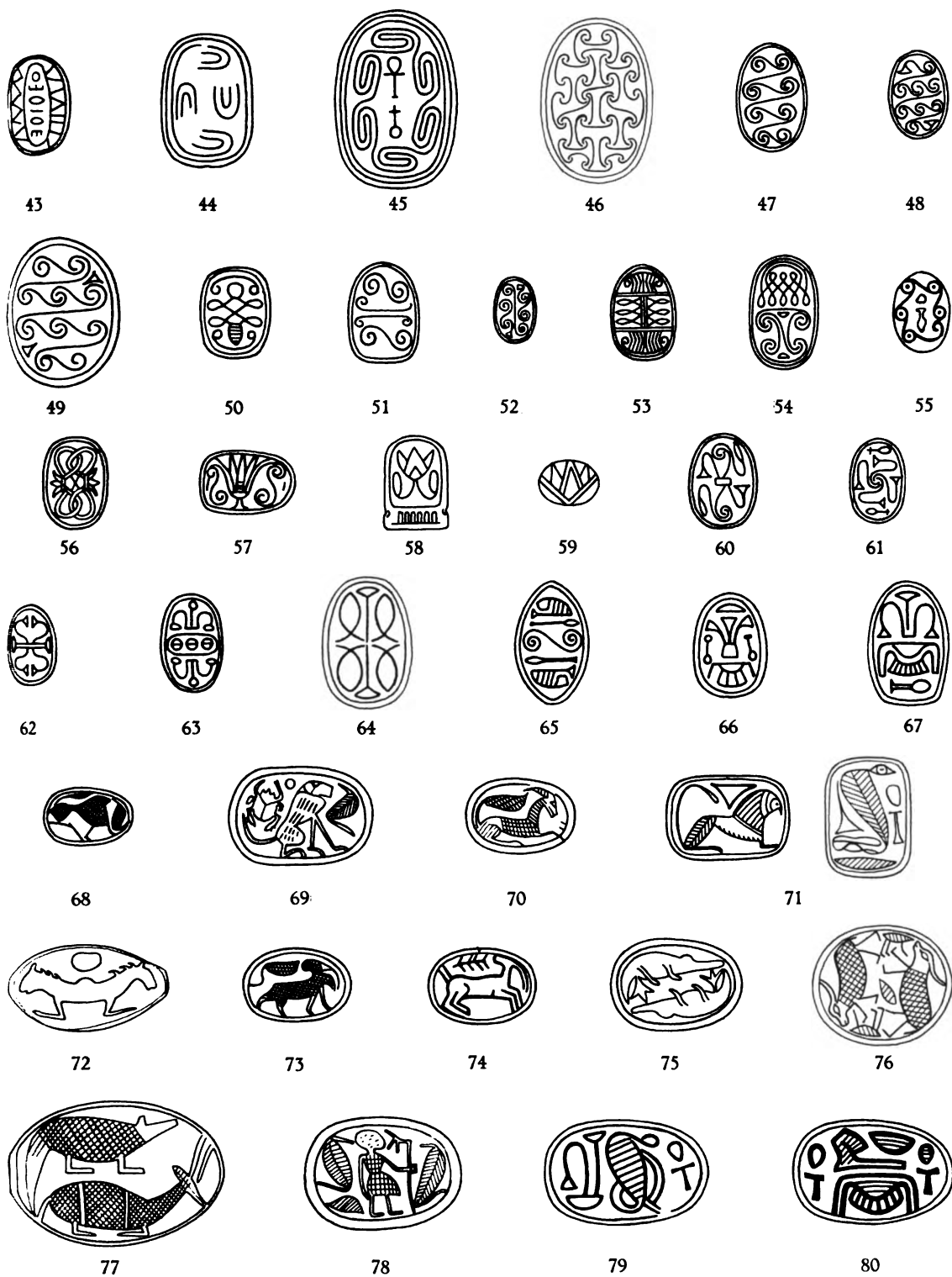
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**32.** Siegelamulett aus gelblichgrau glasiertem Steatit, mit halbkreisförmigem Griff.

Inv. Nr. MM 14561.

Grösse: D. 14 mm.; H. 8 mm.

Siegelfläche: Swastika<sup>20</sup>.

1. Zwischenzeit.

**33.** Siegelamulett aus grauem Steatit, mit gerundetem Griff.

Inv. Nr. MM 14568.

Grösse: D. 20 mm.; H. 10 mm.

Siegelfläche: sternähnliches Kerbenmuster.

1. Zwischenzeit.

**34.** Siegelamulett aus schwarzbraunem Serpentin, mit Griff in Gestalt eines Nilpferdes(?).

Inv. Nr. MM 14648.

Grösse: 17×14×10 mm.

Auf der ovalen Siegelfläche ein unregelmässiges Rautenmuster.

1. Zwischenzeit.

Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 5, Nr. 390.

**35.** Siegelamulett aus weissgrauem Steatit, mit halbovalförmigem Griff.

Inv. Nr. MM 14549.

Grösse: 22×14×16 mm.

Auf der ovalen Siegelfläche ein unregelmässiges Rautenmuster.

1. Zwischenzeit.

**36.** Siegelamulett aus bräunlichem Serpentin, in Gestalt eines Prismas mit schrägen schwach gerundeten Kurzseiten. Die Durchbohrung beschädigt.

Inv. Nr. MM 14645.

Grösse: 16×12×7 mm.

Siegelfläche: gehender Pavian (?).

6. oder 7. Dynastie.

Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 2, Nr. 90.

**37.** Kugelabschnittförmiges Siegelamulett aus

gelblichgrauem Steatit. Ohne Durchbohrung.  
Inv. Nr. MM 14947.

Grösse: D. 20 mm.; H. 12 mm.

Auf der Siegelfläche ein <sup>c</sup>nh-Zeichen, von einer in Schleifen gelegten, verknotenen Seil eingerahmt. Rechts und links eine Seilschleife mit gebogenen Enden.

12. oder 13. Dynastie.

In Luxor gekauft.

**38.** Ellipsoidalabschnittförmiges Siegelamulett aus gelblichem Steatit.

Inv. Nr. MM 11372.

Grösse: 17×14×6 mm.

Siegelfläche: Kreuzmuster, mit Speichen in Gestalt der Papyrussäule, von Kreisen, bzw. Lotusknospen flankiert.

Mittleres Reich.

**39.** Kugelabschnittförmiges Siegelamulett aus grünlichblau glasiertem Steatit.

Inv. Nr. MM 11376.

Grösse: D. 10 mm.; H. 4 mm.

Siegelfläche: Papyruspflanze(?), über dieser ein nb-Zeichen und Sonnenscheibe.

Anfang 18. Dynastie?

Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 18, Nr. 1357; NS, Pl. 41 Nr. 36; NSS, Pl. 10.

**40.** Ellipsoidalabschnittförmiges Siegelamulett aus gelblichweissem Steatit.

Inv. Nr. MM 11366.

Grösse: 18×15×6 mm.

Siegelfläche: Spiralmuster, von Lotus umrahmt. Wahrscheinlich 12. Dynastie.

**41.** Ellipsoidalabschnittförmiges Siegelamulett aus gelblichgrauem Steatit.

Inv. Nr. MM 14942.

Grösse: 20×18×7 mm.

Siegelfläche: zwei Bienen, als Ausfüllungsdekoration zu dritt verkettete Kreise.

Mittleres Reich.

In Luxor gekauft.

<sup>20</sup> Zu diesem Motiv vgl. PBDS, S. 3, Pl. 3.

**42. Skarabäus aus gelblichgrauem Steatit.**  
Inv. Nr. MM 11277.  
Grösse: 26×19×13 mm.  
Siegelfläche: Ovale mit Hieroglypheninskription von Spiralborte eingerahmt<sup>21</sup>.  
2. Zwischenzeit.  
Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 9, Nr. 344; NS, Pl. 24, Nr. 19; WSB, Pl. 11, Nr. 433.

**43. Skarabäus aus gelblichgrauem Steatit.**  
Inv. Nr. MM 11340.  
Grösse: 17×12×7 mm.  
Siegelfläche: Ovale mit Hieroglypheninskription, von Zickzacklinien flankiert<sup>22</sup>.  
Neues Reich oder später.

**44. Skarabäus aus Lapislazuli.**  
Inv. Nr. MM 11267.  
Grösse: 22×15×11 mm.  
Siegelfläche: nachlässig graviertes Muster aus ovalen Spiralen.  
Mittleres Reich.

**45. Skarabäus aus gelblichgrauem Steatit.**  
Inv. Nr. MM 11324.  
Grösse: 28×20×12 mm.  
Auf der Siegelfläche ein <sup>c</sup>*nh*- (↑) und ein *nfr*- Zeichen (↓), von einer Borte aus verketteten ovalen Spiralen eingerahmt.  
Mittleres Reich.  
Vgl. NSS, Pl. 11, Nr. 36465.

**46. Skarabäus aus gelblichgrün glasiertem Steatit.**  
Inv. Nr. MM 11325.  
Grösse: 27×18×11 mm.  
Siegelfläche: Muster, aus verketteten, bügel-förmigen Schlingen zusammengesetzt.  
Mittleres Reich.  
Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 7, Nr. 86; NS, Pl. 18, Nr. 24.

**47. Skarabäus aus ursprünglich blaugrün glasiertem Steatit.**  
Inv. Nr. MM 13897.  
Grösse: 18×12×8 mm.  
Siegelfläche: Muster, aus S-förmigen verketteten Spiralen zusammengesetzt.  
12. Dynastie oder 2. Zwischenzeit.  
Vgl. NSS, Pl. 13, Nr. 36551.

**48. Skarabäus aus blauglasiertem Steatit.**  
Inv. Nr. MM 14269.  
Grösse: 14×10×6 mm.  
Auf der Siegelfläche ein aus S-förmigen, schräggestellten verketteten Spiralen zusammengesetztes Muster, die Endspiralen mit Lotusblüten abgeschlossen.  
2. Zwischenzeit.  
Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 7, Nr. 49.

**49. Cowroid aus grauweissem Steatit, mit einem zwei Lotusblüten enthaltenden Muster auf der konvexen Seite.**  
Inv. Nr. MM 14945.  
Grösse: 24×20×8 mm.  
Siegelfläche: Muster aus verketteten S-förmigen Spiralen, mit zwei Lotusblüten.  
Mittleres Reich.  
In Edfu gekauft.  
Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 16, Nr. 1088 (ohne Lotus).

**50. Skaraboid aus braunglasiertem Steatit, mit der konvexen Seite in Gestalt des Gesichts eines Asiaten in Rechtsprofil.**  
Inv. Nr. MM 11315.  
Grösse: 15×12×7 mm.  
Siegelfläche: Seilschleifenmuster zwischen bügel-förmigen Schlingen.  
Mittleres Reich(?).

**51. Skarabäus aus Amethyst.**  
Inv. Nr. MM 11268.  
Grösse: 16×12×9 mm.  
Siegelfläche: Muster aus bügel- und S-förmigen Schlingen.  
Mittleres Reich.

<sup>21</sup> Vgl. PETRIE, *Ancient Egypt*, 1916, S. 23.

<sup>22</sup> Vgl. Nr. 42, Anm.

**52. Skarabäus aus hellblau glasiertem Steatit.**

Inv. Nr. MM 14249.

Grösse: 10×7×5 mm.

Siegelfläche: Muster aus senkrecht gestellten, verketteten Spiralen nebst zwei Lotusblüten.

2. Zwischenzeit.

Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 7, Nr. 103, 104 (ohne Lotus);  
NSS, Pl. 13, Nr. 36548 (ohne Lotus).

**53. Skarabäus aus blauglasiertem Steatit.**

Inv. Nr. MM 11285.

Grösse: 16×10×7 mm.

Siegelfläche: gleichmässiges Muster aus waagrecht gegeneinander gestellten Ösen.

Mittleres Reich oder 2. Zwischenzeit.

**54. Skarabäus aus blauglasiertem Steatit.**

Inv. Nr. MM 11282.

Grösse: 18×11×7 mm.

Auf der Siegelfläche ein aus verketteten Seilschleifen und bügelförmigen, verketteten Schlingen zusammengesetztes Muster, mit zwei in

der Bügelkomposition durch eine diagonal laufende S-förmige Schlinge getrennten *nb*-Zeichen.

Mittleres Reich oder 2. Zwischenzeit.

Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 16, Nr. 1150.

**55. Skarabäus aus gräulichblau glasiertem Steatit.**

Inv. Nr. MM 14271.

Grösse: 13×9×6 mm.

Auf der Siegelfläche, von einer Borte aus verketteten Kreisen mit eingeschriebenen Tupfen eingerahmt, die Inschriftion *R<sup>c</sup> nfr*.

2. Zwischenzeit.

Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 9, Nr. 329, 333; PS, Pl. 20, y, z, aa; WSB, Pl. 11, Nr. 40.

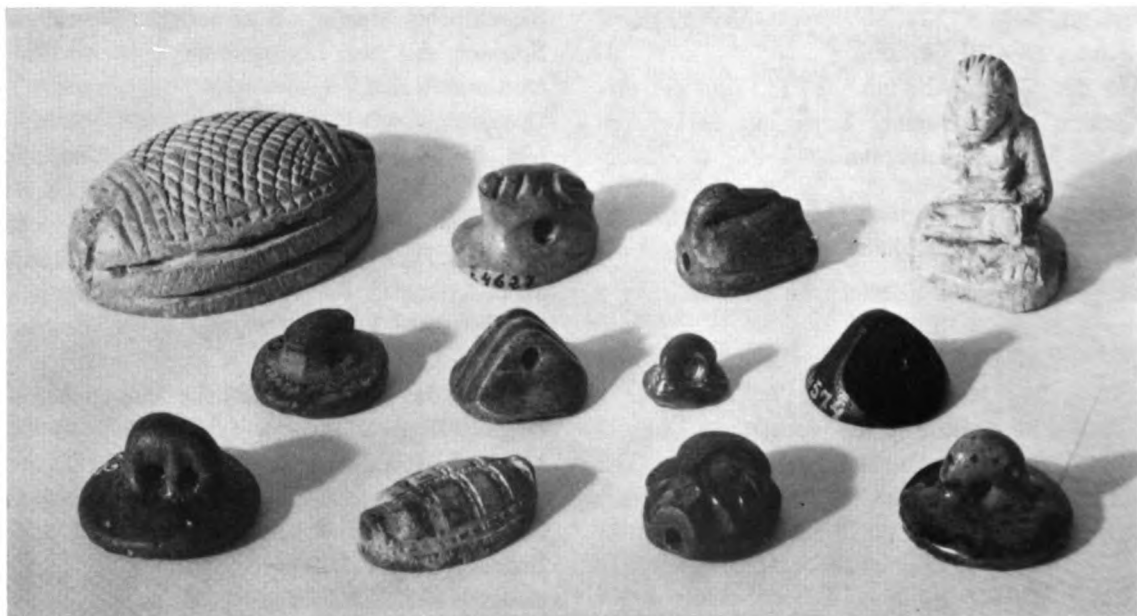
**56. Skarabäus aus blauglasiertem Steatit.**

Inv. Nr. MM 11283.

Grösse: 15×10×7 mm.

Siegelfläche: Seilschleifenmuster mit zwei gegenüberliegenden Lotusblüten.

Mittleres Reich oder 2. Zwischenzeit.



*Abb. 5. Siegelamulette. Rückseiten verschiedener Form. Nr. 77 (Skaraboid), 14 (Knopfsiegel), 58 (Skaraboid), 18, 19, 5, 4, 26, 24 (Knopfsiegel), 65 (Cowroid), 50 (Skaraboid), 10 (Knopfsiegel).*



**57.** Skarabäus aus gelblichgrauem Steatit.

Inv. Nr. MM 11328.

Grösse: 15×11×7 mm.

Siegelfläche: Lotusblüte, von S-förmigen Spiralen flankiert.

Mittleres Reich?

Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 10, Nr. 412.

**58.** Skaraboid aus ursprünglich grün glasiertem Steatit, mit der konvexen Seite in Gestalt einer schlafenden Gans<sup>23</sup>.

Inv. Nr. MM 14562.

Grösse: 15×10×10 mm.

Siegelfläche: Kartusche mit Lotusblüte und Knospen.

18. Dynastie.

Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 10, Nr. 416; NS, Pl. 42, Nr. 15; NSS, Pl. 12, Nr. 37169, 37145; WSB, Pl. 11, Nr. 411.

**59.** Skarabäus aus rotem Jaspis.

Inv. Nr. MM 11272.

Grösse: 10×7×5 mm.

Siegelfläche: Lotusblüte.

Mittleres Reich.

**60.** Skarabäus aus grün glasiertem Steatit.

Inv. Nr. MM 14294.

Grösse: 15×12×7 mm.

Siegelfläche: Muster, aus Spiralen, Lotusblüten und Lotusknospen zusammengesetzt.

Wahrscheinlich Anfang 18. Dynastie.

Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 8, Nr. 178.

**61.** Skarabäus aus ursprünglich grünglasiertem Steatit.

Inv. Nr. MM 11284.

Grösse: 13×9×6 mm.

Auf der Siegelfläche, zwischen "nh-Zeichen ein aus vier Lotusblüten zusammengesetztes spiralförmiges Muster.

Mittleres Reich oder 2. Zwischenzeit.

Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 8, Nr. 180.

**62.** Skarabäus aus blauglasiertem Steatit.

Inv. Nr. MM 11300.

Grösse: 12×9×6 mm.

Siegelfläche: smꜥ-Zeichen(?) — die Symbole für die Vereinigung der beiden Länder (Ober- und Unterägypten).

Spätzeit?

Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 10, Nr. 385.

**63.** Skarabäus aus weissgrauem Steatit.

Inv. Nr. MM 11342.

Grösse: 15×10×7 mm.

Siegelfläche: Kartusche mit drei Kreisen, zwischen Lotus(?).

Neues Reich oder später.

**64.** Skarabäus aus weissgrauem Steatit.

Inv. Nr. MM 13740.

Grösse: 21×14×10 mm.

Siegelfläche: Muster aus vier gegenüberliegenden, zu zwei verketteten Ösen.

2. Zwischenzeit.

**65.** Cowroid aus graugelb glasiertem Steatit, mit rautengemusterter Rückseite.

Inv. Nr. MM 11356.

Grösse: 19×18×6 mm.

Siegelfläche: S-förmige Spirale, von Lotusknospen und umschnürtem Lotus flankiert.

2. Zwischenzeit.

**66.** Skarabäus aus grünlichblau glasiertem gebranntem Ton.

Inv. Nr. MM 11298.

Grösse: 16×12×8 mm.

Siegelfläche: hieroglyphische Zeichen.

2. Zwischenzeit?

**67.** Skarabäus aus gelblichgrauem Steatit.

Inv. Nr. MM 11327.

Grösse: 19×13×8 mm.

Siegelfläche: hieroglyphische Zeichen.

12. Dynastie oder 2. Zwischenzeit.

**68.** Skarabäus aus graubraun glasiertem Steatit.

<sup>23</sup> Vgl. NS, S. 87, Fig. 92.

Inv. Nr. MM 11333.

Grösse:  $14 \times 10 \times 7$  mm.

Siegelfläche: Löwe, vor Uräus.

2. Zwischenzeit.

**69.** Skarabäus aus grünglasiertem Steatit.

Inv. Nr. MM 11280.

Grösse:  $23 \times 16 \times 10$  mm.

Siegelfläche: sitzender Löwe, zwischen Uräus und Skarabäus.

2. Zwischenzeit.

**70.** Skarabäus aus grauem Steatit.

Inv. Nr. MM 11331.

Grösse:  $18 \times 12 \times 7$  mm.

Siegelfläche: liegender Löwe(?).

2. Zwischenzeit.

**71.** Plaque aus blauglasiertem Steatit.

Inv. Nr. MM 11307.

Grösse:  $19 \times 14 \times 5$  mm.

Siegelplatten: falkenköpfiger Sphinx unter einer Lotusblüte(?), bzw. ein Uräus auf *nb*-Zeichen, von einem *nh*-Zeichen und einer Lotusblüte flankiert.

Neues Reich?

**72.** Cowroid aus gelbweiss glasiertem Steatit, mit auf der konvexen Seite längsgerichtetem, schraffiertem Banddekor.

Inv. Nr. MM 11355.

Grösse:  $25 \times 14 \times 9$  mm.

Siegelfläche: unter Sonnenscheibe die vereinten Vorderteile zweier Löwen<sup>24</sup>.

18. Dynastie?

Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 14, Nr. 882.

**73.** Skarabäus aus grauweissem Steatit.

Inv. Nr. MM 11330.

Grösse:  $18 \times 12 \times 8$  mm.

Siegelfläche: unter *hps*-Zeichen eine Gazelle mit

rückwärts gedrehtem Kopf.

2. Zwischenzeit.

**74.** Skarabäus aus grauweissem, glasiertem Steatit.

Inv. Nr. MM 11332.

Grösse:  $17 \times 12 \times 7$  mm.

Siegelfläche: springende Gazelle mit rückwärts gedrehtem Kopf, darüber Zweig.

2. Zwischenzeit.

Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 14, Nr. 866; NSS, Pl. 7, Nr. 36666.

**75.** Skarabäus aus ursprünglich blaugrün glasiertem Steatit.

Inv. Nr. MM 11288.

Grösse:  $21 \times 15 \times 9$  mm.

Siegelfläche: zwei umgekehrt einander gegenüber liegende Krokodile.

2. Zwischenzeit.

Vgl. NSS, Pl. 7, Nr. 36919.

**76.** Ellipsoidalabschnittförmiges Siegelamulett aus grauweissem Steatit.

Inv. Nr. MM 11361.

Grösse:  $22 \times 19 \times 6$  mm.

Siegelfläche: zwei umgekehrt einander gegenüber stehende Gazellen(?), zwischen ihnen zwei Papyruspflanzen.

2. Zwischenzeit.

Vgl. PBDS, Pl. 14, Nr. 875.

**77.** Skaraboid aus grauweissem Steatit, mit der konvexen Seite in Gestalt eines zweiköpfigen Igels.

Inv. Nr. MM 11352.

Grösse:  $34 \times 24 \times 13$  mm.

Siegelfläche: Krokodil, über diesem liegende Gazelle.

2. Zwischenzeit oder 18. Dynastie.

Vgl. NS, Pl. 25, Nr. 33; NSS, Pl. 7, Nr. 36706.

**78.** Skarabäus aus grauweissem Steatit.

Inv. Nr. MM 11329.

Grösse:  $25 \times 18 \times 10$  mm.

<sup>24</sup> Als Bezeichnung für Shu und Tefnut (PBDS, S. 24).

Siegelfläche: zwischen zwei Uräusschlangen stehende menschliche Figur in spitzem Knieschurz und mit einem Lotus(?) in der Hand. Unter der linken Uräus ein *nb*-Zeichen(?).

2. Zwischenzeit.

**79. Skarabäus aus grauweissem Steatit.**

Inv. Nr. MM 11326.

Grösse: 26×18×12 mm.

Siegelfläche: Uräus zwischen *nh*-Zeichen und Lotus.

Mittleres Reich?

**80. Skarabäus aus grünglasiertem Steatit.**

Inv. Nr. MM 11278.

Grösse: 26×18×12 mm.

Siegelfläche: zwischen zwei *nh*-Zeichen, auf

dem Zeichen für „Gold“ (*nb*) der Vorderteil eines Löwen, darüber ein *nb*-Zeichen.

2. Zwischenzeit.

Vgl. NS, Pl. 20, Nr. 29.

### Abkürzungen

**MDIAK** Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts für ägyptische Altertums-Kunde in Kairo.

**NS** NEWBERRY, P. E., Scarabs. London 1906.

**NSS** NEWBERRY, P. E., Scarabshaped Seals. London 1907.

**PBDS** PETRIE, W. M. F., Buttons and Design Scarabs. London 1925.

**PS** PETRIE, W. M. F., Scarabs and Cylinders with Names. London 1917.

**WSB** WARD, J., The Sacred Beetle. London 1902.

# A Latial Iron Age Tomb-Group

PÄR GÖRAN GIEROW

The tomb-group to be discussed on the following pages<sup>1</sup> was found some 1,500 m. NW of Castel Gandolfo in a plantation of peach-trees at a locality called Fosso del Truglio at the Pascolaro of Marino.

The site is not topographically isolated from other find-spots known to us from the Alban Hills. The distance to Riserva del Truglio, where U. Antonielli in 1923 excavated a necropolis<sup>2</sup> mainly belonging to Period IV of the Latial Iron Age, but also containing objects of earlier periods<sup>3</sup>, is only some hundreds of me-

tres. More tombs, of the same date as those of Riserva del Truglio, were excavated by Antonielli in 1928 at Terreno Costa, somewhat N of Riserva del Truglio<sup>4</sup>. There can be no doubt that these localities form part of the same necropolis, belonging to one of the hut villages of the Alban Hills<sup>5</sup>.

Since the tomb was not unearthed during regular excavations, we have no information as to the type of the tomb or the burial rites. It can, however, be surmised from the presence of a hut urn among the material that incinera-

<sup>1</sup> It will be dealt with also in my forthcoming work on the Iron Age Culture of Latium. Since the Latial Iron Age tombs are, alas, rather few, every new discovery is of considerable importance. I have, for that reason, accepted with pleasure Dr. Vessberg's proposal to make it known here by a special paper. The tomb-group has previously been illustrated by A. BOËTHIUS in his contribution to the work *San Giovenale. Etruskerna. Landet och folket*, 1960, p. 40, fig. 24, and by the present author in the paper "Notes on the Iron Age Chronology of Latium", in *Opusc. Rom.* III, 1961, p. 115, fig. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *NotSc* 1924, pp. 429 ff.

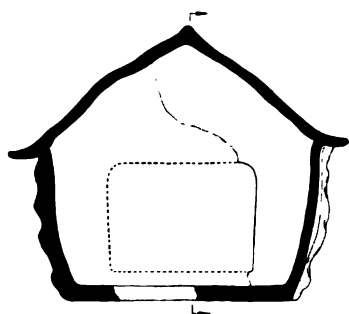
<sup>3</sup> Twenty-nine of the thirty tombs belong to Period IV, one of them (tomb IV) to the end of Period III. Among the sporadic finds with a certain provenance from these excavations there are some specimens of Contracted Impasto, datable to Period III.

For the division of the Iron Age of Latium into four periods and for the nomenclature of the Impasto pottery of these periods proposed by E. GJERSTAD and

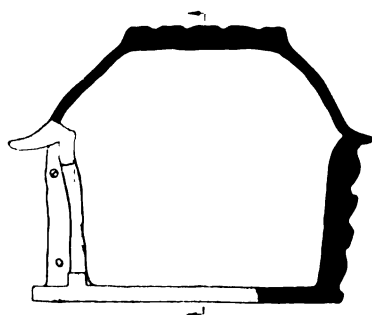
to be presented by him in a forthcoming paper, *Discussions Concerning Early Rome*, 2, in vol. V of *Opusc. Rom.*, I refer, until Gjerstad's paper has appeared, to my own article in *Opusc. Rom.* IV, 1962, *The First Iron Age Discoveries in the Alban Hills*.

<sup>4</sup> These excavations were never published by Antonielli. There are some brief references to them in *BPI* 48, 1928, pp. 169 f., and 50–51, 1930–31, pp. 189 ff. The present whereabouts of this material are unknown.

<sup>5</sup> From a topographical point of view, the most probable site of this village is the summit of Monte Crescenzo (cf. F. v. DUHN, *Italische Gräberkunde* I, 1924, p. 393). Trial trenches dug there in 1923 by Antonielli (*NotSc* 1923, pp. 79 f.) did not, however, reveal any traces datable to the Iron Age, but since the researches evidently were limited to a rather small area, this does not constitute a negative proof. If this position for the village is correct, the tombs found on the N slopes of Monte Crescenzo should be attributed to the same habitation.



*Fig. 1. The Latial tomb-group in the Medelhavsmuseet. The hut urn. Front-view.*



*Fig. 2. The hut urn. Side-view.*



tion was practised. The bottom of the tomb was at a depth of 1.70 m. below the actual surface level.

The tomb-group comprises nine objects, eight hand-made vases of Impasto and a razor of bronze.

1. *Hut Urn* (Figs. 1–2). Rectangular with slightly convex sides and slightly widening towards the front; slightly convex walls, widening upwards and projecting on both sides of the low rectangular door-opening; the projecting part of the wall has on one side – the other is missing and restored – two perforations, one at the upper, the other at the lower end, for keeping the doorslab, now missing, in place; vertical, transversely notched ribs on long sides, on back, and at corners between these sides, representing wooden poles, used for the construction of the walls; conical roof with projecting eaves, sloping less than the rest of the roof, and a longitudinal notched top-ridge; notched ribs from ends of top-ridge to points above the corners of the hut-walls. Slip dark brown, burnished. Clay coarse, dark grey, brown towards the surface. Broken and mended; base and front part much restored. H. 21.5 cm., d. of base 17.5 – ab. 23.5 cm. (MM 1957:5).

2. *Jug* (Figs. 3–4, No. 2). Flat base with low omphalos; conical body with low, slightly convex shoulder; rather high neck, slightly concave and tapering upwards; rim missing; vertical handle on the shoulder. Decorated on the shoulder with two encircling incised lines framing groups each of four oblique incised lines. Slip dark brown and brown, burnished. Clay fairly coarse, reddish brown, partly with dark grey core. Broken and mended; handle, rim, and upper part of neck missing. H. as preserved 8.8 cm., max. d. 9.3 cm. (MM 1957: 8).

3. *Jar* (Figs. 3–4, No. 3). Flat base; biconical body; outturned rim. Undecorated. Slip dark brown, burnished. Clay fairly coarse, dark grey, reddish brown towards the surface. Rim slightly chipped. H. 10.8 cm., d. at rim 8.6 cm. (MM 1957:6).

4. *Jar* (Figs. 3–4, No. 4). Flat base with low omphalos; squat, biconical body; outcurving rim. Undecorated. Slip and clay as no. 3. Rim slightly chipped. H. 7.2–8.0 cm., d. at rim 7.9 cm. (MM 1957: 7).

5. *Cup* (Figs. 3–4, No. 5). Flat base; conical (slightly concave) body with convex shoulder; erect rim, widening upwards; high, vertical, biforal handle from rim to shoulder, with lower part trapezoidal in section. Undecorated. Slip and clay as preceding. Broken and mended; rim chipped, upper loop of handle partly missing, but restored. H. 4.2–4.8 cm., d. at rim 6.9 cm. (MM 1957: 11).

6. *Cup* (Figs. 3–4, No. 6). Flat base; segmental body; slightly concave neck; slightly outcurving rim; high, vertical handle from rim to shoulder, with lower part elliptical in section. Undecorated. Slip dark brown, slightly burnished. Clay fairly coarse, red-brown, brown towards the surface, partly with dark grey core. Most of handle missing, rim chipped. H. 2.0–2.3 cm., d. at rim 4.1 cm. (MM 1957: 12).

7. *Plate* (Figs. 3–4, No. 7). Slightly concave, circular disc with slightly raised central part, resting upon three legs. Undecorated. Slip dark brown, burnished. Clay fairly coarse, dark grey, reddish brown towards the surface. Most of legs and one segment of plate missing, the latter restored. H. as preserved 3.6 cm., d. 13.8 cm. (MM 1957: 10).

8. *Askos* (Figs. 3–4, No. 8). Flat base; oblong biconical (biconvex) body with a longitudinal ridge along the back; neck asymmetrically placed, at one end of body; rim missing; ring-handle near base of neck, placed transversely across back-ridge. Undecorated. Slip and clay as preceding. Neck and much of one side of body restored, rim and handle missing, surface chipped. H. of body 8.2 cm., l. 11.6 cm., w. 10.1 cm. (MM 1957: 9).

9. *Razor* (Figs. 3–4, No. 9). Trapezoidal blade with side nearest handle rounded; circular perforation opposite handle, near edge; handle made in one piece with blade and consisting of

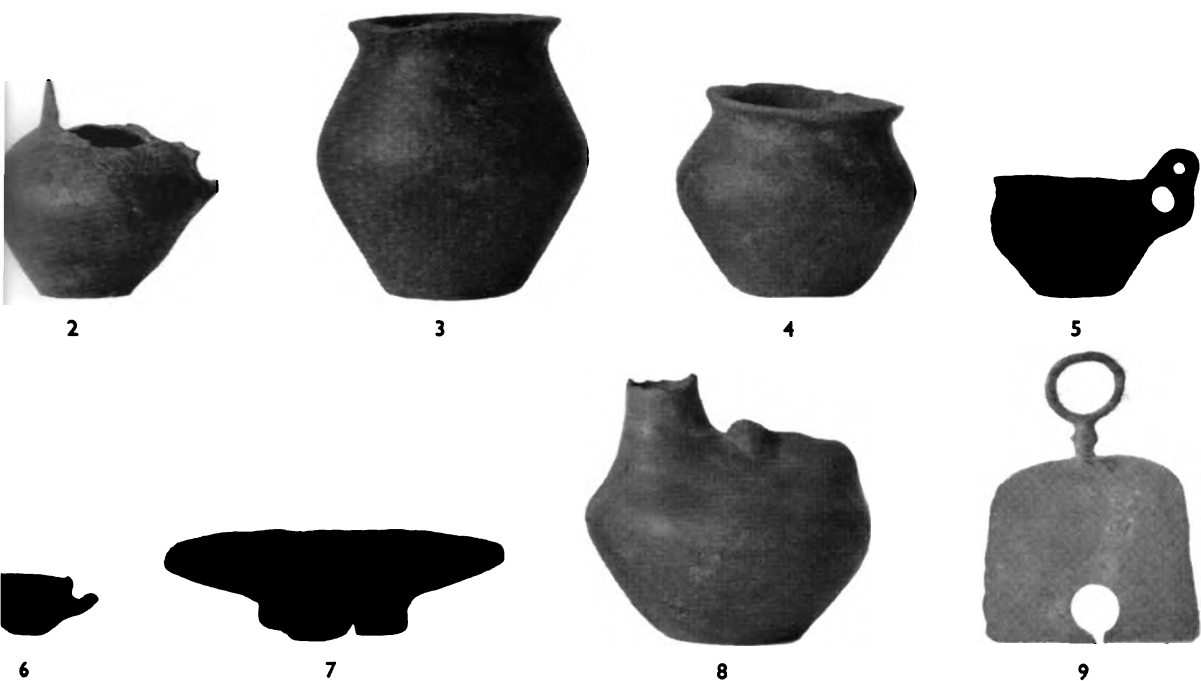


Fig. 3. The Latial tomb-group in the Medelhavsmuseet: Nos. 2-9. Scale 1:3.

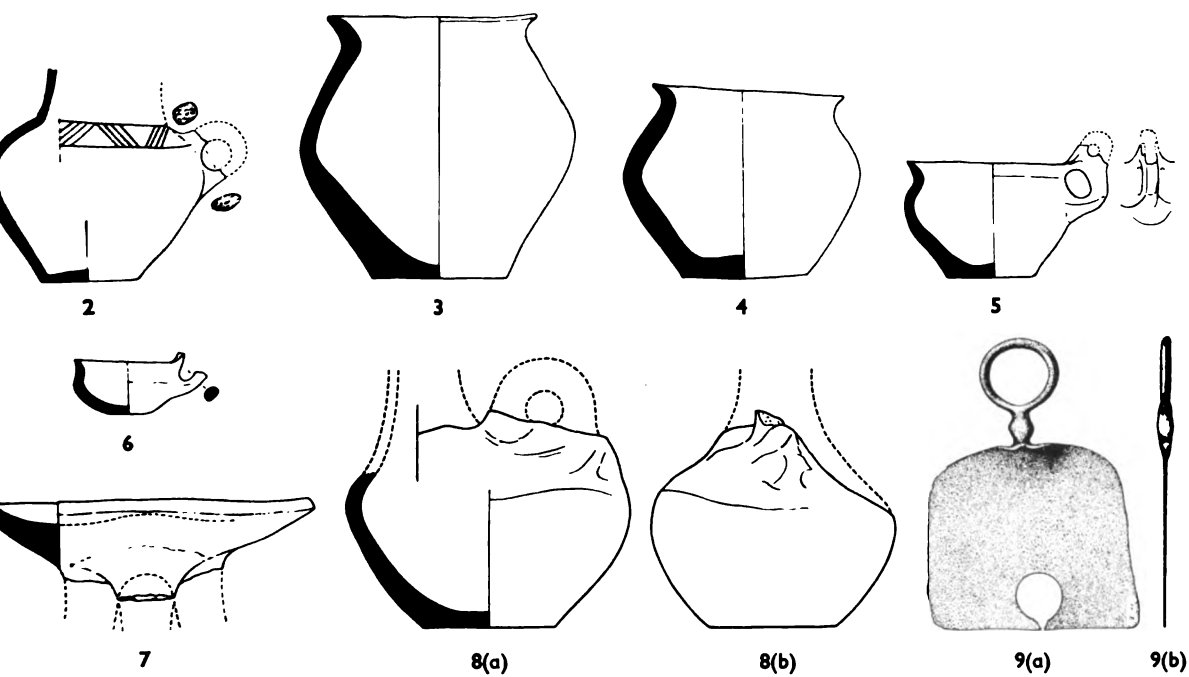


Fig. 4. Nos. 2-9. Scale 1:3.

a narrow, biconical shaft, elliptical in section, and a circular ring, elliptical to diamond-shaped in section. In a good state of preservation; edge slightly damaged. L. (handle included) 11.9 cm., w. 8.5 cm. (MM 1957: 13).

To establish the date of the tomb-group comprising the objects described above, we have to look for parallels to them in other closed find-groups from Latium. Since the tomb in the Medelhavsmuseet, by the material found in it, belongs to the so-called Boschetto group<sup>6</sup>, i. e. the Latial version of the Iron Age culture of the Tolfa region, these parallels should preferably be sought for in other tombs of that group.

We will begin our study with the hut urn (no. 1). As to the general type it resembles above all the hut urn discovered in a tomb at Velletri, Vigna d'Andrea<sup>7</sup>, datable to the second half of Period I of the Latial Iron Age. The general proportions of the two urns are much the same. A more specific feature that they have in common and that is not found on any other Latial hut urn is the rendering of the walls, which widen markedly towards the top and show indications in relief of the wooden

poles used for the construction of the walls of the hut. There are, however, also certain differences between the urns, in the execution of the door-opening, the ridge-logs on the roof, and the roof itself. The last-mentioned stylistic divergence should be especially noted, since it seems to be chronologically important. The roof of the urn from Velletri is conical and fairly high like that of the urn of tomb Q of the Forum necropolis<sup>8</sup>, whereas that of our urn is lower and has somewhat outcurving eaves, less sloping than the remaining part of the roof, a stylistic feature which, as far as our evidence goes, makes its first appearance in Period II<sup>9</sup> and is then found also in Period III<sup>10</sup>. These observations lead to the conclusion that the hut urn in the Medelhavsmuseet, on the one hand, should not be dated before Period II, but on the other hand, hardly after that period, because of the similarities to the urn from Velletri.

The jug (no. 2) has no good parallels in Latial find-contexts. The jug with a high conical neck is not found in any other tomb of the Boschetto group, but belongs exclusively to the different Latial versions of the Fossa culture. Within the Boschetto group the vertical handle is found on two vases from Marino, Vigna Delsette<sup>11</sup>, both of Expansive Impasto, and on two vases from tomb 1 of those discovered recently at the Forum Romanum near the Arch of Augustus<sup>12</sup>, one of them of Expansive, the other of Normal Impasto<sup>13</sup>. Our vase is certainly best compared with the last-mentioned of these specimens, if we leave the different execution of the neck out of consideration and only look at the shape of the body with its sloping.

<sup>6</sup> This cultural group within the Iron Age Culture of Latium was first identified by G. SÄFLUND, *Bemerkungen zur Vorgeschichte Etruriens*, StEtr 12, 1938, p. 31. It is regarded by many scholars (cf., e.g., H. MÜLLER-KARPE, *Beiträge zur Chronologie der Urnenfelderzeit nördlich und südlich der Alpen*, 1959; id., *Vom Anfang Roms*, 1959; R. PERONI, *Per una nuova cronologia del sepolceto arcaico del Foro, Civiltà del Ferro*, 1960, pp. 461 ff., to mention some important recent works) as a transitional phase between the Bronze and the Iron Age. As shown already by SÄFLUND, *op. cit.*, it must, however, be considered as contemporary with the other aspects of the Iron Age culture. Cf. also P. G. GIEROW, *La necropoli laziale di Anzio*, BPI 69–70, 1960–61, pp. 243 ff., esp. p. 248, n. 23, and the works referred to there. M. PALLOTINO accepts (*Le origini di Roma*, ArchClass 12, 1960, pp. 1 ff., esp. pp. 15 ff.) the low dates of the so-called Proto-Villanovan culture of the Tolfa region (they were, in fact, first proposed by him in StEtr XIII, 1939, pp. 94 ff.), but is inclined to reject their application on the Roman and Latial find-complexes.

<sup>7</sup> NotSc 1893, pp. 200 f., figs. 2 and 2a. MonAnt XV, 1905, pl. XXII, 11.

<sup>8</sup> E. GJERSTAD, *Early Rome II*, 1956, fig. 19.1.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., figs. 48.2 (tomb C) and 70.1 (tomb U).

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., figs. 105.2 (tomb GG) and 112.2 (Arch of Augustus, tomb 3).

<sup>11</sup> One of them is illustrated by G. PINZA, *BullCom* XXVI, 1898, pl. VIII, 15.

<sup>12</sup> E. GJERSTAD, *Early Rome II*, fig. 85, 1–2.

<sup>13</sup> Oral information from Prof. Gjerstad; cf. his forthcoming paper in *Opusc. Rom.* V.



almost conical shoulder. The high neck, distinctly separated from the body, can, on the other hand, be seen on two jars from tomb XIV of the necropolis of Anzio, of the Boschetto type and datable to Period II<sup>14</sup>. It seems thus probable that the jug, like the hut urn discussed above, belongs stylistically to the Normal Impasto of Period II.

The same date is probable also for the two biconical jars (nos. 3 and 4), although no such vases are known from closed find-groups. If we take the general stylistic development of the Latial Iron Age pottery into consideration, it becomes, however, evident that they are earlier than the horizontally contracted jars of tomb 4 at the Arch of Augustus<sup>15</sup>. Two jars like those in Stockholm, but provided with an incised decoration, were discovered at the excavations of the necropolis of Anzio<sup>16</sup>, but their find-contexts are not known. From the same necropolis there is also a specimen<sup>17</sup> that seems to illustrate the shape of this type of jar in the Expansive Impasto, that mainly belongs to Period I.

The cup no. 5 has its best parallel in a specimen from Rocca di Papa, San Lorenzo Vecchio<sup>18</sup>, which, however, has a higher neck and a more outcurving rim. The shapes of the bodies and the very small upper loops of the handles of the two cups are, on the other hand, almost identical. The tomb of San Lorenzo Vecchio belongs to Period II of the Iron Age. The same type of cup is represented by a specimen from Marino, San Rocco<sup>19</sup>, the context of which is, however, unknown.

The miniature vase no. 6 is of no great chronological value because of its small size, which

does not permit a close stylistic study of it. The miniaturistic tendency in the tomb-gifts of the Latial tombs can be observed throughout the first three periods of the Iron Age and can be seen both in tombs of the Boschetto group and in tombs of the other cultural groups of Latium<sup>20</sup>.

The plate on three legs (no. 7) has no exact counterpart. There is, however, no doubt that it is stylistically later than that from Velletri, Vigna d'Andrea<sup>21</sup>. That tomb should, as already mentioned, be assigned to the second half of Period I, and in fact, the plate with its distinct rim seems to be a characteristic specimen of the Expansive Impasto of that period<sup>22</sup>. On the other hand, our plate differs also considerably from a specimen of Contracted Impasto like that from the Arch of Augustus, tomb 4<sup>23</sup>. Therefore, it seems that the plate, like the pottery discussed in the preceding paragraphs, should be classified as Normal Impasto, and that it fills a gap in the typological sequence of this pottery form<sup>24</sup>.

The askos (no. 8) should be compared with that from Velletri, Vigna d'Andrea<sup>25</sup>. For that reason it must be classified as Expansive Impasto. The heavier shape of this type of askos in the Normal Impasto is best illustrated by that

<sup>20</sup> I quote the following examples, without attempting a complete list: Period I: Grottaferreta, Villa Cavalletti, tomb V; Period II: Forum necropolis, tombs A and N; Arch of Augustus, tomb 1; Period III: Arch of Augustus, tomb 4.

<sup>21</sup> NotSc 1893, p. 210, fig. 13.

<sup>22</sup> It should, however, be noted that a similar plate, only slightly more concave, was discovered in 1960 by Dr. R. Peroni at Allumiere, Poggio La Pozza, tomb 4, which, in my opinion, might belong to a stage corresponding to Period II of the Latial Iron Age. Cf. NotSc 1960, p. 355, fig. 12, 5.

<sup>23</sup> E. GJERSTAD, *Early Rome II*, fig. 113, 12.

<sup>24</sup> I leave out of consideration the plates found in contexts not belonging to the Boschetto group: Forum necropolis, tomb C; Marino, Vigna Meluzzi, tomb II; two specimens from mixed find-groups of Grottaferreta, Villa Cavalletti; and one from the excavations of 1816-1817.

<sup>25</sup> NotSc 1893, p. 209, fig. 8; photographic illustration in G. PINZA, *Storia della civiltà latina*, pl. C, 2.

<sup>14</sup> P. G. GIEROW, *La necropoli laziale di Anzio*, BPI 69, 1960, p. 247, fig. 2, 2-3.

<sup>15</sup> E. GJERSTAD, *Early Rome II*, fig. 113, 4-5.

<sup>16</sup> P. G. GIEROW, *La necropoli laziale di Anzio*, BPI 69, 1960, p. 251, fig. 3, 3.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 3, 2.

<sup>18</sup> BPI, N. Ser. IV, 1940, p. 178, and pl. II, fig. 2, 5.

<sup>19</sup> *MonAnt* XV, 1905, pl. XVIII, 19.

from Rocca di Papa, San Lorenzo Vecchio<sup>26</sup>, whereas the lax, baggy askoi from another tomb from the territory of Velletri<sup>27</sup> and the Arch of Augustus, tomb 3<sup>28</sup>, can be cited as examples of Contracted Impasto.

The razor (no. 9) has only one parallel in Latium, from Grottaferrata, Villa Cavalletti<sup>29</sup>, and that is not from a closed find-group, and, moreover, it differs from ours in the number of holes near the edge and in the execution of the handle. In addition to that razor, there are a number of miniature specimens, one of them forming part of a tomb-group of Period II, the contents of which are at least partly known, i. e. that formerly belonging to the de Blacas Collection from the excavations of 1816–17<sup>30</sup>. Thus the razor does not contribute to the solution of the problem of the date of our tomb. I am, however, not certain that it would have done so, even if more examples from well dated find-groups were known to us, since we should not forget that, in comparison with the pottery, the products of the bronze craft often manifest a certain conservatism in their typology, at least partly to be explained by their longer life-time. For that reason the bronzes express in a much less faithful way than the pottery, the aesthetic changes upon which the stylistic development which must be the basis of the chronological divisions is dependent.

<sup>26</sup> BPI N. Ser. IV, 1940, p. 177, and pl. II, fig. 2, 1.

<sup>27</sup> NotSc 1934, p. 110, fig. 2, 5.

<sup>28</sup> E. GJERSTAD, *Early Rome II*, fig. 112, 10.

<sup>29</sup> NotSc 1902, p. 189, fig. 101.

<sup>30</sup> G. DE BLACAS, *Mémoire sur une découverte de vases funéraires près d'Albano*, *Mém. Soc. des Antiquaires de France* 28, 1865; H. MÜLLER-KARPE, *Vom Anfang Roms*, pl. XIV; P. G. GIEROW, *The First Iron Age Discoveries in the Alban Hills*, *Opusc. Rom. IV*, 1962, pl. VIII B. Of this tomb-group only the hut urn, now in the British Museum, is preserved today.

The study of the nine objects which constitute the tomb-group discussed in this paper has shown that two of the objects, the miniature cup no. 6 and the razor no. 9, are of no use for establishing the date of the tomb. Of the remaining seven specimens of pottery one, the askos no. 8, should be classified as Expansive Impasto, the others, with different degrees of certainty, as Normal Impasto. Since this is the variety of Impasto characteristic of Period II, there cannot be any doubt that the tomb-group in the Medelhavsmuseet should be assigned to that period. The presence of one specimen of Expansive Impasto, a variety that generally is found in tombs of Period I, in our tomb should not surprise us. Such survivals of earlier types of pottery in later find-contexts are, in fact, not uncommon in the Latial Iron Age tombs<sup>31</sup>. It is, however, perhaps an indication that the tomb in Stockholm belongs to the first half of Period II, which in absolute dates<sup>32</sup> would mean somewhere around the third quarter of the VIII<sup>th</sup> century B.C.

<sup>31</sup> Expansive Impasto in tombs of Period II: Arch of Augustus, tomb 1; Forum necropolis, tomb C; Grottaferrata, Villa Cavalletti, tomb I. Normal Impasto in tombs of Period III: Forum necropolis, tomb GG; Esquiline, tomb CX. Contracted Impasto in tombs of Period IV: Marino, Vigna Meluzzi, tomb II. For the Roman material this statement is based upon oral information from Prof. Gjerstad.

<sup>32</sup> For the absolute chronology I refer to E. GJERSTAD's forthcoming paper *Discussions Concerning Early Rome*, 2, where it will be demonstrated with support of material from tombs in Etruria and on Ischia that the transition from Period II to Period III should be dated around 700 B.C., and that, when it comes to the dating of the preceding two periods, we have only got the aid of the three Greek Late Geometric skyphoi which have been found in two of the Pre-Hellenic tombs of Cumae (tomb 3 of the end of Period I and tomb 29 of Period II) and show that these periods belong to the VIII<sup>th</sup> century B.C.

# Sculptures in the Throne-Holst Collection

OLOF VESSBERG

The earliest items in Mr. Henning Throne-Holst's collection of antiques at Djursholm were acquired as long ago as the 1930's, but most of it has been built up since 1953. The collection consists of sculptures and vases, covering with representative works significant periods in the art history of classical antiquity, although quantitatively it is not very large. In accordance with the collector's clearly defined personal line the collection is to comprise nothing of inferior standard, but is to consist of a carefully chosen selection of first-class works. I will now present, with the owner's kind permission, a number of the sculptures in the collection, beginning with the beautiful head of Heracles illustrated in fig. 1.

The head, which is 31 cm. high, is of white fine-crystalline marble, probably Italic. It is broken off straight across the neck. It is well preserved and only slightly damaged (in the frontal hair, on the tip of the nose and the right ear). The surface shows many traces of plant roots. The head was purchased in 1953 from an art-dealer in Stockholm, but he had acquired it in Rome.

It is a powerfully built head with projecting chin and knobby brow. The robust yet classically severe features of the face are framed by

locks of hair and a beard. This head, once part of a statue, was turned to the right (seen from the viewer) and bent slightly forwards.

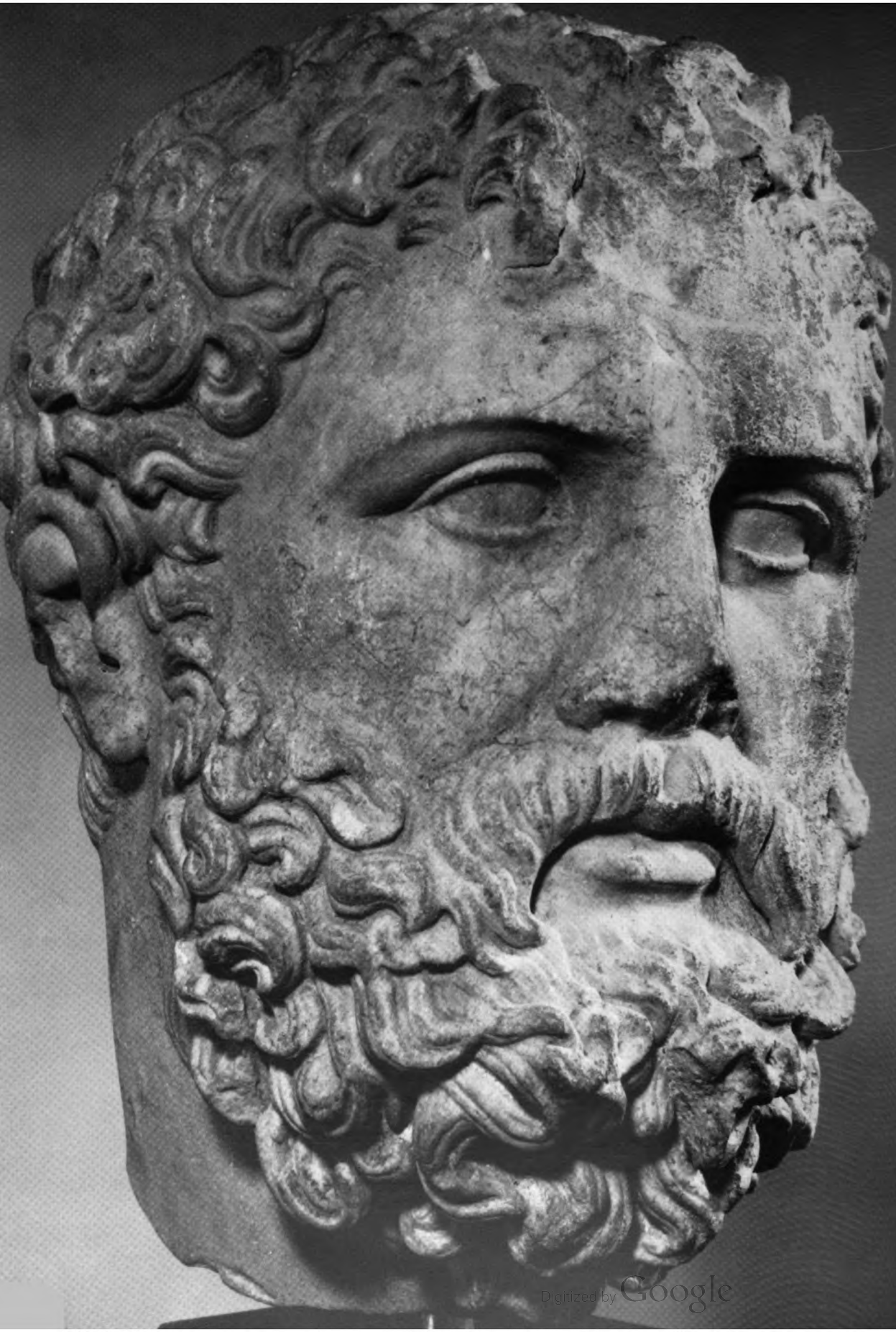
There cannot be much doubt that we have before us here a representation of Heracles, and at first I was inclined to identify this type with the Farnese Heracles ascribed to Lysippos. Later, Vagn Poulsen recognized in our head a replica of a Heracles type in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen<sup>1</sup>.

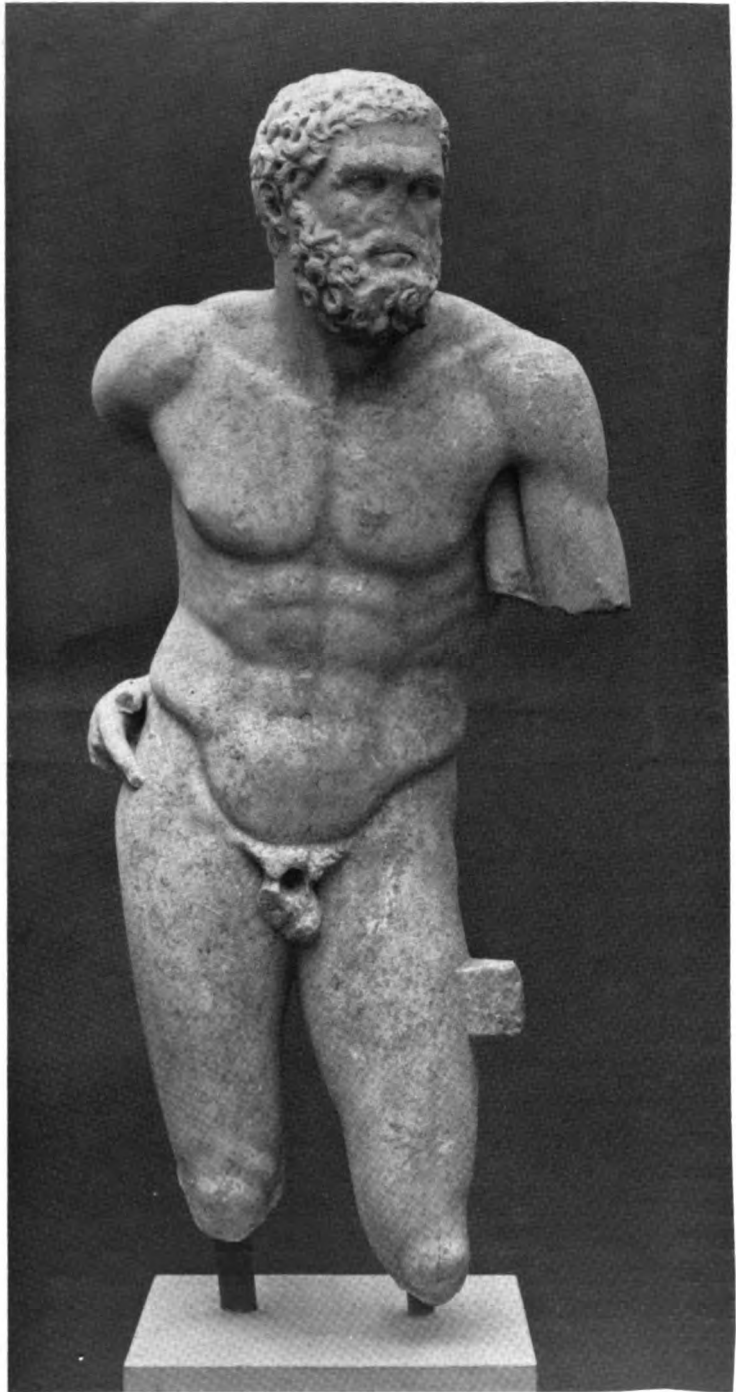
This Heracles type (fig. 2), which is a precursor of the Farnese Heracles and exists in several replicas<sup>2</sup>, portrays Heracles leaning on his club which he has tucked into his left armpit, while his right hand rests on his hip. Despite some differences this is, broadly speaking, the same attitude as in the Farnese Heracles, but the form language is more limited and the body still bound by Polyclethan tradition.

A comparison of the heads in Copenhagen and in Stockholm leaves no doubt that they are replicas of the same original. There is agree-

<sup>1</sup> FREDERIK POULSEN, *Catalogue of Ancient Sculpture in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek*, 250, Billedtavler Pl. XVIII. VAGN POULSEN, *Acta Arch.* XV, 1944, pp. 63 ff. I am indebted to Dr. V. Poulsen for permission to publish the photograph reproduced as fig. 2.

<sup>2</sup> V. POULSEN, *o.c.*, p. 76. Cf. FRANKLIN P. JOHNSON, *Lysippos*, pp. 200 f.





*Figs. 1–2. Heracles. Head in the Throne-Holst Collection, Djursholm, and statue in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen.*

ment feature by feature: note the shape of the brow, the ductus of the eyes and eyebrows, the firm lower lip, the hair and the beard, practically lock by lock.

The Heracles statue in the Glyptotek is certainly a preliminary stage of the Farnese Heracles type, but it can hardly be listed among the works done by Lysippos himself. It is especially the treatment of the body that precludes this. Poulsen dates the Copenhagen type to the first half of the fourth century B.C. and is inclined to place it quite early in this period. The head in Throne-Holst's collection is an excellent copy from the time of the Roman Empire of the same original as the Copenhagen replica. Judging from the classicistically perfect, perhaps somewhat dry treatment of the marble, the copy was made during the first half of the second century A.D.

The Satyr with the boy Dionysos (figs. 3–4) is a comprehensive group with much life and charm, even though owing to its rather hasty execution it does not satisfy the same demands for artistic quality as the other sculptures in the collection which are here described. It is, however, of so much greater art-historical interest as it represents and supplements a well-known Hellenistic motif. It is executed in Italic marble with all body-surfaces highly polished. The maximum height of the whole group (including the flat stand) is 67.5 cm., the height of the Satyr (without the stand) being 54.5 cm. The group was bought in 1960 when in the possession of M. Barsanti in Rome after having previously belonged to A. Barsanti in Milan, who had acquired it in 1942. Earlier the group belonged to the collection of the Palazzo Corsini di Lungarno in Florence<sup>3</sup>. Signor M. Barsanti has told me that the group aroused the great

interest of Ludwig Curtius and G. E. Rizzo and on Curtius' initiative was photographed for the German Institute in Rome. By courtesy of the Institute I am reproducing here two of these excellent photographs.

The young Satyr is taking a step forward and grasping with his left hand the wrist of the infant Dionysos. He is turning his joyful face up to the god, who is sitting astride his shoulders. Dionysos (fig. 4), naked like the Satyr, is sitting in a lively equestrian pose and holding in his right hand above his head a cornucopia, of which only the tip is preserved. In his left hand he holds a bunch of grapes. His feet and the ends of his legs are broken off as also the Satyr's forearm. His broad, girlish face with large globed eyes and a big well-shaped mouth with thick lips is surrounded by a thick swell of hair, and around his locks is twined an ivy spray. His hair is worked with plentiful use of the drill, as also in the case of the Satyr's locks. On the back of the head of the Dionysos figure there is a roughly carved knot of hair executed on the surface like vertical bands. The piece between the knot and the back has not been cut away but serves as a support for the head.

In the background beside the Satyr stands a small figure of Pan, hardly reaching up to the Satyr's hip. He has shaggy goat's legs and horns and tangled hair and beard, and he is looking up at Dionysos. In his right hand he holds a syrinx; in his left hand, which is broken off together with the forearm, he once held a pedom, part of which still survives. With his left cloven hoof he is just stepping on to the lid of a cylinder-shaped basket or chest, the *cista mystica*. The chest has two mouldings at the bottom and two at the top. From under its slightly open lid a broad-headed serpent is creeping out.

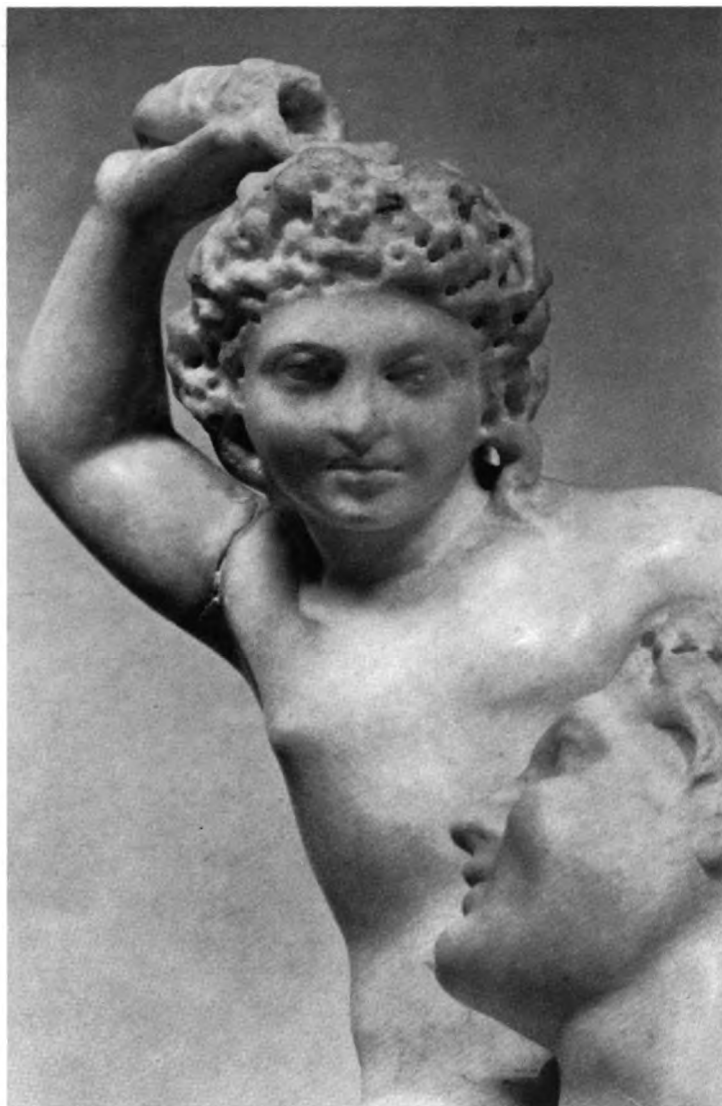
A tree-trunk is carved as a support for the Satyr and the figure of Pan, and is joined to both. On the trunk hangs a syrinx much larger in size than the one held by Pan. It has besides

<sup>3</sup> H. DÜTSCHKE, *Antike Bildwerke in Oberitalien II*, p. 218, n. 292. I was able to identify our group as a work earlier belonging to the collection in the Palazzo Corsini from a photograph reproduced in an article by A. MINTO, *Satiro con Bacco fanciullo*, *Ausonia*, Anno VIII, 1913 (1915), pp. 90 ff.





*Fig. 3. Satyr with the infant Dionysos. Marble. The Throne-Holst Collection, Djursholm.*



*Fig. 4. Satyr with the infant Dionysos. Detail. The Throne-Holst Collection, Djursholm.*

six tubes, while Pan's has only five. The tree-trunk is cleft at the base so that it resembles the roots of old olive trees rising from the ground.

Beside the cista mystica rides a small, rather clumsily wrought Eros on a panther. Half the head of Eros is knocked off. In his left hand he is carrying a basket of fruits, probably meant to be grapes, and with his right hand he is grasping the panther's head.

The high polish and the extensive drilling

show that this group belongs to the second half of the second century A.D. at the earliest. It is, however, very probable that the group is a third century piece. The drilling work with thinly dispersed but deep holes corresponds strikingly to the technique of the sarcophagus sculpture of the third century A.D.<sup>4</sup>, and one observes that the infant Dionysos very much resembles the young Christ of the sarcophagi.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. e.g. G. WILPERT, *I sarcofagi Christiani antichi*, Tav. VII:2, XXVII:1, LXXXI.



Such details as the eyes of Dionysos with the bored almost hemispherical pupil close below the eyelid, and further the deep drill holes in the corners of the eyes of the Satyr speak in favour of a dating to the third century A.D. The authenticity of the group should be beyond all doubt. Incrustations of plant roots are visible in several places, for instance on the flat stand, on Pan's back, the Satyr's left foot, Dionysos' back and right thigh. Dionysos' right arm and a piece of the Satyr's right forearm are attached but they are original.

It is, however, quite certain that the original did not belong to this time. The work is a Hellenistic spiral composition, which in a graceful rising movement culminates in the infant Dionysos' head and right hand with the cornucopia. It is a composition from the Late Hellenistic Age, where we find it in many famous works, such as the Hellenistic ruler in the Museo delle Terme or Aphrodite of Melos. Although new figures were readily added to Hellenistic groups during the Roman Empire period — we may think of the so-called Farnese bull in the museum in Naples — I do not believe that Pan and Eros with the panther are a subsequent addition of that kind. They are essential for the balance of the group, as may well be seen by looking at it from the back. In fact, the Late Hellenistic Age also loved compositions abounding in figures. There is, for instance, the group already mentioned by Apollonius and Tauriscus of Tralles, which even in its original conception was rich in figures, or a group (referred to in the literature) in Pompey's theatre with motifs from Tralles which had more than twenty figures<sup>5</sup> and which was also clearly a work of the Late Hellenistic school of sculpture in that city. Maybe the group with the Satyr and Dionysos preserves the composition of the original and, as I have already indicated, it is of decisive importance for the reconstruction of a group

representing a satyr with the infant Dionysos that exists in five replicas<sup>6</sup>. Of these I am illustrating here the replica in the Vatican (fig. 5). None of the replicas have preserved Diony-

<sup>6</sup> The replicas are as follows: 1. The Vatican, Galleria dei candelabri, G. LIPPOLD, *Die Skulpturen des Vatikanischen Museums*, Bd III:2, pp. 262 f. 2. Naples, Museo Nazionale, Guida Ruesch, pp. 78 f., n. 253. 3. Rome, Villa Albani, EA 3543/44. 4. Bologna, Museo Archeologico, MINTO, o.c., p. 94, Fig. 4. 5. Florence, Museo Archeologico, MINTO, o.c., pp. 91 f., Tav. IV.

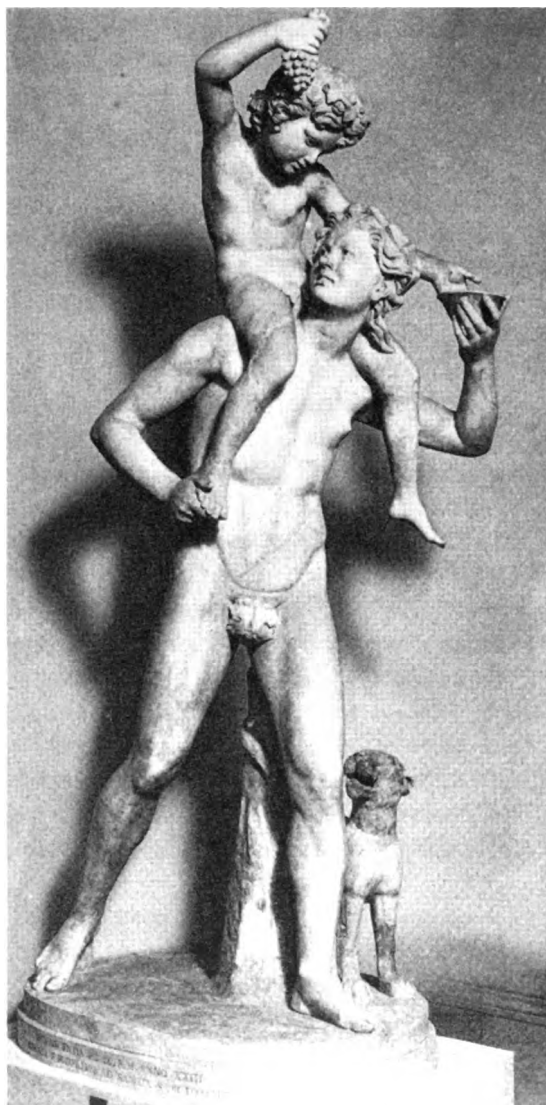


Fig. 5. *Satyr with the infant Dionysos. Marble. The Vatican, Galleria dei candelabri.*

<sup>5</sup> Plinius nat. hist. 7.34.

so's head, and Lippold therefore notes in the Vatican catalogue that it is impossible to decide whether the satyr is carrying Dionysos or an infant satyr. But even earlier A. Minto had used our group, then in the Palazzo Corsini, for a reconstruction of the group in an article in *Ausonia*<sup>7</sup>. He considered our group, however, to be a Renaissance copy of a lost classical prototype.

The criteria that I have used for dating the group have already been dealt with above, and I believe that they are reliable. The question of the time of the original — both Minto and Lippold regard it as an Early Hellenistic work — I hope to be able to take up again in another context.

Of great interest is a fragment of a head under life-size of the so-called Menander type. As will be seen from the illustrations (figs. 6–8) half the head is missing and nothing remains of the neck. The fragment is 17.5 cm. high. It is executed in a white marble with few but quite large crystals. This is probably Italic, although it might conceivably be marble from the Greek islands. The head was acquired from an art dealer in Rome in 1959.

This head, despite its insignificant size, is sculptured with great vigour and intensity, and it is undoubtedly one of the best replicas of the "Menander portrait". The modelling of the eye with engraved iris and hemispherically drilled pupil close beneath the lid and the drilling work in the hair clearly indicate its time — the second half of the second century A.D. This late dating of a replica of the famous portrait makes the fragment particularly valuable.

It is possible that the head is from a relief, although there is no detail on the fragment to indicate this. But the size of the head may to some extent support a theory of that kind.

With this new replica before us — probably the forty-third in succession — it may be of

interest, not only for the present writer, to take a quick look at the state of the identification question and the progress of the discussion so far. For more than four decades the identification of the so-called Menander portrait has been an archaeological bone of contention that is really rather disagreeable, because it gives an impression of an uncertainty in our datings of ancient sculpture which must seem shocking but which is fortunately not the general rule.

The contest began in earnest in 1918 when Franz Studniczka tried to show in his article *Das Bildnis Menanders*<sup>8</sup> that the portrait in question represents the Greek comedy-writer Menander, who died in 291 B.C. This was an opinion long held by the well-known German art-archaeologist; he had both spoken and written about it as early as the 1890's and now he was publishing a more detailed argumentation. He took as his starting-point the inscription material, which was not particularly copious but which included the base of a statue found in the Dionysos theatre in Athens bearing the inscription *MENANDPOΣ* and the information that Kephisodotos and Timarchos were the artists. These may conceivably be identical with Praxiteles' famous sons, who were contemporaries of Menander, and Studniczka has good grounds for assuming that the statue was set up during the last few years of Menander's life or possibly shortly after his death. Thus a statue dating from the two hundred and nineties B.C. once stood on this extant base, and it is with this missing work that Studniczka connects the famous portrait with the many replicas, which must represent a poet, because one of the replicas wears an ivy wreath.

His grounds for this identification, however,

<sup>8</sup> *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum*, Bd 41, 1918, pp. 1 ff. Cf. J. J. BERNOULLI, *Griechische Ikonographie II*, pp. 111 ff. GISELA M. A. RICHTER, *Greek Portraits*, Coll. Latomus, Vol. XX, pp 38 ff.

<sup>7</sup> MINTO, *o.c.*, pp. 96 f., Fig. 5.

were undoubtedly weak. They were mainly as follows:

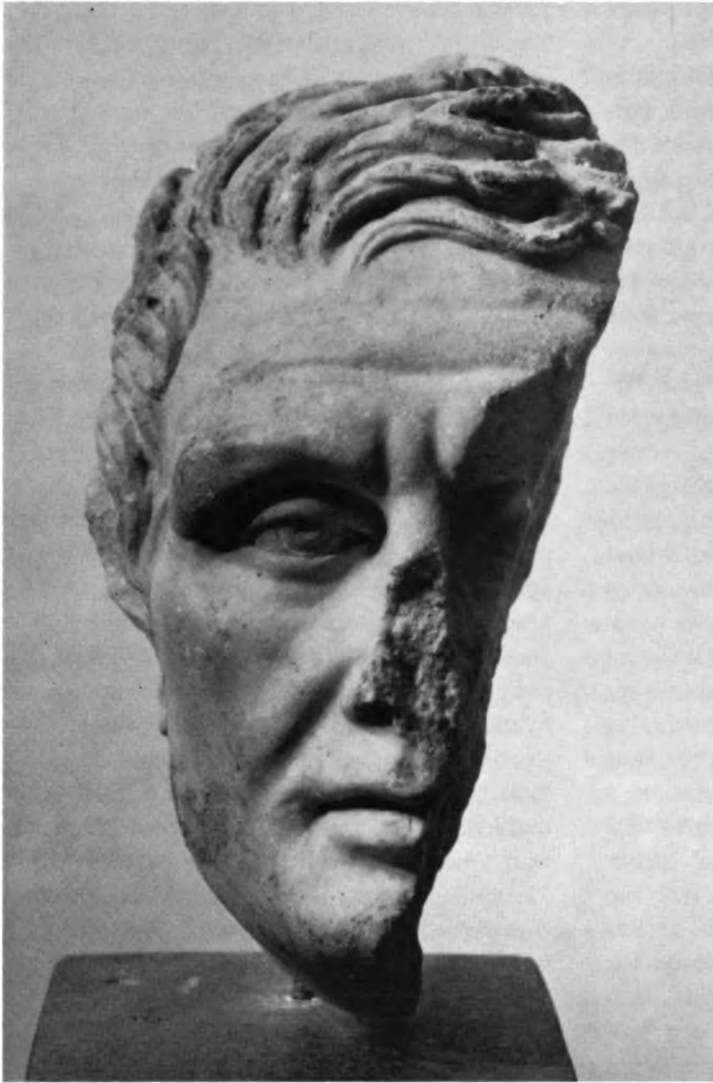
1. Two *imagines clipeatae*, shields with portrait busts, whose inscriptions indicate that the portraits are of Menander. These ought, of course, to be of decisive importance but one of them, in any case, is worthless in this connection. It is now missing but once belonged to the Roman iconographer Fulvio Orsini, who published it in his book *Imagines et elogia virorum illustrium* of 1570. Orsini, or Fulvius Ursinus, as he calls himself there, was librarian and antiquary to the Farnese family in Rome, a position like Winckelmann's in the Villa Albani. This portrait shield, which only exists as a drawing in the 1570 book and in a later edition brought out by Ursinus-Gallaeus in 1598–1607, is totally irrelevant to the problem. The two editions show quite a different portrait, and neither bears even a remote resemblance to our portrait. I believe that today all my colleagues in this field – whatever their attitude with regard to the naming question – would agree with that. The other portrait shield is more interesting. It is in an English collection, at Marbury Hall in Cheshire. It is an extremely dull and expressionless work of late antiquity, probably from the third century, but one must admit that Studniczka and his followers are right to the extent that there does exist a vague and very general resemblance to the famous portrait. This resemblance, however, is mainly restricted to the beardlessness of both and in some measure to the arrangement of the hair over the forehead. But bearing in mind the fact well known to every iconographer that an ancient portrait in an inferior reproduction can be changed almost beyond recognition, we may say that the Marbury Hall portrait does not raise any real obstacles to an identification of our portrait as a portrait of Menander, if such an identification were supported by other evidence. But there, unfortunately, matters leave much to be desired.

2. The portrait occurs in two types of double herm, in the one case collocated with a bearded Greek philosopher's head of a type earlier named Apollonius of Tyana but now usually considered to be a portrait of Homer. There are strong grounds for thinking that it may possibly represent Hesiod. This double herm exists in two or perhaps three authentic replicas<sup>9</sup>. In the other case the portrait is joined in a double herm to the equally famous so-called Pseudo-Seneca, who next after the so-called Menander has the distinction of being preserved in a large number of replicas – at present thirty-two I should think. Unfortunately, the identification also of these portraits is still an unsolved problem<sup>10</sup>. It certainly represents a poet, because one of the replicas is adorned with an ivy wreath, and on stylistic grounds the original is likely to have been made about 200 B.C. We cannot say more about this portrait unfortunately, all attempts at identification still being only more or less well-founded conjectures. We must therefore assert that the double herms cannot provide any clue to the determination of our portrait. Studniczka, who only knew the double herm with the Pseudo-Seneca, which he – no doubt correctly – regarded as the portrait of a Hellenic poet, merely came to the conclusion from the double herm that our portrait must also represent a Hellenic writer, because he is found to be joined with one. But this is certainly a completely erroneous assumption – there is indeed at least one instance of a Roman and a Greek being joined in a double herm where the identification is assured owing to the inscription<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. BIANCA MARIA FELLETTI MAJ, Museo Nazionale Romano, I Ritratti, pp. 20 ff., N. 21.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. B. STRANDMAN, The Pseudo-Seneca Problem, Konsthistorisk tidskrift XIX, 1950, pp. 53 ff. All the replicas are here noted down, and different possibilities of identification are discussed.

<sup>11</sup> The double herm of Socrates and Seneca in Berlin, J. J. BERNOULLI, Römische Ikonographie I, pp. 278 f., Taf. XXIV.



*Fig. 6. Fragment of head of the so-called Menander type. Marble. The Throne-Holst Collection. Djursholm.*

But apart from this, the antithesis or the collocation of Roman and Greek in pairs was a popular motif in Roman art. We need only refer to Plutarch's famous *vitae parallelae*, in which in fact famous Romans and Greeks are juxtaposed to form a kind of literary double herm.

3. Studniczka was of the opinion that the portrait belonged stylistically to the beginning of the third century and he looked for stylistic

parallels in Lysippos' Apoxyomenos, Agias and the portrait of Alexander and also in Polyuktos' statue of Demosthenes dating from 280. It is true that the portrait has Lysippan features, not least of the Alexander portrait. But on the other hand, it is a very personal and individualized portrait, difficult to imagine during such an early epoch.

No one is likely to deny that these were amazingly weak arguments advanced by Stud-

niczka in support of his Menander designation, and nothing new has emerged since 1918 to support it.

In the very same year in which Studniczka finally published his theory, opposition raised its head in the shape of an article by Georg Lippold<sup>12</sup>, who associated himself with the doubt earlier expressed by Adolf Furtwängler, who wanted to identify the so-called Menander as a Roman poet. Lippold guessed that it was Virgil and his views were followed up and further expanded in an article by J. F. Crome<sup>13</sup>. Crome's arguments were mainly as follows: He judged the portrait on stylistic grounds to be

a portrait of a Roman from the end of the Republic. In view of the large number of replicas – when Crome wrote there were thirty-eight of them – it must represent one of the most famous of the Roman poets. Lastly, it is collocated in a double herm with the so-called Apollonius of Tyana, which Crome – in common with perhaps the majority of investigators – considered to be a portrait of Homer. No Roman poet was better fitted than the writer of the Aeneid to form the Latin counterpart of Homer.

There are, as we see, large meshes also in this net. The discrepancy as regards the dating is naturally alarmingly great, and one wonders how such a divergence can be possible. But the so-called Menander portrait belongs to a tradi-

<sup>12</sup> Röm. Mitt. XXXIII, 1918, pp. 1 ff.  
<sup>13</sup> Reale Accademia Virgiliana di Mantova, Atti e Memorie, Nuova Serie Vol. XXIV, 1935, pp. 1 ff.



Fig. 7. The "Menander" head. Djursholm.



Fig. 8. The "Menander" head. Djursholm.

tion line in Hellenistic portrait art, which begins with the Alexander portrait by Lysippos and ends with the large group of Hellenistic portraits of Romans from the last century before the Christian era. The portraits of the Diadochi belong to this line, the portrait of Cicero too. This is a portrait art distinguished by ideality and strong feeling in personal interpretation and by an often magnificent and effective style. This trend is, on the whole, quite uniform throughout the Hellenistic Age, and it is not surprising that works belonging to it may be difficult to date. But although this line in the portrait art of the Hellenistic period has a fairly homogeneous character, it is not entirely uninfluenced by the changes in the interpretation of art and of persons, and even in those portraits which might justifiably be called ideal portraits the development tends towards psychological insight and individualization. From that point of view the portrait, as we have mentioned, is scarcely thinkable at the beginning of the third century but much more likely during the second half of the third century, a dating that has been suggested by L. Laurenzi<sup>14</sup> and V. Poulsen<sup>15</sup>. Hence Poulsen has wished to identify our unknown writer with the court poet Kallimachos of Alexandria, an attractive suggestion in many respects, but one that does not accord really well with the altogether unique popularity of our portrait during the whole time of the Roman Empire. I soon found when working with the Roman portraits from the end of the Republic that the so-called Menander portrait is readily believable as a work from that time<sup>16</sup>. We can cite many good stylistic parallels among private portraits during this time<sup>17</sup> and also have reason, like Rhys

Carpenter, to consider the Hellenistic portrait of Augustus or rather Octavian, preserved in coin-types from the thirties<sup>18</sup>. It is a representation of Octavian as omnipotent ruler, created in accordance with the tradition of the Alexander and Diadochi portraits. There is a strong resemblance in style between this coin-type and the so-called Menander, and we may note that the treatment of the hair is the same. What could be more natural than that the representation of Virgil, the Augustan court poet and national bard, should follow the style of the Octavian portrait? The combination in a double herm with Apollonius of Tyana, irrespective of whether this portrait represents Homer or Hesiod, is also, as B. M. Felletti Maj has pointed out<sup>19</sup>, a powerful argument in support of the Virgil hypothesis.

I therefore still feel great sympathy for this idea, although I am fully aware that it has not been proved. A more thorough examination than has hitherto been made of all the replicas in an attempt to date the time of each replica would be of value. Perhaps they all belong to the time of the Roman Empire. The abundance of replicas cannot be due to chance but must be connected with the importance of the person portrayed. One thinks in this connection of the dominant influence exerted by Virgil on Roman educational life. This was primarily due to the schools, where he was studied already at the elementary stage and provided material for exercises in grammar and metrics. Study continued in the higher classes and his importance was great in the schools of rhetoric<sup>20</sup>. Even Augustinus declares how living he still was in the minds of all educated people<sup>21</sup>. In schools, gymnasia and libraries his likeness was often

<sup>14</sup> *Ritratti Greci*, pp. 139 ff.

<sup>15</sup> *Kunstmuseets Årsskrift 1951*, pp. 67 ff.

<sup>16</sup> *Studien zur Kunstgeschichte der römischen Republik*, p. 215.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. e.g. the replica in Korfu, Fig. 9, with the head in Delos, C. MICHALOWSKI, *Les portraits hellénistiques*, Pl. XXI, or a head in the Museo Nazionale Romano, FELLETTI MAJ, *I Ritratti*, 44. Cf. further

R. HERBIG, *Zum Menander-Vergil Problem*, *Röm. Mitt.* LIX, 1944–46, pp. 77 ff.

<sup>18</sup> A contribution to the Vergil-Menander controversy, *Hesperia* XX, 1951, pp. 34 ff.

<sup>19</sup> FELLETTI MAJ, *o.c.*, p. 21.

<sup>20</sup> SCHANZ-HOSIUS, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* II, pp. 98 ff.

<sup>21</sup> *Civ. dei* I, 13.

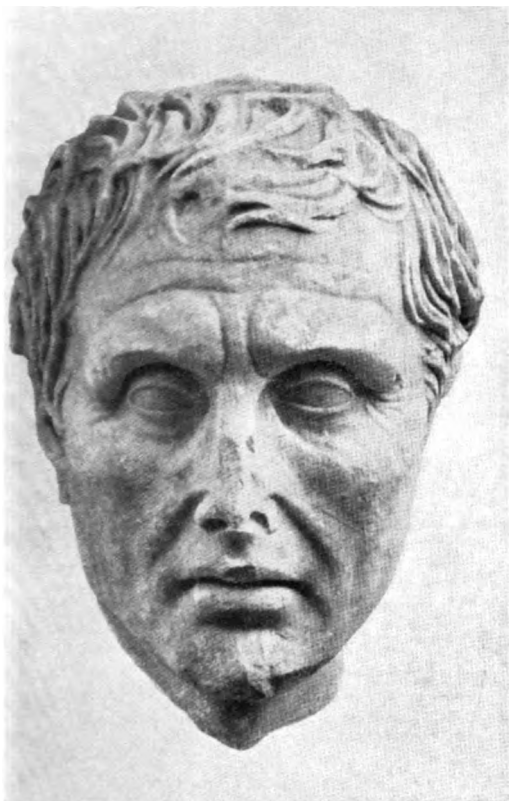


Fig. 9. "Menander". Marble. Museum of Corfu.

to be seen<sup>22</sup>, and indeed nothing would be more natural than to find that his portrait in particular has been preserved in an unusually large number of replicas. The new replica in Throne-Holst's collection to some extent supports the Virgil theory because it is so late. Menander, it is true, was popular throughout classical antiquity but owing to his language was not as highly valued by the Atticistic purists of the second century<sup>23</sup>. It is also rather uncommon for a Greek poet's or philosopher's portrait from late classical or Hellenistic times to be supplemented in a copy from the time of the Roman Empire by the drilling and engraving of pupil

and iris. In a copy of a Roman portrait from the early Empire period an addition of that kind would seem more natural.

Now if the so-called Menander really is Virgil, then the portrait in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek recently named Virgil by Vagn Poulsen cannot represent the same poet<sup>24</sup>. It is a portrait in four replicas, one of which is combined in a double herm with the so-called Pseudo-Seneca. But for the identification of this interesting portrait from the end of the Republic, to which Poulsen has drawn attention, there are of course other possibilities, too. Suetonius' characterization of Virgil's appearance, that he had a countrified look, fits in to some extent with the Copenhagen portrait. But on the other hand, it is improbable that a sculptor would have stressed such a feature when he was creating the likeness of the national bard.

It is quite natural for us to pass on from the "Menander portrait" to one of the Roman portraits in the collection, the one shown in figs. 10–11. It is still full of living Hellenism and yet definitely belongs to a Roman milieu. It is one of the first acquisitions in the collection and was bought in 1937 from the Norwegian painter L. O. Ravensberg, who obtained it in Rome.

This work is a head in natural size. Its height is 22.5 cm., the total height of the piece including the neck being 26.3 cm. It is executed in marble, which is white with very small crystals and has a light yellowish brown patina. The surface looks as though it were pitted with small corrosion holes in places, especially on the nose and brow and in the hair, which is hardly a natural condition for marble. On the left side of the crown of the head a lump has been corroded away or knocked off and there the marble seems flaky. The material has the character of marble closely related to lime-

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Suetonius, Gaius Caligula 34, Iuvenalis sat. VII, 225 ff.

<sup>23</sup> W. SCHMID, Wilhelm von Christ's Geschichte der griechischen Literatur (6. Aufl.), pp. 45 f.

<sup>24</sup> Meddelelser fra Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1958, pp. 1 ff.







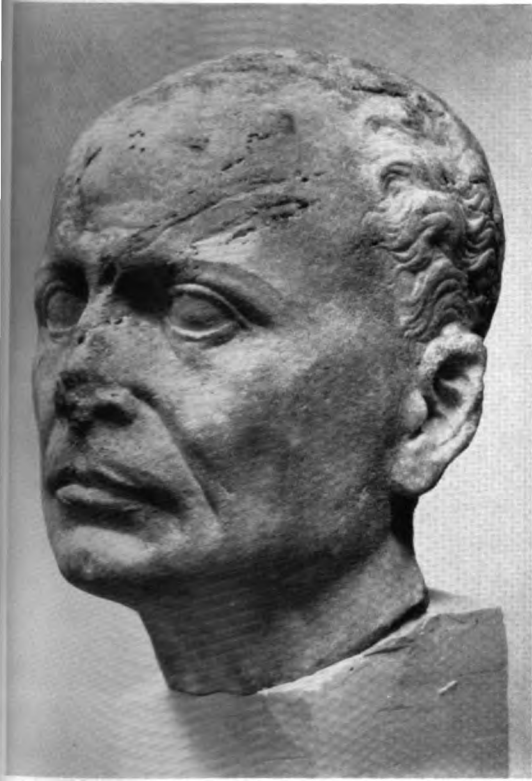


Fig. 11. The head shown in Fig. 10.

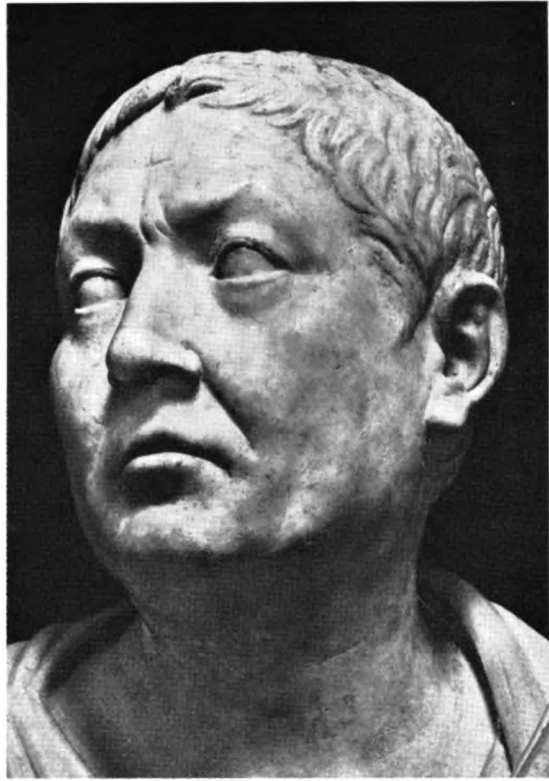


Fig. 12. Roman portrait. Marble. Museo Nazionale, Naples.

stone of, for instance, travertine type. The tip of the nose is fractured and the neck broken off – with a cut surface – at the base. A broken part at the back of the neck has a raised edge, indicating that there was originally a drapery here, probably of a toga.

The back of the head is only coarsely carved with very slight hair marking. The crown is bald, framed by the curved, thick locks of hair at the temples. A few sparse locks at the back of the crown are combed forwards. Deep furrows in the cheeks frame the protruding mouth. The neck is quite scraggy, with pronounced tendons and Adam's apple.

The decisive effect, when confronted with this head, is its gentleness and melancholy, the

sensitive form language which finds expression particularly in the almost femininely soft and well-shaped mouth. But it is also clear and simple in structure, with a sculptural purity and strength that puts it among works in the strong Hellenistic tradition of the final phase of the Republic. It has nothing of the exaggerated illusionism characterizing the Flavian portrait, which also suggests itself perhaps when one at a first glance attempts to discover the time of this head.

There are many closely related works in the Hellenistic group of Roman portraits from the last century B.C., both in the east and in the purely Roman milieu. A portrait in the British Museum from Rhodes<sup>25</sup> is an example

Fig. 10. Roman portrait. Marble. The Throne-Holst Collection, Djursholm.

<sup>25</sup> A. H. SMITH, *Catalogue of Sculpture III*, 1965. R. HINKS, *Greek and Roman Portrait-Sculpture*, p. 15. VESSBERG, *Studien*, p. 214, Taf. LI:2.



**Fig. 13.** Roman portrait. Marble. *The Throne-Holst Collection, Djursholm.*



**Fig. 14.** The head shown in Fig. 13.



**Fig. 15.** Tombstone with busts of *Pinarius Lanteros and Myrsine.* Marble. *Museo delle Terme, Rome.*

from the east with the same sensitive, living surface and the same gentle contrast between the hair and the skin of the face. Among the Roman portraits of special note are a well-known portrait in Naples<sup>26</sup> (fig. 12) with a replica in the Louvre, one of the "great unidentified" who have been given different names, a head in the Lateran which A. Giuliano, interestingly enough, has compared with the Menander portrait<sup>27</sup>, and a head in the Vatican<sup>28</sup>. A particularly striking parallel is a head in the Lateran<sup>29</sup> that once formed part of a historical relief from the middle of the last century B.C. Here there is agreement feature by feature: the treatment of the hair, the shape of the forehead and eyebrows, the drawing of the eye, and the soft drooping mouth. It should be pointed out that our head also has a connection with the Roman-realistic line in the portrait art of the end of the Republic<sup>30</sup>. The lean stringy throat particularly recalls portraits in this group, where it is often a strongly accentuated feature, not least in the portraits of Caesar from the middle of the century. Our portrait is also likely to belong to this time, c. 50 B.C.

It is interesting to compare our Hellenized Roman with the prosaic workaday type exemplified by the head in figs. 13–14. There is not much idealism or sentiment in these slightly trivial but surely sculptured features. This is a head in Italic marble with a yellow patina, broken right across the neck. The total height of the piece is 26 cm. The tip of the nose is fractured, but otherwise, as we see from the picture, the head is well preserved.

<sup>26</sup> Guida Ruesch, 1101. A. HEKLER, *Die Bildniskunst der Griechen und Römer*, 148a. VESSBERG, *Studien*, pp. 212 f., Taf. L.

<sup>27</sup> A. GIULIANO, *Catalogo dei ritratti Romani del Museo Profano Lateranense*, 6, Tavv. 5–6.

<sup>28</sup> G. KASCHNITZ-WEINBERG, *Sculture del Magazzino del Museo Vaticano*, Nr. 591, Taf. 95. VESSBERG, *Studien*, p. 223, Taf. 60.

<sup>29</sup> A. J. B. WACE, *P.B.S. III*, 1905, p. 287, Pl. XXX, Fig. 3. VESSBERG, *Studien*, p. 190, Taf. XXXII:1.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. e.g. VESSBERG, *Studien*, Taf. LXI.

Again we have before us a "Republican" but of the soberly matter-of-fact Roman type. The only very roughly sketched hair, the well-defined protruding mouth and the shrivelled neck with its strongly marked tendons are characteristic features of this portrait, which has very close parallels particularly on the tomb reliefs from the end of the Republic. I will compare it especially with the portrait of Pinarius Lanterus on a relief in the Museo delle Terme<sup>31</sup> (fig. 15). It shows a startling resemblance to our head in both physiognomy and style. They are so much alike that we have every reason to assume that they are works of the same artist or workshop. Consequently, the head also goes with two other tomb reliefs which I have earlier put together with the above-mentioned relief in the Museo delle Terme to form a group, namely a relief in the Villa Colonna with portraits of Manlia Rufa and Manlius Stephanus<sup>32</sup> and another relief in the Museo delle Terme, previously located in the Villa Mattei, with busts of one man and two women<sup>33</sup>. All these reliefs certainly come from the same workshop. The male portraits on these reliefs are distinguished by rigidity and firmness of structure, and they exhibit the physiognomical affinity which throughout the centuries characterizes portraits from the same epoch. They are from the time of transition to the Empire period, the relief bearing the portrait of Pinarius Lanterus, which corresponds so remarkably well with the head we are now considering, having earlier been dated by me to c. 30 B. C.

The large bronze head in figs. 16–20 is undoubtedly one of the most noteworthy acquisitions in Throne-Holst's collection. It was purchased in 1957 in Lucerne at a sale of objects from Jacob Hirsch's collection.

<sup>31</sup> VESSBERG, *Studien*, p. 199, Taf. XXXVIII:3.

<sup>32</sup> VESSBERG, *Studien*, pp. 198 ff., Taf. XXXVIII:1.

<sup>33</sup> F. W. GOETHERT, *Zur Kunst der röm. Republik*, p. 49. VESSBERG, *Studien*, pp. 198 f., Taf. XXXVIII:2.



The head, which is broken off at the upper part of the neck, is of colossal size. Its height is 44 cm., the maximum width *en face* being 32 cm. and in profile 36.5 cm. The thickness of the sheet-bronze is 0.8–1.0 cm. on the forehead, 0.4–0.8 cm. at the neck and 0.4–1.0 cm. in the hair. Most of the top of the head is missing. There is a crack about 20 cm. long on the left side of the head, behind the ear. There are also cracks and small holes in the whiskers on the left side of the head and a crack about 10 cm. long on the right side of the back of the head. The hair and beard on the right side are flattened, evidently as the result of a blow, and the nose has been bent by a blow, too. The left side of the face is slightly worn or weathered, evidently by the action of water. There are numerous incrustations in the hair. But as a whole this magnificent head is well preserved in all its splendour, which is specially brought out by the gilding, most of which remains. The gilding is particularly well preserved in the hair, notably on the right side of the back of the head, and also on the forehead, eyes, cheeks nearest the nose, moustache, lips and chin-beard.

The eyes have engraved irises and the pupils are executed as oval depressions.

According to information supplied by Herr Paul Viktor Suppan of Vienna, to whose family the head belonged before it was acquired by Dr. Jacob Hirsch, it was found in the Tiber in Rome about 1770–1790 and was at first owned by the Cardinal Schönborn who was attached to the court of Ferdinand IV in Naples.

The colossal size indicates that it is the portrait of an Emperor, and there is no doubt that it bears the features of Antoninus Pius, although when first weighing the possibilities one might also think of Hadrian or Septimius Severus. But the small tufts or small curls of

hair, the bulging forehead and the very strong chin are essential traits in the image of Antoninus Pius that are not found in the others; the mild, sagacious and what might be described as commonplace look is also extremely characteristic. The portraits of Antoninus Pius have prominent thick front hair with two groups of locks particularly marked<sup>34</sup>. These may be given a highly significant form, almost like a crayfish's claw<sup>35</sup>, as for instance in a portrait in the Museo Nazionale in Naples or the portrait in the Sala a Croce Greca in the Vatican. But in our portrait the locks are modelled throughout as thick, entirely distinct "spiral rolls", and this also applies to the frontal hair. This treatment of the hair is characteristic of a group of late Antoninus portraits which M. Wegner has brought together and which in their style are closely linked to the portraits of Marcus Aurelius<sup>36</sup>, particularly the portraits of the 160's, to which the equestrian statue on the Capitol probably also belongs. There the type of hair has changed completely to small distinct spiral locks, a type of hair treatment wholly foreign to Hadrian's time and not found either in the early portraits of Antoninus Pius. If we look at the coin-types we can see that the "spiral lock hair" first appears in the youthful effigies of Marcus Aurelius on Antoninus Pius' coins<sup>37</sup>. In the portraits of Antoninus Pius which may reliably be dated to early coin-series, it does not however occur, but we find a tendency to a similar treatment of the hair in later coin-series, those issued after 145<sup>38</sup>.

It should be noted that the hair in small curls, the "spiral lock hair", is also present in

<sup>34</sup> M. WEGNER, *Die Herrscherbildnisse in antoninischer Zeit*, p. 25, Taf. 4b.

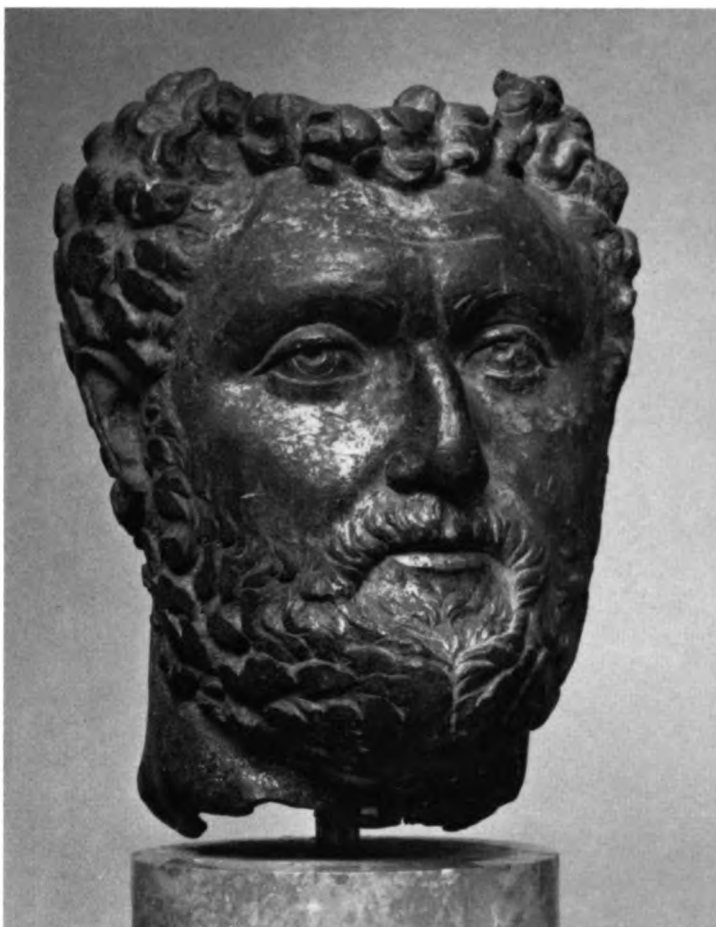
<sup>35</sup> WEGNER, *o.c.*, p. 22, Taf. 4a.

<sup>36</sup> WEGNER, *o.c.*, pp. 24 ff.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. e.g. H. MATTINGLY, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum* IV, Pl. 3, 17–20, aurei and denarii of 139 A.D.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. e.g. MATTINGLY, *o.c.* IV, Pl. 40:1–2, 41:1, 42:10, 45:2.

Fig. 16. Portrait of Antoninus Pius. Bronze. The Throne-Holst Collection, Djursholm.



*Fig. 17. Antoninus Pius. Bronze. The Throne-Holst Collection, Djursholm.*

the portraits of Septimius Severus. We can perhaps say that our bronze head has a certain general resemblance to the portraits of Severus. But the differences are fundamental and conspicuous if we compare the coin-types<sup>39</sup>. The head of Septimius Severus is short and robust, that of Antoninus Pius long. The hair of the former has a bushier and more untidy form, also the beard, which in the case of Septimius Severus is divided into long tongues or tufts. If we compare with portraits of Severus sculptured in the round, the admirable bronze statue

in Nicosia for instance<sup>40</sup>, we can see among other things that Septimius Severus has a weaker, narrower chin. His look also reveals an entirely different person. It is a little squinting and unsure, contrasting strongly with Antoninus Pius' steady, sagacious look.

We can therefore identify our bronze head with absolute certainty as a portrait of Antoninus Pius. In his treatment of the iconography of this Emperor, M. Wegner has divided the portraits of Antoninus into three chronologically distinct groups, where the treatment

<sup>39</sup> Cf. regarding the Severus portraits on coins MATTINGLY, *o.c.* V, Pl. 5 ff.

<sup>40</sup> P. DIKAIOS, *A Guide to the Cyprus Museum*, p. 111. S.C.E. IV:3, Pl. XXII.



*Figs. 18—20. Antoninus Pius. Bronze. The Throne-Holst Collection, Djursholm.*





of the hair was the determining factor<sup>41</sup>. Our bronze head comes nearest to the third of these groups, a group of late portraits in which the hair is entirely moulded as a "Lockenrollenwerk" without tongues or loose tufts. This is a hair style which bridges over to the time of Marcus Aurelius and which in itself shows that the group is late and belongs to the last years of Antoninus Pius' reign or may possibly be posthumous. But, in addition, the portraits exhibit certain marked features of old age. This applies to some extent also to our bronze head. The furrows of the brow are more than usually accentuated and the face has something of the calm and resignation of an old man.

The colossal size most probably indicates that the head was part of a statue, although of course a bust is also a possibility. The coins have preserved various statuary representations of Antoninus Pius. He is portrayed in armour with a lance in his hand<sup>42</sup>, sacrificing in the toga and with covered head<sup>43</sup>, in the toga with the terrestrial globe in his hand<sup>44</sup>, and on horseback<sup>45</sup>. He is represented as *divus* enthroned with a sceptre in his left hand and a spray in his right<sup>46</sup>, and we also have on the coins a picture of the column surmounted by a statue which Marcus Aurelius erected to the memory of his predecessor<sup>47</sup>. He is there depicted holding a sceptre and presumably *togatus*. Among these representations we look for a statuary motif in which the slight turn to the right would be particularly well justified. It is so especially in one, the *allocutio* motif. The raised right arm in oratorical pose makes a slight orientation of the head to the right quite natural. Among the statuary motifs that have been mentioned on the coins there is only one showing the

Emperor with the *allocutio* gesture and that is the equestrian statue. The statue of Marcus Aurelius on the Capitol exhibits the same slight inclination to the right as our bronze head, an inclination motivated by the oratorical gesture with the right arm.

The statue of Marcus Aurelius and our head come very close to each other in style, too, and there is a marked resemblance in the facture of the heads<sup>48</sup>. We should note especially the identical treatment of the hair in the form of "bosses", divided by one or two furrows or grooves. Strikingly similar is the moulding of the eyebrows, which are done in relief, and the moustache. The eyebrows also have the same arched undulating line. The rich plastic inflections of the surface with contrasting light and shade are repeated in both, although more moderately in the Antoninus Pius portrait, which is more influenced by an older tradition. It seems probable to me that these two works come from the same workshop and they cannot be far distant from each other in time. An assumption of this kind is supported by the individual datings. We have found that the Antoninus Pius portrait was made during the last years of the Emperor's reign or possibly after his death. The equestrian statue on the Capitol belongs without doubt to the earlier years of Marcus Aurelius' reign and has been dated by Wegner to the period between 164 and 166<sup>49</sup>.

Whether the head of Antoninus Pius was part of an equestrian statue or an ordinary statue cannot be determined with certainty. In the latter case it may have been a statue in armour, a statue in a toga or perhaps most likely of all a heroizing statue in the nude with

<sup>41</sup> Die Herrscherbildnisse in antoninischer Zeit, pp. 21 ff.

<sup>42</sup> MATTINGLY, o.c. IV, Pl. 6:17-18.

<sup>43</sup> MATTINGLY, o.c. IV, Pl. 13:10-11.

<sup>44</sup> MATTINGLY, o.c. IV, Pl. 16:19.

<sup>45</sup> MATTINGLY, o.c. IV, Pl. 16:6, 46:1.

<sup>46</sup> MATTINGLY, o.c. IV, Pl. 54:16.

<sup>47</sup> MATTINGLY, o.c. IV, Pl. 54:17.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. K. KLUGE-K. LEHMANN-HARTLEBEN, Die antiken Grossbronzen III, Taf. XII. WEGNER, o.c., Taf. 23.

<sup>49</sup> WEGNER, o.c., p. 42.

Fig. 21. Roman portrait bust. 3rd cent. A.D. The Throne-Holst Collection, Djursholm.







Fig. 22. Portrait of Claudius Gothicus. Medallion. 1.4:1. Vienna.



Fig. 23. Portrait of Carinus. Medallion. 2:1. Bale.

mantle drapery as in the bronze statue with the head of Septimius Severus in Brussels<sup>50</sup>. Where in Rome the statue of Antoninus Pius was erected, when gleaming with gold it was completed about 160, is also uncertain. But the place of its finding in the Tiber permits a guess that it stood — in fact like the above-mentioned statue in Brussels — in Hadrian's mausoleum, where Antoninus Pius' tomb was also placed. Perhaps the head found its way into the Tiber already in the time of Justinian on the occasion when the Goths under Vitiges laid siege to Rome in 537 and stormed the *moles Hadriani*. Then the besieged defended themselves by hurling statues down onto the enemy.

The male bust in fig. 21 is a most impressive representative of its epoch in the collection — both through its martial accessories and its gravity and tense expression. It is a portrait

of a middle-aged man with lean features and intense gaze, close-cut hair and beard and a coarse protruding mouth with thick lips. The bust is clad in armour with paludamentum, which is fastened with a button, decorated with a rosette, on the right shoulder. The breast part is hollowed out at the back and has a sculptured support. The material is marble, white with a yellow patina. It is rich in very small crystals and is likely to be of Italic origin. The total height of the bust is 64 cm., the height of the head being 25 cm. It was bought in 1958 from a Swiss art-dealer.

Here we have before us one of the third century generals, the paludamentum showing that he is a military commander. There is severity and something of impatience and nervous tension in his features that admirably illustrates the hectic pulse of the century. The hair encloses the skull like a calotte and is modelled in finely chiselled "strands". At the back of the head it is more sketchily done, but it is nevertheless arranged with a distinct middle-parting. The pupils in the large eyes,

<sup>50</sup> KLUGE—LEHMANN-HARTLEBEN, o.c. III, Taf. XXX.

ershadowed by powerful eyebrows, are drilled an-shaped. The fashion of the hair and beard, the lean features and the strong realism bring to mind particularly one of the third century's Imperial effigies on coins, namely the portrait of Claudius Gothicus (fig. 22)<sup>51</sup>. The characteristic, thick, bushy beard on the cheeks and under the chin is still more marked on the

coin-types of Carinus (fig. 23)<sup>52</sup>. This is a fashion in beards largely inherited from Gallienic times and characterizing many portraits from post-Gallienic times<sup>53</sup>. In consideration of the Emperor effigies here compared, of which the portrait of Claudius in particular seems to be the type-forming ruler portrait in this case, the bust should be dated to 265–285 A.D.

<sup>51</sup> B. M. FELLETTI MAJ, *Iconografia Romana Imperiale da Severo Alessandro a M. Aurelio Carino*, iv. XLIX:169. Here reproduced as fig. 22.

<sup>52</sup> FELLETTI MAJ, o.c., Tav. LVII:201. Here reproduced as fig. 23.

<sup>53</sup> H. P. L'ORANGE, *Studien zur Geschichte des spätantiken Porträts*, pp. 35 f.

**Photo:**

O. Ekberg, pp. 56, 58, 59 (Fig. 18).

J. Felbermeyer, pp. 43–44 (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut,  
Rom, Neg. 42.59, 42.70).

N. Lagergren, pp. 6–35, 48–49, 54 (Figs. 13–14),  
59 (Figs. 19–20).

Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, p. 41.

**Drawings:**

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# Supplementary Notes on Finds from Ajia Irini in Cyprus

EINAR GJERSTAD

## Introduction

The village of Ajia Irini is situated not far from the shore of the N.W. coast of Cyprus. A sanctuary close by this village was excavated by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition in 1929–1930. These excavations yielded results important for our knowledge of the history of Cypriote religion and the sculptural art of the island. The evidence bearing upon the history of religion has been studied by Erik Sjöqvist<sup>1</sup>, the architectural remains and the objects found are published in *Swed. Cyp. Exp.* II, pp. 642 ff. In time the finds range from the final period of the Bronze Age, Late Cypriote III, to c. 500 B.C., i.e. a short time before the end of the Cypro-Archaic epoch, with the addition of an insignificant revival of the cult in the Hellenistic period after a complete interruption during the Cypro-Classical time. The cult practised in the sanctuary was from the beginning a fertility cult and the deity was conceived in the shape of a bull in the religious ideas of the worshippers. In Late Cypriote III (c. 1200–1050 B.C.) the sanctuary consisted of a complex of rectangular houses along the sides of a large, open court, with the central building as the cult house proper, where

all the cult requisites were found. In the beginning of the Cypro-Geometric period, c. 1050 B.C., this sanctuary was covered by a thick layer of sterile, red earth and on top of the same a sanctuary of quite another type was constructed: an open temenos of an irregularly oval shape, surrounded by a peribolos wall of red earth and with a low altar and a libation table, close by the altar, as a sacred centre. The majority of the *ex votos* consisted of terracotta bulls and from this we may infer that the cult remained a cult of fertility and that the deity was still conceived in the shape of a bull.

This Geometric temenos lasted to the middle of Cypro-Geometric III, c. 775 B.C., when the sanctuary was subject to some modifications. The peribolos wall was heightened and the earlier altar was replaced by a new one in the shape of a rectangular pillar. The majority of the *ex votos* deposited in this new temenos consists of three classes of sculptures: bull statuettes, minotaurs, and human figures. The minotaurs are composed of a bull's body and a human torso and head. They are represented as adorants of the deity worshipped, as his attendants. They indicate that for the strictly theriomorphous conception of the deity had been substituted an initial anthropomorphic

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. f. Rel. Wiss.* XXX, 1932, pp. 308 ff.

idea of the same, as also confirmed by the statuettes of human shape. They are the first *ex votos* of human sculptures at Ajia Irini and in the subsequent periods this new category of *ex votos* was developed into the great art sculpture of Cypro-Archaic I and II. Both in cult and art the anthropomorphic idea becomes predominant. The great number of armed figures among the votive sculptures, the chariot statuettes, etc. indicate that the deity was a god of war as well as a god of fertility, whose attributes, the thunderbolts (pp. 27, 40) show that his capacity of fertility also included the fertilizing rain: in other words, he was a god of general protection for the society, a *theos sosipolis*.

The particular importance of the votive sculptures of Ajia Irini for the elucidation of the history of Cypriote sculptural art during the Archaic period lies in the fact that these sculptures were found in stratigraphically distinct contexts<sup>2</sup>, so that, for their chronological determination, we are not dependent solely on stylistic criteria but have also supplementary stratigraphical evidence. In the excavation report the art sculpture<sup>3</sup> has been classified in a

number of local styles and the stratified levels have been used to mark the sequence of the local periods. In the general classification of the material undertaken in *Swed. Cyp. Exp. IV:2*, these local styles have been grouped together into a number of general styles and for the local periods general chronological periods have been substituted. The general styles of the art sculpture in question are: First Proto-Cypriote, Second Proto-Cypriote, Neo-Cypriote, and Archaic-Greek.

For the interrelations of these local and general styles I refer to *Swed. Cyp. Exp. IV:2*, p. 93<sup>4</sup>. In this paper I shall use the terms of the general classification when dealing with the art sculpture but for the animal statuettes and the human figurines belonging to the category called idol plastic (pp. 38 f.) I shall use the terms of the minute classification of the different types of this plastic made in the excavation report, because these types are more confined to a specific locality than the styles of the art sculpture and the terms for denoting the types of the idol plastic in the general classification made in *Swed. Cyp. Exp. IV:2*<sup>5</sup> comprise necessarily too many varieties and cannot therefore be used to indicate precisely one local variety.

For the relation of the local Ajia Irini periods and those of the general chronology I refer to *Swed. Cyp. Exp. IV:2*, pp. 191, 197 f., 207<sup>6</sup>. It goes without saying that these periods overlap each other, the intervals of the local periods, as mentioned (n. 2), being dependent on the time of inundations caused by winter floods. In cases

<sup>2</sup> The stratification, as described in detail in the excavation report, *op. cit.* II, pp. 797 ff., was in the Cypro-Archaic period to a large extent formed by alluvial sand and gravel brought down by heavy winter rains flooding the open air sanctuary on several occasions: in the early part of Cypro-Archaic II, about the middle of that period and at the beginning of its final phase, in absolute figures, c. 560, 540, and 500 B.C. After the inundations of c. 560 and 540 B.C. the new floor of the sanctuary was levelled on top of the alluvial material but the earlier sculptures were left on their original level, and new sculptures were deposited on the each time raised level. The small statuettes standing on the floor inundated c. 560 B.C. were finally entirely covered by the alluvium and the larger sculptures almost entirely, or up to the breast, or waist etc. dependent on their height.

<sup>3</sup> In *op. cit.* p. 777, the various categories of sculptures represented at Ajia Irini have been distinguished: the majority of the small and larger statuettes are pure idol plastic, i.e., they are not of an artistic, but only a sacred nature, not produced with artistic intentions, but only for religious purposes, to be used as votive offerings; only the sculptures bearing the impress of an incontestable and clearly artistic character may be classified as art sculpture, only these sculptures are stylistically determinable, if by style is meant an artistic norm producing an intended artistic shape; within the idol plastic no styles, only types can be distinguished; there are also several mixed specimens between these two categories (cf. pp. 36 f., 39).

<sup>4</sup> From the diagram, *loc. cit.*, it can be seen that the Ajia Irini styles I and II correspond to the First Proto-Cypriote style, the Ajia Irini styles III and IV correspond to the Second Proto-Cypriote style, the Ajia Irini styles V and VI correspond to the Neo-Cypriote style, the Ajia Irini style VII corresponds to the Archaic Cypro-Greek style.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 125 ff.

<sup>6</sup> It can be seen that the local Period I falls within Late Cypriote III, Period 2 covers Cypro-Geometric I, II and lasted until the middle of Cypro-Geometric III, Period 3 from the latter date until about the middle of Cypro-Archaic I, i.e. c. 650 B.C., Period 4 from that date until the early phase of Cypro-Archaic II, or in absolute figures c. 560 B.C., Period 5 from c. 560 to 540 B.C. and Period 6 from c. 540 to 500 B.C.

where required for a chronological precision reference to the local periods will be made in this paper, otherwise the terms of the general chronology will be used.

In accordance with the principles of the publication of the excavation reports of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition, the finds from the sanctuary at Ajia Irini were published when the fragmentary objects had been mended to such an extent that a material had been obtained that was considered to be sufficient to form a basis for the chronological and historical conclusions. When the objects found on every excavation site had been prepared for publication in this way there remained, however, considerable fragments of pottery, sculptures, etc., which were brought to Sweden for studies and for further mending. It will take a long time before all this fragmentary material has been thoroughly examined and mended but it is work that is profitable from a scientific point of view and will also supply the Museum of Mediterranean Antiquities with many valuable new acquisitions obtained from the material already existing in the museum.

For some time Mr. Toulis Souidos has been systematically working on the fragments of terracottas from Ajia Irini for the purpose of putting together the still *dissecta membra* and the results of his efforts are very satisfactory from several points of view. When Dr. Vessberg invited me to publish a paper on these partly new, partly restored finds from Cyprus I accepted his invitation with pleasure as it offered me a desirable opportunity to return for a while to my old hunting grounds. A well known proverb says: "Love does not tarnish with age."

I wish to emphasize that the sculptures dealt with here do not include all those from Ajia Irini restored by Mr. Souidos. The restored terracotta figures not considered here belong, however, entirely to the category of idol plastic which is already represented by many similar specimens and their restoration includes only minor details, falling within the sphere of

museal preservation but of no particular scientific interest. On the other hand it should be noted that some interesting fragmentary sculptures have been left out of consideration in this paper, in the hope that the missing parts will be found in the course of continued restoration work. It is therefore not out of the question that there will be material for a second supplementary note on the Ajia Irini sculptures to be published on a later occasion.

Surveying the scientific results of the restoration work we can sum them up in the following way: no evidence has appeared inconsistent with the historical conclusions drawn from the material existing at the time of the publication of the excavation report but several interesting particulars have been added to our picture of the section of ancient life in Cyprus as revealed by the finds from Ajia Irini. These particulars will be summed up in the final chapter of this paper.

During my work in preparing this paper Mr. Bror Millberg, draughtsman at the Museum of Mediterranean Antiquities, has rendered me invaluable service in many ways for which I wish to express my sincerest thanks to him, and it is also a pleasure to acknowledge a very instructive discussion with Mr. Tom Möller, sculptor and teacher at Konstfackskolan, Stockholm, about some technical problems connected with the sculptures from Ajia Irini.

### Object register

N. B. Clay and slip are described only when not mentioned in the excavation report and measures are given only in case the parts added to the objects have changed their principal dimensions.

### POTTERY

No. 2414 (*Swed. Cyp. Exp.* II, p. 763). White Painted IV—V amphora; the second handle and parts of the shoulder and rim added; somewhat drooping rim; the vertical lines dividing the metope decoration on the shoulder are more or less rippled; the outer line of the concentric circles, both those on the shoulder and the neck, is often thicker than the others but there



are also circles formed by concentric lines of uniform width; the bodies of the female figurines on the handles are modelled by hand but the heads are made in a mould, a variety of Type 7 (*op. cit.* p. 788), with oval face, curved nose, thick lips, elliptic eyes and wig-shaped hair; the arms (in part broken off) were bent upwards with the hands below the breasts; dressed in a long tunic, painted red, with black border and black girdle across waist, shoes painted red with black top-border; hair black; traces of red paint on lips and ears, black on eyes. Incisions of signs indicating marks of capacity: :ZZZIIIIIII: The dots indicate the beginning and end of the marks of capacity and serve to prevent the additions of further signs (Fig. 1).

## BULL STATUETTES

### Type 1

No. 2770 (*op. cit.* p. 774). Horns reconstructed from a fragment of a similar statuette with one horn entirely preserved (Fig. 2 b, right) found in Square D3; left hind leg added; lower part of right hind leg reconstructed (Fig. 2 a and b, left).

### Type 4

No. 2034 (*op. cit.* p. 749). Right horn added and left horn reconstructed in plaster; traces of snake curling also from base of right foreleg up to neck; small part of back reconstructed in plaster as well as left hind leg and base of right hind leg (Fig. 3).

No. 2045 (*op. cit.* p. 750)+*Suppl. No. 2809*. To the bull's head, No. 2045, the body, *Suppl. No. 2809*, has been added. This statuette was assigned to Type 4 in the excavation report owing to the fact that at the time of the publication of that report only the head of the statuette was known to exist and that is very similar to those of Type 4. The discovery of fragments of the body joined to the head shows, however, that this statuette forms properly a type of its own, but

may also be considered as a variety of Type 4. The body is short and barrel-shaped without back-bone; cylindrical legs with somewhat widening base; forelegs with knees marked by projections; hind legs with ridges marking their bony structure; hole on buttock; tail missing, but must have been freely hanging; short neck with ridged top and brisket in front; triangular head with tubular mouth; prominent eyes; pointed pellet ears; curved horns; traces of black paint on mouth. Tail missing and parts of ridges on hind legs; left foreleg, parts of body and left horn restored in plaster. Brown clay; greenish grey-yellow slip. Length 25.3 cm.; height 33.0 cm. (Fig. 4).

### Type 5

No. 2027 (*op. cit.* p. 749). Left horn added; upper part of right horn reconstructed in plaster; tail falling along left hind leg, instead of right hind leg, as stated erroneously in *loc. cit.* (Fig. 5).

### Type 7

No. 2349 (*op. cit.* p. 761). Horns and left foreleg added; right foreleg reconstructed in plaster (Fig. 6).

## MINOTAUR STATUETTE

No. 1775 (*op. cit.* p. 740). Tail falling along right hind leg; female breasts deflected aside beneath the arms and seen in profile; two holes, one on chest and one on buttock (correction of misprint in *loc. cit.*); traces of genitalia above front hole, similar to those of No. 2320 (*op. cit.* Pl. CCXXVII:2); traces of two snakes (not one as stated in the excavation report) coiling on the sides of the animal's body to human part of the body, passing the female breasts behind to the neck, perhaps lifted by the hands of the minotaur as on No. 2031+2361 (*op. cit.* Pl. CCXXVII:1), a minotaur figure that is very similar to the one here in question; left arm added; left foreleg added; right hind leg reconstructed in plaster; in *op. cit.* Pl. CCXXVII only the human part of the statuette reproduced (Fig. 7).

Fig. 1. White Painted IV-V amphora, No. 2414 (a); one of the handles (b); incised signs of capacity (c).



**Fig. 2 a. Bull statuette, No. 2770.**



**Fig. 2 b. Left: front view of No. 2770; right: fragment of similar statuette.**



**Fig. 3. Bull statuette, No. 2034.**



**Fig. 4. Bull statuette, No. 2045 + Suppl. No. 2809.**





*Fig. 5. Bull statuette, No. 2027.*



*Fig. 6. Bull statuette, No. 2349.*



*Fig. 7. Minotaur statuette, No. 1775.*



*Fig. 8. Rider statuette, Suppl.No. 2789.*

## RIDER

*Suppl. No. 2789.* Fragment of rider statuette; the horse with flattened cylindrical body; peg-shaped legs; short, somewhat lifted tail; neck and head missing; horseman naked; upper part of body and left leg missing. Red-brown clay and brown slip. Hand-made. Length of horse (including tail) 19.0 cm. (Fig. 8).

## CHARIOTS

*No. 1998 (op. cit. p. 748).* Front-cover and side-cover of the outer right horse added; left arm of warrior resting on shoulder of driver (Fig. 9).  
*No. 249+115 (op. cit. p. 683).* Front-covers of horses added; they are decorated with crescent ornament in relief and fringed border below; the two figures of which only traces were remained when *op. cit.* was published have been largely recovered: to the right is the driver, with lower part of arms missing; his head is moulded,

similar to those of the female figurines on the amphora, No. 2414 (Fig. 1), and of the sphinx, No. 2331 (Fig. 52), with large leaf-shaped eyes, full lips, wig-shaped hair-dress, plain beard of which the point is broken off; to the left is the warrior; head missing; left arm advanced and hand resting on left front corner of chariot; traces of shield remain on front part of chariot; the right arm of warrior resting on back and right shoulder of driver; reins of left pair of horses and beam and yoke of right pair of horses restored in plaster (Fig. 10).

*No. 1123+789+1864+1971 (op. cit. p. 711).* Behind the archer, something has been broken off on the chariot, probably remains of a quiver with arrows similar to those of No. 2000; body of chariot with somewhat concave flanks and front (Fig. 11).

*No. 1168 (op. cit. p. 714).* The fragments of the chariot have been joined as far as possible



*Fig. 9. Chariot, No. 1998.*



**Fig. 10. Chariot, No. 249+115.**

showing the body of the chariot with concave front, slightly curved flanks and open rear; plain wheels with projecting hubs; no remains of driver and warrior; four horses with short, thin bodies; peg-shaped legs; roughly shaped, plain front-covers; flattened necks; "bird's" heads with bulging eyes; pellet ears. Beams, yokes, reins and parts of horses' bodies missing, in part restored in plaster as also small missing parts of chariot. Red-brown clay; brown slip. Hand-made. Length 21.0 cm. (Fig. 12).

*Suppl. No. 2790.* Fragments of a chariot with concave front, slightly curved flanks, and open

rear; dome-shaped part excised in front and flanks; longitudinal partition wall in the chariot with an erect support ending in a loop at the rear; plain wheels, of which only fragment of one wheel remains, attached to the flanks of the chariot. Fragments of two figurines, one in each compartment: to the left a figurine with the left arm advanced; most of right arm missing; face damaged; pointed beard and pellet ears; to the right only cylindrical torso of figurine preserved and small part of left arm. No remains of horses. Brown clay and slip. Hand-made. Length 19.0 cm. (Fig. 13).



*Fig. 11. Chariot, No. 1123+789+1864+1971.*



*Fig. 12. Chariot, No. 1168.*



*Fig. 13. Chariot, Suppl. No. 2790.*



*Fig. 14. Chariot, No. 2388+Suppl.No. 2791.*

No. 2388 (*op. cit.* p. 762)+*Suppl.* No. 2791. No. 2388 includes only the charioteer; the rest (*Suppl.* No. 2791) is composed of fragments. The chariot is oval in shape, open in the rear; it rested by means of two cylindrical, low supports on the disc, which is now missing; the chariot has a longitudinal partition wall ending in the rear with a loop-shaped, erect support; no wheels, only an axis projecting from the flanks of the chariot; finger-prints are preserved on the ends of the axes and also in part on the light slip showing that there had been no wheels broken off from the axes; either the wheels were indicated by paint on the flanks of the chariot (there are faint traces of black paint on the right flank) or were not indicated at all, the axis serving as *pars pro toto*; in the left compartment the charioteer, No. 2388; four horses with short bodies; peg-shaped legs; wedge-shaped necks with flat front; narrow, long heads; incised mouth and nostrils; pellet ears; plain head-cover; nose-band; cheek-bands;

front-covers with crescent-shaped ornament in relief; outer horse also with similar side-covers; tails attached to left legs; yokes across the necks and two beams from yokes to chariot; pieces missing and in part restored in plaster. Brown clay; light-coloured slip, mostly effaced. Hand-made. Length 24.5 cm. (Fig. 14).

No. 804+944+1338 (*op. cit.* pp. 696, 702, 720). No. 804 refers to the warrior, No. 944 to the outer left horses and No. 1338 was described as fragments of a chariot. This is rectangular in shape and rests directly on the base plate; longitudinal partition wall with remains of support in the rear; plain wheels (only one preserved) with projecting hubs and attached to the flanks of the chariot; in the right compartment stands the driver with advanced arms; trunk-shaped body; pellet ears; pinched nose; pointed cap; in the left compartment is the warrior of similar type; arms missing; helmet with cheek-pieces; four horses with flattened bodies; peg-shaped legs; bodies united with



Fig. 15. Chariot, No. 804+944+1338.



Fig. 16. Group of ring dancers and musician, No. 1693+2083.

joined pieces of clay; cylindrical, flattened necks; plain front-cover; narrow, bird-like heads; eyes indicated by plain elevations; blinkers; neck-covers with plumes broken off; head- and neck-cover; neck-band with plain tassel in front; freely hanging tails, broken off; yokes, beams and reins missing as well as pieces of horses, in part restored in plaster. Red-brown clay; light-coloured slip, in part effaced. Hand-made. Length 24.0 cm. (Fig. 15).

*Suppl. No. 2792.* Chariot, fragmentary; only base-plate and horses (part missing) preserved; the horses are of the type represented in the preceding group. Similar clay and slip. Height 15.8 cm., length 26.5 cm.

*No. 1687 (op. cit. p. 735).* When described in *loc. cit.* only part of the body was preserved and erroneously identified with that of a bull statuette. The neck and head have now been joined to the body making the bull into a horse. This has formed part of a four in hand drawing a chariot. The body of the horse is cylindrical, short, peg-shaped legs; wedge-shaped neck with flattened front; narrow head with prominent eyes; head-cover; tail (restored partly in plaster)

attached to right hind leg; nose missing as well as left foreleg, both restored in plaster. Brown clay and slip. Hand-made. Length 15.5 cm.

*Suppl. No. 2793.* Similar horse with nose preserved, showing incised mouth and nostrils; left hind leg and lower part of right fore leg restored in plaster. Clay and slip as preceding. Hand-made. Length 15.4 cm.

#### RING DANCERS

*No. 1693+2083 (op. cit. p. 735).* Only three figurines had been identified when the description was made in *loc. cit.* The group consists now of five figurines, two female and two male dancers standing opposite each other along the periphery of the disc plate; in the middle is a male musician wearing a strap around his left shoulder; this strap probably served to suspend a string instrument. The figurines are all made in the "snow-man" technique, with trunk-shaped bodies; pellet female breasts; pellet ears and noses; the female dancers have long, plain hair falling behind; all the figurines have bands wound round the head; the dancers have their arms outstretched (parts missing). Red-brown

clay and slip. Hand-made. Disc diam. 16.0 cm.; height of figurines 8.5–9.5 cm. (Fig. 16).

## SCULPTURES OF THE FIRST PROTO-CYPRIOTE STYLE

*No. 1726 (op. cit. p. 737).* The head is somewhat similar to No. 1 as stated in *loc. cit.* but shows several distinct features of its own. The eyes are evenly elliptical; the nose has been added and is rather thin and protruding as the lips; chin with rounded beard and moustache painted in black as iris of eyes and eye-brows; hair behind indicated as elevated surface, probably also painted black but all traces of paint are effaced; face and neck painted red; head and helmet made in one piece; helmet without cheek-pieces, with straight top, broken off; plain ears, in the left one fragment of pierced bronze ring, the right one with earring of terracotta of which also only a fragment is preserved. Brown clay; traces of wheel inside, but the facial features modelled by hand. (For the probable connexion of this head with the torso No. 1843, cf. pp. 35 f.). Height 18.5 cm. (Fig. 17).

*Suppl. No. 2794.* Fragment of head of statue, with the face fairly well preserved. The face is quite similar to those of Nos. 1+1618+1619 and 1728+1740. Only small fragments of eyelids preserved but traces of them are visible all round the eye-balls; double-spiral incised below mouth; ear-rings of terracotta in the fairly carefully modelled ears; pointed beard, with converging, longitudinal grooves; end of beard missing; fragments of conical helmet; traces of black paint on beard. Red-brown clay; brown slip. Traces of wheel inside, but facial features made by hand. Height 20.2 cm. (Fig. 18).

*Suppl. No. 2795.* Statuette composed of six fragments with joints at neck, waist, lower right arm, beneath hips and at ankles; standing on rectangular plaque with the left leg somewhat advanced; feet wearing shoes; tubular legs with tibia and knees indicated; narrow waist; somewhat bulging chest; broad shoulders; arms vertical, stuck to body; plain hands; narrow,

trapezoid face; plain, pointed beard; incised mouth; almost straight nose; prominent cheeks; long, lancet-shaped eye-balls and ridged brows; pellet ears; conical helmet with top falling along the back of head and neck; dressed in a jerkin, probably of leather, with short sleeves and a tunic with overlapping flaps, held by a plain band in relief around the waist indicating a girdle. Red-brown clay and slip. Hand-made. Height 34.5 cm. (Fig. 19).

*No. 1071 (op. cit. p. 708).* Upper part of right arm and adjoining part of body added; lower part of body added and in part restored in plaster (Fig. 20).

*No. 1843 (op. cit. p. 743).* Added vertical arms with slightly curved fingers and advanced thumb; erect collar ending the leather jerkin in front and at the back of neck; the head (cf. below) was attached separately. The jerkin was provided with side-flaps; no girdle indicated plastically but probably in paint now effaced; beneath this supposed girdle vertical folds grooved. Back-hole. Red-brown clay; jerkin covered with a light slip; arms and hands painted in red; part of fingers and thumb of right hand missing as well as part of fingers of left hand. Hand-made; upper part of body and neck-collar built up of superimposed strips. Height 42.0 cm. (Fig. 21; Fig. 22 shows the statue with the head, No. 1726, probably belonging to it; cf. pp. 35 f.).

## SCULPTURES OF THE SECOND PROTO-CYPRIOTE STYLE

*No. 1748+2053 (op. cit. pp. 739, 751).* The head, No. 2053, has been joined to the torso, No. 1748. Added lower part of left arm. Red-brown clay; brown slip. Lower part of body wheel-made; upper part hand-made; head attached separately. Traces of black paint on hair and red on face. Height 35.0 cm. (Fig. 23).

*No. 1098 (op. cit. p. 710)+Suppl. No. 2796.* Body with two holes, one on each side near the base; lower part of body wheel-made; upper part hand-made, in the strip technique. Added part of head (Suppl. No. 2796), in part restored





**Fig. 17. Head, No. 1726.**

***Figs. 17–22. Sculptures of the First Proto-Cypriote Style.***

***Fig. 18. Head, Suppl.No. 2794, front view (a) and profile (b).***





*Fig. 19. Statuette, Suppl.No. 2795.*  
*Fig. 20. Statuette, No. 1071.*



*Fig. 21. Torso of statue, No. 1843.*  
*Fig. 22. Torso of statue, No. 1843, with the head, No. 1726, added.*





*Fig. 23. Statuette, No. 1748 + 2053.*



*Fig. 24. Statuette, No. 1098 + Suppl. No. 2796, front view (a) and profile (b).*



*Fig. 25. Head, Suppl. No. 2797.*

*Figs. 23—27. Sculptures of the Second Proto-Cypriote Style.*



*Fig. 27. Head, Suppl.No. 2798.*

*Fig. 26. Statuette, No. 1276.*



Fig. 28. Statuette, No. 1049+1054+1325+Suppl.No. 2799.

in plaster, made in the same mould as the head of Nos. 936, 1724 and 1725 (*op. cit.* Pl. CCIX 1—4, 6); pendants in the ears. Right eye, right and central parts of forehead and top of head missing. Black paint on hair, ears, and pendants. Red-brown clay; buff grey-yellow slip. Height 48.0 cm. (Fig. 24).

*Suppl. No. 2797.* Head of statuette as that of No. 1141 (*op. cit.* Pl. CCXII: 3, 6, 7); around the neck a string with a pendant indicating a woman beneath the pendant horizontally grooved fold of the dress; small part of hair with vertical narrow incisions visible beneath flat band around the head; traces of black paint on the hair and the eye-brows. Red-brown, hard clay and light slip. Moulded. Height 15.0 cm. (Fig. 25)

*No. 1276 (op. cit. p. 717).* Added end of beard with traces of the periphery of a round shield; there are also traces of the shield on the right upper arm; from these traces the diameter of the shield can be estimated at c. 8.0 cm.; the left hand of the figure has apparently seized the handle of the shield; the right hand has probably had a spear of which there are traces in front beneath the strap in which the sword is hanging below the left arm. For the hole cut on top of the head mentioned in the excavation report, cf. p. 37. Red-brown clay and slip. Lower part of body wheel-made; chest hand-made; face moulded. Height 35.5 cm. (Fig. 26).

*Suppl. No. 2798.* Head of life-size statue; face of trapezoidal shape with long beard tapering towards the straight-cut end, its hair indicated by small, close incisions, and continuing along the cheeks; protruding lips damaged; nose with somewhat upturned tip; bow-shaped, large eyes; eye-brows with narrow, vertical incisions; small part of hair with narrow, vertical incisions visible beneath remains of helmet or cap; roughly modelled ears with double earrings; parts missing, restored in plaster. Hand-made. Brown, sifted clay. Traces of black paint on face; red slip on face and helmet. Height 22.0 cm. (Fig. 27).

Figs. 28—29. Sculptures of Neo-Cypriote Style.



Fig. 29. Fragment of head, No. 915.

## SCULPTURES OF NEO-CYPRIOTE STYLE

No. 1049+1054+1325 (*op. cit.* pp. 706 f., 719) + *Suppl.* No. 2799. To the upper part of the body, No. 1049, the lower part of the legs, No. 1054, the left arm, No. 1325, and the upper part of legs and the body below the waist, *Suppl.* No. 2799, have been added. The lower part of the legs join to their upper part and the body below the waist; that this part of the body belongs to the upper part is proved by the fact that the dimensions fit exactly and the clay is identical; that the left arm belongs to the statuette is indicated by the fact that the arm is marked by a roughly circular groove made when the clay was wet and that the same sign is found on the left side-flap, these signs evidently made by the artist in order to facilitate the association of the arm with the statuette after the firing, if that took place on different occasions or in different kilns which seems to have been the

case to judge by the fact that the clay of the arm is more light-coloured than the rest of the statue; this difference in colour was counterbalanced with a reddish paint added to the surface of the exterior part of the arm while the interior part, being close by the body and not well visible, was left unpainted; of the same reddish paint there are traces on the rest of the statuette (*cf.* below). The upper part of body and lower parts of legs as described, *loc. cit.*; the left hand is adorned with a circular armlet and holds a circular object; the modelling of the lower apophysis of the cubit-bone is similar to that of the right arm and also the partition of the fingers by grooved lines and the careful modelling of the nail of the thumb are features characteristic of both arms forming additional evidence of their association. The part of the chiton on the lower part of the body is provided with side-flaps and a plain girdle at the waist; below that are grooved pendent folds; the chiton ends with a central flap between the thighs, proved by a border marked by a grooved line and continuing at the sides by vertical grooves to the side-flaps; the lower border of the left sleeve of the chiton is marked by clear traces and has been restored in plaster corresponding to the preserved border of the right arm; there are faint traces of black colour on the hair and on the brows and of a reddish colour both on the chiton where it may have formed a pattern and on the naked parts of the body, e. g. on the feet and on the ears. Height 98.0 cm. (Fig. 28). No. 915 (*op. cit.* p. 701). Not illustrated in *op. cit.* (Fig. 29).

## SCULPTURES OF CYPRO-GREEK STYLE

No. 2502 (*op. cit.* p. 767). The parts described as missing in *loc. cit.* have been restored in plaster. The following details may be added to the description given in *loc. cit.* The chin is pointed; lips protruding and a concave modelling around the mouth emphasizes these features; traces of red upper border of the chiton in front and also of band decorated with ladder-pattern along



*Fig. 30 a. Statuette, No. 2502.*



*Fig. 31. Statuette, No. 2169+1603 +2475.*



*Fig. 32 a. Statuette, No. 2456+ Suppl.No. 2800.*



*Fig. 33. Statuette, No. 2462+Suppl.No. 2801, front view (a) and profile (b).*



*Fig. 34. Statuette, No. 2497+2477+2478, profile (a) and front view (b).*



*Fig. 36 a. Head, No. 2469.*



*Fig. 35 a. Statuette, No. 2467+Suppl.No. 2802.*

*Figs. 30—38. Sculptures of Cypro-Greek Style.*



*Fig. 30 b. Profile of head, No. 2502.*

*Fig. 36 b. Profile of head, No. 2469.*



*Fig. 32 b. Profile of head, No. 2456.*

*Fig. 35 b. Profile of head, No. 2467.*





Fig. 37. Statuette, No. 2434+Suppl.No. 2803, front view (a), profile (b).



Fig. 38. Statuette, No. 2446+2448.

left side of body; ears and naked parts of arms with traces of red colour; traces of black colour on the hair which falls in a compact mass on the back of head, with slightly concave sides. Lower part of body wheel-made; upper part hand-made; head with traces of wheel inside, but facial features hand-made (Fig. 30).

No. 2169+1603+2475 (*op. cit.* pp. 733, 755, 766). Added to the head, No. 2169, a fragment of the body, with the left arm, No. 1603, and the right arm with part of the body, No. 2475. The body is restored in plaster below. Lower part of body tubular, wheel-made; upper part is flattened with broad, sloping shoulders and built up by strips; arms vertical with closed hand; of fingers only thumb modelled; part of right thumb and of left hand missing. Brown clay; light-brown slip. Lower part of body wheel-made; upper part

built up of superimposed strips as also the head. Height 49.0 cm. (Fig. 31)

No. 2456 (*op. cit.* p. 765)+Suppl. No. 2800. To the statuette as described in *loc. cit.*, the right arm and lower part of left arm have been added as well as small parts of the body, Suppl. No. 2800; parts of the body below restored in plaster; dressed in a chiton with short sleeves indicated by shallow, grooved line on upper part of arms; below that the muscles of the arm roughly indicated by a concavity. Brown clay; buff-grey slip. Lower part of body wheel-made; upper part built up of superimposed strips as also the head. Height 53.0 cm., part added in plaster not included (Fig. 32).

No. 2462 (*op. cit.* p. 765)+Suppl. No. 2801. To the head, No 2462, described in *loc. cit.* the rest of the statuette has been added from fragments,



Suppl. No. 2801. Figure standing on a base tablet with almost isolinear feet, but left foot slightly advanced; feet with pointed shoes; ankles well indicated; lower part of body tubular, wheel-made; upper part is built up by strips; female breasts and pellet nipples indicated; broad, sloping shoulders; vertical arms with closed hand; of the fingers only thumb modelled and nail indicated; dress with short sleeves indicated by ridges across upper arms; in front the dress ends somewhat above the instep; at the back it falls with side-flaps widening towards the ground and ending only a little above it; chin with an impressed dimple; traces of black lines indicating eyelids. Lower part of right arm and part of hand of left arm missing; parts of body restored in plaster. Brown clay; buff grey and grey-brown slip. Lower part of body wheel-made; upper part hand-made, built up of strips as also the head. Height 71.5 cm. (Fig. 33).

No. 2497+2477+2478 (*op. cit.* p. 766). The arms, Nos. 2477 and 2478, have been added to the bust, No 2497. Two fingers of the right hand and part of all the fingers of the left hand are missing; lower part of body restored in plaster. Traces of red paint on arms. Baking holes in arms, back of body and back of head. Lower part of body probably tubular and wheel-made; upper part hand-made, built up of strips; head added separately and inside with traces of wheel, but features of face modelled by hand; helmet, with remains of ridged crest, added separately. Red-brown clay; buff-white slip; red paint on face. Height 51.0 cm. (Fig. 34).

No. 2467 (*op. cit.* p. 765)+*Suppl. No. 2802*. Two pieces of the right part of the bust have been added (*Suppl. No. 2802*). The preserved part of the bust and the head hand-made, in the strip technique. Dress painted with a reddish colour on which converging black lines and deep-red bands. Brown clay. Height 26.0 cm. (Fig. 35).

No. 2469 (*op. cit.* p. 766). Head of statuette. Four small pieces have been added to the part described in *loc. cit.*: face of trapezoidal shape with pointed chin; protruding, smiling lips;

concave part around mouth; prominent, straight and thin nose; bulging, almond-shaped eyeballs; ridged brows; roughly shaped, plain ears with double earrings; helmet or cap; neck below and right part of cap and small part at right temple restored in plaster. Brown clay; light buff-grey slip. Lower part wheel-made; upper part hand-made; features of face modelled by hand. Height 18.0 cm. (Fig. 36).

No. 2434 (*op. cit.* p. 764)+*Suppl. No. 2803*. Fragments of the head, *Suppl. No. 2803*, have been added to the body, No. 2434. Lower part of body tubular, wheel-made; upper part flattened and hand-made; broad, sloping shoulders; vertical arms; hands closed with modelled fingers and straight thumb; long, tapering neck; almost triangular face; pointed chin; smiling, full lips; concave part around mouth; curved, thin nose; prominent, almond-shaped eyes; roughly shaped ears with double earrings; helmet or cap; hair falling at back of head and neck in a compact mass. Red-brown clay; light slip. Traces of wheel inside, but features of face hand-made. Height 67.5 cm. (Fig. 37).

No. 2446+2448 (*op. cit.* p. 765). Missing parts restored in plaster. This figure is a representative of the Cypro-Greek style in the idol version, corresponding to the large idols related to Proto-Cypriote and Neo-Cypriote styles (*cf. p. 37*). Brown clay; light yellow slip. Hand-made (Fig. 38).

## SMALL HUMAN IDOLS

### Type 1

*Suppl. No. 2804*. Female idol; cylindrical body splaying towards the plain base; breasts indicated by conical projections; arms uplifted; face roughly triangular with rounded chin; incised mouth; thick nose; circular pellet eyes; thick brows; flat, rectangular hair-dress, covered with black paint in front, hair indicated by vertical black lines behind; encircling black lines on body. Part of nose, of left arm and of body missing. Light-brown clay. Body wheel-made. Height 10.5 cm. (Fig. 39).



*Figs. 39—41. Small Human Idols.*

*Fig. 39. Female idol, No. 2804, front (a) and back-side (b).*

*Fig. 40. Male idol, Suppl.No. 2805.*



*Fig. 41. Statuette, No. 1421, profile (a), front view (b).*



### Type 3

*Suppl. No. 2805.* Statuette with tubular body; splayed base; arms once attached on shoulder but now missing; head of triangular shape; roughly shaped nose; large pellet eyes; heavy brows; narrow, tall helmet, similar to Nos. 1503, 1994, 2363. Red-brown clay and slip. Wheel-made. Height 29.3 cm. (Fig. 40).

### Type 7

*No. 1421 (op. cit. p. 733).* In the second diagram, *op. cit.* following p. 812, this statuette has been erroneously classified as "Large human idol". It belongs instead to the category of "Small human idols", Type 7 (*op. cit. p. 788*), i.e. idols with moulded heads, similar to those of the statuettes illustrated in *op. cit. Pl. CCXXXII: 6-8*. Red-brown clay and light yellow slip. Body wheel-made; face moulded (Fig. 41).

## LARGE HUMAN IDOLS

### Type 1

*No. 2316 (op. cit. p. 759).* Added: upper part of both arms (Fig. 42).

*No. 2372 (op. cit. p. 762).* Added: lower part of left arm; base restored in plaster (Fig. 43).

### Type 2-3

*No. 3+1773 (op. cit. pp. 675, 740).* Head, No. 3, added to body No. 1773. Lower part of body wheel-made, upper part hand-made. Brown clay; buff, light-brown slip. Height 62.5 cm. (Fig. 44).

### Type 3

*No. 1017 (op. cit. p. 704)+Suppl. No. 2806.* The upper part of body, arms, and head, *Suppl. No. 2806*, have been added to the lower part of body, No. 1017. Lower part of body wheel-made, upper part hand-made; head wheel-made but features of face modelled by hand. Body elliptical in section; flattened chest; sloping shoulders; vertical arms with closed hand; modelled fingers, straight thumb; long cylindrical neck; head trapezoidal; pointed beard; incised mouth; thin nose; slightly elevated eye-balls; ridged brows; roughly shaped ears with earrings; hair in compact mass falling at the back of neck; conical helmet of which upper part missing. Back-hole. Dark-grey

to brown clay; greenish-yellow to buff grey slip. Height 67.0 cm. (Fig. 45).

*No. 1065 (op. cit. p. 708).* Added: right arm (Fig. 46).

*No. 1143 (op. cit. pp. 712 f.).* Added: left arm (Fig. 47).

*No. 1643 (op. cit. p. 734).* Added: lower part of left arm; part of both hands missing (Fig. 48).

*No. 1980 (op. cit. p. 747).* Not illustrated in *op. cit.* (Fig. 49).

### Type 4

*No. 1021 (op. cit. pp. 704 f.).* Not illustrated in *op. cit.* (Fig. 50).

*No. 909 (op. cit. p. 700).* Not illustrated in *op. cit.* (Fig. 51).

## VARIOUS

### Lateral part of throne

*No. 2331 (op. cit. p. 760).* Top of flanking side of throne reconstructed in plaster; not illustrated in *op. cit.* (Fig. 52).

### Flower

*Suppl. No. 2807.* Four peripheral leaves and one central leaf, probably offered by votaries. Two specimens. Length 7.3 and 7.8 cm. Found in D 4 (Fig. 53).

### Thunderbolt

*Suppl. No. 2808.* Spirally wound thunderbolts, four complete specimens and two fragments, one with preserved alternately red and black painted bands. One thunderbolt with bent shaft-hole and incised lines between ridges of the spiral windings and on the part of the thunderbolt between the windings and the shaft-hole. Found in K-L 11. Length 16.0-19.3 cm. (Fig. 54).

### Detail

Detail of ear of *No. 1356 (op. cit. p. 720)*, showing ear pierced by four holes (Fig. 55).

### Vase

*Suppl. No. 2810.* Vase in the shape of an astragalos; neck broken off; fragment of handle from body to neck. Found in E 9. Brown clay; buff-yellow slip. Length 8.5 cm. (Fig. 56).

***Figs. 42 — 51. Large Human Idols.***



***Fig. 42. Bisexual idol, No. 2316.***



***Fig. 43. Statuette, No. 2372.***



***Fig. 44. Statuette, No. 3+1773, profile (a), front view (b).***



***Fig. 45. Statuette, No. 1017+Suppl.No. 2806, profile (a), front view (b).***



***Fig. 46. Statuette, No. 1065, front view (a), profile (b).***



*Fig. 47. Statuette, No. 1143, front view (a), profile (b).*



*Fig. 48. Statuette, No. 1643, front view (a), profile (b).*



*Fig. 49. Statuette, No. 1980, profile (a), front view (b).*



*Fig. 50. Statuette, No. 1021, front view (a), profile (b).*



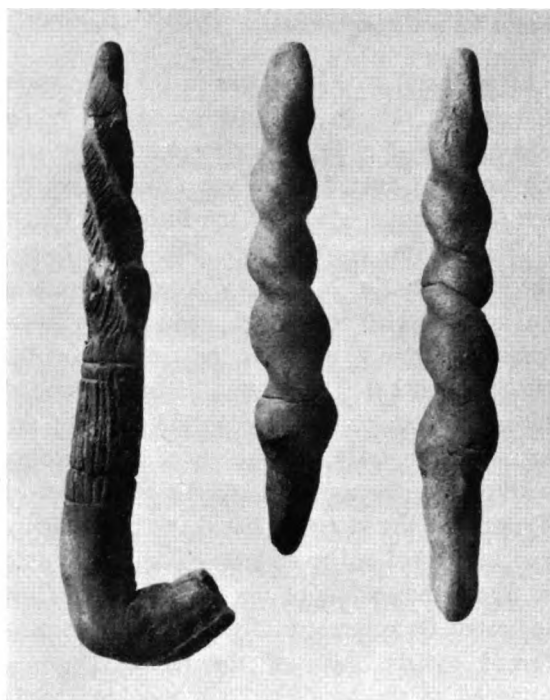
*Fig. 51. Statuette, No. 909, front view (a), profile (b).*



*Fig. 52. Lateral part of throne, No. 2331, front view (a), profile (b).*



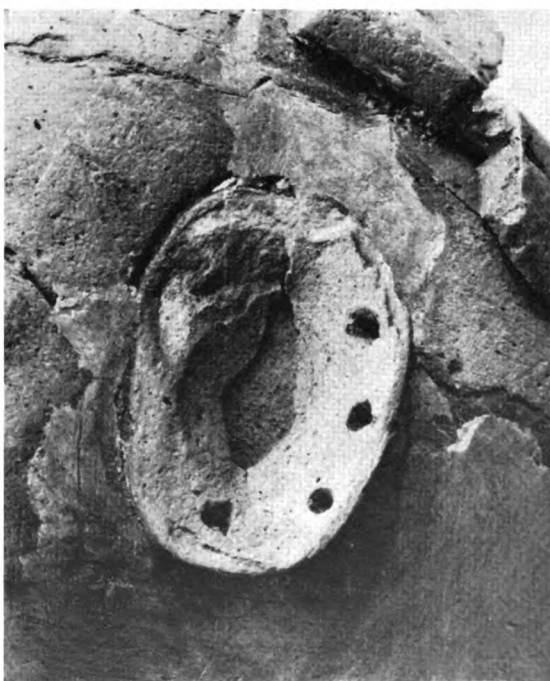
*Fig. 53. Flowers, Suppl. No. 2807.*



*Fig. 54. Thunderbolts, Suppl. No. 2808.*



*Fig. 56. Astragalos-shaped vase, Suppl.No. 2810.*



*Fig. 55. Detail of ear, No. 1356.*

## Remarks and conclusions

The amphora, No. 2414, was in the excavation report (*op. cit.* p. 763) classified as White Painted IV–V. Such a classification is still warranted. Contact with Type IV is shown by the fairly similar shape of the Bichrome Red I (IV) amphora, *op. cit.* IV:2, Fig. XLII:7, but the amphora No. 2414 has a drooping rim and an angular biconical body, characteristic features of Type V, whereas the rim of the Bichrome Red I (IV) is flat and its body rounded biconical. The parts added to the body of the amphora No. 2414, as a result of the mending work, have increased the stylistic tendencies of Type V by the fact that the shape of the body can be proved to be angular-biconical. A date of about the middle of the 6th century B.C. is indicated on ceramic evidence and this is confirmed by the style of the female figurines attached to the handles. Their moulded heads indicate the initial phase of the Neo-Cypriote style. We know that the stylistic features of the Proto-Cypriote faces were transformed and modified in the Neo-Cypriote style, which tends towards a canonic form, with less individual variations than before; the modelling is smooth and shallow, no details are accentuated, and the different parts of the face merge softly into one another. The transition between the last phase of the Second Proto-Cypriote and the initial phase of the Neo-Cypriote style is gradual and these phases of the two styles are in fact contemporary as shown by the find-contexts<sup>7</sup>. On the other hand the difference between the latest specimens of the Second Proto-Cypriote style and the earliest representatives of the Neo-Cypriote style is equally clear; it is instructive to compare the faces of the Neo-Cypriote figurines here in question with those of the Second Proto-Cypriote style illustrated in *op.*

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 208 f.: the Second Proto-Cypriote style lasted from c. 600 to 540 B.C. and the Neo-Cypriote style from c. 560 to 520 B.C.

*cit.* II, Pl. CCIX: the softly modelled faces of the Neo-Cypriote figurines, with the flabby cheeks, fleshy, round chin, full lips and narrow, leaf-shaped eyes contrast with the firmer structure of the Second Proto-Cypriote faces, with their wide, leaf-shaped or semi-lunar eyes and thin, straight lips.

As mentioned above (p. 4), the initial date of the Neo-Cypriote style is c. 560 B.C. and the chronological evidence given by the style of the amphora, c. 550 B.C., is thus confirmed by its sculptural adornment.

The capacity of the amphora can be calculated to have been between c. 38 and 41 l., the neck not included. The incised signs indicate the capacity of the contents, not the amphora itself, as there is nothing to show that this amphora served as a standard measure. What we know about the system of capacity of ancient Cyprus is very little and refers to late antiquity<sup>8</sup>. No doubt the Cypriote system of capacity formed part of those of Egypt and the Near East during the Archaic period when the Cypriote cultural relations were intimate with these regions of the Mediterranean<sup>9</sup>. The basic unit has therefore most probably been equivalent to the Egyptian Hin, the Phoenician-Hebrew Log, the Babylonian Ka, and to the Greek xestes (dikotylon), derived from this Oriental system of capacity<sup>10</sup>, and if we identify this basic unit with that indicated by each single stroke, the higher unit of measure indicated by the Z-shaped sign must have been the Cypriote measure of capacity equivalent to the Greek hemiamphorion, because the measure equivalent to a metretes would have resulted in a capacity very much exceeding that of the amphora, and a unit minor to that of a hemiamphorion would result in a capacity much too small for that of the amphora:

<sup>8</sup> A survey of the literary evidence is given by SAKELARIOS, *Tὰ Κυπριακά* I, pp. 634 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *Swed. Cyp. Exp.* IV:2, pp. 226 ff.

<sup>10</sup> VIEDEBANTT, *Forschungen zur Metrol. d. Altert.* (Abh. phil.-hist. Kl. Königl. Sächs. Ges. Wiss. XXXIV, No. III, 1917), pp. 49, 60, 129, 131, 159 f.



it would be natural if the total measure indicated would have been somewhat, but not much, smaller than the capacity of the amphora. 8 units equivalent to the xestes and 3 units equivalent to the hemiamphorion would yield a total amount of between 36 and 37 l., a total amount, which considering the approximate exactitude of the measures used and local differences prevailing, agrees well with both the capacity of the amphora and the probable system of capacity used in Cyprus during the Archaic period.

Turning now to the **sculptures** we may first emphasize the fact that several sculptures have had their artistic value considerably increased by the restoration work. A bull statuette without legs and horns is a miserable sight; from an aesthetic point of view the look of the **Late Cypriote III bull statuette**, Fig. 2, has improved very much by the restoration of its horns and legs and the same holds good for the **Cypro-Geometric** (Figs. 3, 4) and **Cypro-Archaic** (Fig. 6) **statuettes**. If the reader is interested in the matter, she or he may compare Figs. 2—4, 6 with *op. cit.* Pls. CCXXIV:1, 2; CCXXV:1, 3, 6 to see the difference between the present and earlier appearance of these bull statuettes.

The **bull statuette**, Fig. 5, represents a new type or rather a variety of Type 4 (p. 7): the head is similar to those of Type 4, of Cypro-Geometric I—II, but the body put together from sherds is barrel-shaped, similar to that of No. 2315 (*op. cit.* Pl. CCXXV:5) dating from Cypro-Archaic period. The bull statuette, Fig. 5, thus forms an intermediate specimen between the Cypro-Geometric I—II and the Cypro-Archaic I bull statuettes and would therefore probably date from Cypro-Geometric III. Such a date cannot be proved, nor is it contradicted by the find-contexts; the head and fragments of the body were all found in the lower foundation deposit around the altar erected at the beginning of the local Period 3, i. e. about the middle of Cypro-Geometric III; when this new altar was erected, *ex votos* originally placed around the

earlier altar, which was in use from the beginning of Cypro-Geometric I to the middle of Cypro-Geometric III, were deposited around the new altar. The bull statuette in question forming part of the *ex votos* removed from the earlier to the new altar and being typologically more advanced than the Cypro-Geometric I—II statuettes would thus probably date from the early half of Cypro-Geometric III.

The **minotaur statuette**, Fig. 7, has been republished on account of the fact that its description in the excavation report needs some correction in details and also because the animal part of the figure is not illustrated in that report (*op. cit.* Pl. CCXXVII:6), although it is described in the Object Register of the report (*op. cit.* p. 740, No. 1775). Why only the human part of this minotaur was illustrated in the excavation report I am unable to explain and it is of very little interest, if any at all. Of greater interest is another fact, viz. that this minotaur statuette is similar to that of No. 2031+2361 (*op. cit.* Pl. CCXXVII:1): the same shape of the head, the cylindrical human body with sharply marked top, the female breasts in profile beneath the arms. For typological reasons one would not date these two statuettes very far from each other. In view of that, it is interesting to examine their find-contexts: the statuette No. 1775 was found on the floor of the local Period 4, laid at about the middle of Cypro-Archaic I (p. 4, n. 6) and of the statuette No. 2031+2361, No. 2031 was found in the lower foundation deposit of the new altar (cf. p. 3) and No. 2361 in the waste deposit in Square K 6 on the floor of the local Period 4. An explanation of the seemingly conflicting find-contexts of the latter statuette has been given in the excavation report (*op. cit.* pp. 807 f.). Notwithstanding whether that explanation is accepted or not we must accept the find-context of No. 2031 as indicating the date of the statuette which thus cannot be later than the end of the local Period 2, i. e. about the middle of Cypro-Geometric III or c. 775 B.C. As regards the date of No. 1775 the fact that it was found

on the floor of the local Period 4 may be considered to indicate that it is assignable to the time when that floor was in use, i. e. from the middle of Cypro-Archaic I to the early phase of Cypro-Archaic II, or in absolute figures c. 650–560 B.C. (p. 4, n. 6), but there is evidence that several *ex votos* which originally had been placed on the floor of the local Period 3 were removed to the floor of the local Period 4 when the sanctuary of that period was constructed (*op. cit.* pp. 804 ff.). The local Period 3 dates from the middle of Cypro-Geometric III to the middle of Cypro-Archaic I, i.e. it covers the time between c. 775 and 650 B.C. (pp. 3, 4, n. 6, 33). Thus it may happen that some objects found on the floor of the local Period 4 are as early as c. 775 B.C. and that may therefore be the date of No. 1775, which would bring it chronologically near the statuette No. 2031+2361. As emphasized already in the excavation report (*op. cit.* pp. 804 ff.), "stratigraphy, like all methods, is one which must be used with discretion". The stratigraphical method can be misused if applied mechanically. The actual case illustrates that fact and shows that the typological and stylistic criteria should not be overlooked.

No complete group of **dancers** was represented among those available at the time when the excavation report was published. The three groups so far discovered at Ajia Irini are all of different composition; one, No. 123 (*op. cit.* Pl. CCXXIII:6), consists of three ring dancers and one central figurine, probably the musician; the figurines, as far as preserved (the central figurine, one of the dancers and part of a second dancer) are female; the second group, No. 1169 (*op. cit.* p. 714), consists of two pair-dancers (not ring dancers as stated in *loc. cit.*); of three figurines the heads and parts of some of their arms are missing and the whole upper part of one of the fourth figurine is missing; the pairs are standing facing each other; on the two figurines of the one side so much of the beard is preserved that they can be identified as male; probably the opposite pair was female, although indisputable

female indications are missing; one figurine has however, the neck preserved up to the chin without any trace of beard. The third group here illustrated in its restored condition, Fig. 10 (No. 1693+2083), consists of four ring dancers two female and two male, the dancers of different sex facing each other, and a fifth figurine, the musician, in the centre. The three groups of dancers thus represent female ring dancers, ring dancers of both sexes, and pair dancers. The groups of ring dancers are attached to a circular base, those of the pair dancers to a roughly trapezoidal base. The groups of ring dancers are provided with a central figurine acting as a musician<sup>11</sup>.

Statuettes of **riders** are not particularly common among the finds from Ajia Irini. So far only three specimens are known and they are all of a small size (Nos. 921, 922, 1366; *op. cit.* pp. 701, 721; Pl. CCXXIV:1). The fragmentary statuette here illustrated, Fig. 8, is interesting as the only specimen of a rider of a larger size and of a more elaborate, though still conventionalized modelling, of the same type as represented at Idalion (*op. cit.* Pl. CLXXXII:10) and elsewhere.

Some of the **chariots** have been restored in details (Figs. 9–11), others have been put together from various fragments (Figs. 12–15). Artistically they range from fairly well modelled specimens with details of wheels, horse-trappings etc. minutely indicated and the heads of the charioteer and warrior made in moulds of the Second Proto-Cypriote style (Figs. 9, 10), *via* specimens with particulars less carefully executed and with the human figurines made in the "snow-man" technique (Figs. 11–13) to fairly roughly and summarily shaped specimens (Figs. 14, 15); in Figs. 11–13 the wheels are plain, the horses and horse-trappings are modelled in

<sup>11</sup> Similar groups of ring dancers are illustrated in OHNEFALSCH-RICHTER, *K.B.H.* Pl. CXXVII:5 (three female ring dancers and a female flute player), 6 (ring dancers of both sexes and tambourine players). Pair dancers seem to be less commonly represented in sculpture. I do not remember of any other specimen than that mentioned here.

a diagrammatic manner and in Fig. 14 there are no wheels at all but only an axis projecting from the flanks of the chariot; in Fig. 15, finally, the chariot rests directly on the ground and huge plain wheels were attached to the flanks of the chariot, the top of which was below the hubs of the wheels, which are therefore without functional connection with the chariot.

Of particular technical interest is the evidence given by some of these statuettes for the construction of the coach-body of the chariot. The oval, rounded shape of Fig. 14, the somewhat concave front and flanks of Fig. 11, the concave front and slightly curved flanks of Figs. 12 and 13, the latter coach-body with dome-shaped excisions both in the front and the flanks, all these characteristics seem to indicate a construction of bendable wood and plaited work for the coach-bodies mentioned and that connects them technically with the Homeric *καμπύλον* or *ἀγκύλον ἄρμα*<sup>12</sup>. Another type represented among the chariots found at Ajia Irini is that with straight front and flanks. That such a type seems to be represented in Fig. 15 is not conclusive owing to the rough and summary modelling of this chariot, but the fact that this type is also represented by Figs. 9 and 10 must be considered to prove the case in view of the careful modelling of these chariots. Both types are of Oriental derivations, the first type connected with the light Egyptian chariot and the second type with the more heavy Assyrian chariot<sup>13</sup>.

In connection with the chariots some words may be said on the **arms and armour** represented by the Ajia Irini sculptures. About helmets, shields, swords, and arrows there are sufficient notes published already in the excavation report, but some remarks may here be added on one

offensive weapon, the spear, and one defensive, the leather cuirass, both illustrated by the sculptures here considered. Fig. 26 (No. 1276) shows a warrior of the Second Proto-Cypriote style, wearing a sword, a shield and a spear of which there are traces, as it seems, in front below the strap of the sword; the spear, if this interpretation is right, has been held by the hand of the right lifted arm. On a sculpture of small size as that of Fig. 26 (No. 1276), the spear could easily be of terracotta, but on sculptures of larger size this could hardly have been the case on account of the excessive fragility of a long spear of terracotta; it is therefore likely that the spears of the warrior statues of large size were of wood. There are some sculptures showing the right hand in such a position that it may be supposed to have held a spear, e.g. Nos. 1385+1530 (*op. cit.* Pl. CXCIV:2), 1070+1072+1073+1075, 1189 (*op. cit.* pp. 708, 715). For the helmet (now missing) of this figure, see p. 37.

A leather jerkin provided with a neck-collar is worn by Fig. 21 (No. 1843). The head of this torso, as mentioned in the description (p. 15) was joined separately and was probably that of Fig. 17 (No. 1726). The joining part is missing, but the head was found only 0.45 m. from the torso and on the same level (both in Square K 8, at a level of 94.4, resp. 94.9), the dimensions of the head fit to those of the torso, the clay is the same, both belong to the First Proto-Cypriote style, and no other head without association with a body and of dimensions fitting the torso in question was found in Square K 8. Fig. 22 is intended to show the reader how this statue may have looked originally and, if the head against all probability does not belong, the impression of the reconstruction must still be principally right, since the head must be that of a warrior assignable to the first Proto-Cypriote style. The neck-collar of the leather jerkin is unique, but a jerkin of that material is also clearly represented on other sculptures, although not pointed out in the excavation report. Thus the jerkins of e.g.

<sup>12</sup> Homer, *Il.* V, 231; VI, 39.

<sup>13</sup> For these types of chariots, cf. NUOFFER, *Der Rennwagen im Altertum*, Diss. Leipzig 1904; MERCKLIN, *Der Rennwagen in Griechenland*, Diss. Leipzig 1909; NACHOD, *Der Rennwagen bei den Italikern*, Diss. Leipzig 1909; LORIMER, *Homer and the Monum.*, pp. 307 ff.; WACE-STUBBINGS, *A Companion to Homer*, pp. 521 f., 540 f.

Nos. 2106+2103 (*op. cit.* Pl. CXC) and 1728+1740 (*op. cit.* Pl. CXCI:2, 3) are clearly indicated to have been of leather as shown by their stiff contour, ridged seams, and the widening openings of the sleeves in order to enable an easier movement of the arms. Jerkins of leather (and sometimes also of linen) were in use, as we know, in Egypt and the Near East<sup>14</sup> and similar leather jerkins are also known from Greece<sup>15</sup>. The Oriental corslets were sometimes provided with a collar, although there is no exact parallel to the Cypriote specimen here in question<sup>16</sup>. For the time being I must limit myself to the observation that the Ajia Irini sculptures prove the existence of leather jerkins in the Archaic period and that these jerkins sometimes were provided with that particular neck-cover shown by Fig. 22. I wish, however, to point out that a study of the Cypriote sculptures, both those found at Ajia Irini and elsewhere, will show many varieties of the jerkins or corslets<sup>17</sup>. Such a general study of Cypriote armour is out of place here and must be postponed to a later occasion.

Apart from the torso and head just discussed the most interesting specimen of the **First Proto-Cypriote style** obtained by the restoration work is the head, Fig. 18 (No. 2794). The general shape of this head, the eyes, nose, mouth, and beard are so closely similar to those of Nos. 1+1618+1619 (*op. cit.* Pl. CXCI:1) and 1728+1740 (*op. cit.* Pl. CXCI:2, 3) that these sculptures must have been made by the same artist: the only detail distinguishing No. 2794 from the

two others is the incised double spiral indicating the part of the beard below the mouth, whereas that part of the beard is indicated by a small protuberance on the other two sculptures mentioned. No. 2106+2103 (*op. cit.* CXC, CXCI:1) has perhaps not been made by the same artist as the sculptures mentioned but by a member of the same school of art and the relief double spiral indicating a hair lock below the helmet of No. 2106+2103 is a characteristic detail associating this sculpture with No. 2794, with its incised double spiral of a hair tuft below the mouth.

Fig. 19, No. 2795, is unique among the Ajia Irini sculptures in that it represents a small-sized figure made in the manner of the large sculptures. It has its nearest parallels in the later group of the First Proto-Cypriote style corresponding to the local style II at Ajia Irini (p. 4, n. 4), as shown by a comparison with one of the leading sculptures of that style, No. 1763+1845 (*op. cit.* Pl. CXCVIII): as the helmet of this statue is missing we do not know how far it was similar to that of No. 2795, but the tubular legs, the narrow waist, the shape of the head, nose, and beard, etc. are quite similar.

Proceeding now to the sculptures of the **Second Proto-Cypriote style** we may first point out that the figure, Fig. 23 (No. 1748+2053), represents a group of sculptures forming an intermediate stage between the idol plastic and the art sculpture (p. 4, n. 3).

The head, Fig. 27 (No. 2798), belongs to a life-size statue and was modelled entirely by hand. It has no exact parallel among the other Ajia Irini sculptures of the Second Proto-Cypriote style but several features connect it with various representatives of that style: the protruding lips correspond to those of e.g. No. 1767 (*op. cit.* Pl. CCVI:5) and No. 2072+2075 (*op. cit.* Pl. CCX), the eyes are similar to those of the latter statue but even still more to those of No. 2021 (*op. cit.* Pl. CCVI:4) with their bow-shaped lids; the brows with their narrow, vertical incisions and the beard with its hair

<sup>14</sup> BONNET, *Die Waffen der Völker d. alt. Orients*, pp. 209 ff.; LORIMER, *op. cit.*, pp. 196 ff. For Cypriote lamellar armours and their Oriental connections, see *Swed. Cyp. Exp.* IV:2, pp. 379 f.

<sup>15</sup> LORIMER, *op. cit.* pp. 134, 153, 196 ff.

<sup>16</sup> BONNET, *op. cit.* p. 213, Fig. 106; LORIMER, *op. cit.* p. 198, Figs. 16, 17.

<sup>17</sup> Just one example: the armour of e.g. *op. cit.* II, Pls. CXCI:1, CXCI:2, CXCVIII, CC:1, 2 etc. with the leather jerkin ending at the waist and the chiton appearing below that around the hips and upper part of thighs have striking parallels in the equipment of the soldiers on the warrior stele from Mycenae and on the warrior vase from that place (cf. LORIMER, *op. cit.* Pls. II, 2; III, 1a, b.).

indicated by small, close incisions have striking parallels shown by a head in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Cesnola, *Atlas* II, Pl. XVII: 129).

Many heads of the smaller sculptures are cast in moulds (Figs. 24–26). The head of the statuette, Fig. 24 (No. 1098+2796) has many parallels among the moulded heads of the local Style III at Ajia Irini, e.g. Nos. 936, 1037+2454, 1724, 1725 (*Swed. Cyp. Exp.* II Pl. CCIX) and the head, Fig. 25 (No. 2797) is made in the same mould as that of the statuette No. 1141 (*op. cit.* Pl. CCXII:3, 6, 7) belonging to the local Style IV at Ajia Irini. The head of the statuette, Fig. 26 (No. 1276) mentioned above (p. 20), shows a technical peculiarity: on top of the skull there is a roughly oval-shaped hole cut when the clay was still unbaked; this hole was evidently intended for receiving a separately made helmet. The moulded face is 20% larger than that of No. 2384 (*op. cit.* Pl. CCXXXII:15), which is stylistically akin to No. 1276 and may represent a second "Abformung" of that prototype<sup>18</sup>.

The sculptures of the **Neo-Cypriote style** comprise two specimens: one fragment of a head, Fig. 28 (No. 915) and one entire statue, Fig. 29 (No. 1054+1325+2799), both artistic products of excellent quality.

The fragment No. 915 shows a strong stylistic similarity to the helmeted Neo-Cypriote head from Salamis, in fragmentary condition illustrated in *Journ. Hell. Stud.* XII, 1891, p. 149, Fig. 7 and in restored condition in *Swed. Cyp. Exp.* IV:2, Pl. IX, below, facing p. 108. The eye-brows and helmet of No. 915 are plain, whereas the brows of the Salamis head are "feathered" and the helmet decorated with circular incisions but otherwise the part preserved of the face of No. 915 is almost identical with the corresponding part of the Salamis head.

The statue No. 1054+1325+2799 represents the Neo-Cypriote version of the terracotta sculptures with modelled legs of which the First

Proto-Cypriote version is represented e.g. by Nos. 1+1618+1619, 1728+1740 (*op. cit.* II, Pl. CXCI), 1385+1530 (*op. cit.* Pl. CXCI:2), 1763+1845 (*op. cit.* Pl. CXCVIII), 2102 (*op. cit.* Pl. CCII) and the Second Proto-Cypriote version by No. 1767 (*op. cit.* Pls. CCV:1; CCVI:1). No. 947 (*op. cit.* p. 702) forms another instance of a similar Neo-Cypriote sculpture with modelled legs, uncovered by the dress, but the upper part of that statue has not yet been identified. It can thus be seen that sculptures with modelled legs were fairly rare at Ajia Irini after the time of the First Proto-Cypriote style and, as shown below, this type of body is, so far, altogether without representatives among the Ajia Irini sculptures of the Cypro-Greek style. The Neo-Cypriote body of the sculpture here in question and that of No. 947 differ in a characteristic way from that of the Proto-Cypriote style by its slender structure and the delicate, subtle refinement of the details, a stylistic feature that is typical of the corresponding stone sculptures of the Neo-Cypriote style (*op. cit.* IV:2, p. 108).

Among the sculptures assignable to the **Archaic Cypro-Greek style** there are two figures, Figs. 37 and 38 (Nos. 2434 and 2446+2448), which are intermediate specimens between idol plastic and art sculpture, No. 2434 approaching closer to the category of art sculpture than No. 2446+2448.

The body of the Cypro-Greek sculptures, as far as preserved, is tubular or oval in section and there is only one instance, the female statue, Fig. 33 (No. 2462+2801), with modelled feet wearing pointed shoes protruding below the chiton. There is no evidence of moulds having been used for making the faces, which seem to have been modelled altogether by hand. The moulding technique was apparently not used at Ajia Irini by the artists working in the First Proto-Cypriote and the Cypro-Greek styles, but only by those working in the Second Proto-Cypriote and Neo-Cypriote styles (cf. above and *op. cit.* IV:2, pp. 99, 105, 107). The individual

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *Opusc. arch.* II, pp. 1 ff.

traits of the Cypro-Greek sculptures from Ajia Irini are very distinct and the characteristics of each artist are quite clear. The profile of the faces of Figs. 30 (No. 2502) and 36 (No. 2469) are exactly similar and also their front views, although the face of No. 2469 is broader than that of No. 2502. The similarity of the facial features is so great that we must suppose that these two sculptures were made by the same artist. The same holds good for the figures of Figs. 32, 33 and 35 (Nos. 2456+2800, 2462+2801, 2467+2802); the thick, fleshy nose, the prominent, large eyes, and the protruding lips are identical as can be best seen from the profile photos of the faces; the base of helmets of the male figures, Figs. 32 and 35 (Nos. 2456+2800 and 2467+2802), ends at the hair falling on the back of the head and in the ears of all the three figures there are earrings of exactly the same type. The dimple on the chin of the female figure, Fig. 33, and the seemingly more protruding chin of the male faces to mark the beard have of course no artistic bearing. These details as well as other differences in hair-dress etc. serve to indicate the different sexes, and the fact that the eyes of the male figure No. 2467+2802 are not plastically indicated, but only painted, does not effect the style but is only a question of artistic technique. It cannot therefore be doubted that these three sculptures are the work of the same artist. In discussing the sculptures of the Proto-Cypriote style we have seen that some of them are also assignable to one and the same artist or at least the same school (p. 36). During my studies on the Ajia Irini sculptures in connection with the presentation of the material here published I have made several observations bearing upon the attribution of groups of sculptures to the same artists, but I cannot tackle this problem in this context, as it requires a complete consideration of the whole sculptural material from Ajia Irini. This problem I intend to discuss on another occasion.

Among the small human figurines of idol plastic the female idol, Fig. 39 (No. 2804),

attracts particular interest, in part because it is one of the few female figures represented among the sculptures from Ajia Irini<sup>19</sup>, in part because it is one of the earliest statuettes in human shape found at Ajia Irini. This type of statuette may be as early as Cypro-Geometric I—II<sup>20</sup>, but the similar statuettes found in the sanctuaries of Ajios Jakovos<sup>21</sup> and Idalion<sup>22</sup> cannot be proved to be earlier than Cypro-Geometric III, though they may in fact have been that, and the earliest date of the Ajia Irini statuette, although unfortunately without known find context, seems also to be Cypro-Geometric III or, at the latest, the early phase of Cypro-Archaic I<sup>23</sup>; for typological reasons a later date is quite unlikely.

The statuette, Fig. 40, belongs to Type 3; the specimens of this type with known find context belong to Cypro-Archaic I; the statuettes of this type are, however, so few that it cannot be determined whether they are restricted to that period alone or not. The statuette, Fig. 40, is of a crude workmanship: its thick brows and large pellet eyes resemble very much those of the

<sup>19</sup> In *Arch. Rel. Wiss.* XXX, 1932, pp. 342 f. Sjöqvist mentions only two exceptions from the rule that the sculptures are male, the moulded figure (*op. cit.* II, Pl. CCXXXIII:5) and a figurine seated on a throne (*op. cit.* Pl. CCXXXIII:10, 11). Although the exceptions are still few, we may add: the female dancers (*op. cit.* Pl. CCXXXIII:6), the female partners in the group of ring-dancers published here, Fig. 16; the female idol, No. 2362 (*op. cit.* Pl. CCXXIX:2), the female idol here discussed (Fig. 39); the Cypro-Greek sculpture (Fig. 33) and, probably, the head of the Second Proto-Cypriote style (Fig. 25) on account of its wearing a pendant on a neck-string (p. 20). Whether its counter-part (*op. cit.* Pl. CCXII:3, 6, 7) is also female is uncertain as it wears no female attributes.

<sup>20</sup> Similar, though not identical, statuettes have been found in Tomb 415 and 419 at Lapithos dating from Cypro-Geometric II, resp. I (*op. cit.* I, Pl. XLIX:4, 5).

<sup>21</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 361 ff., Pl. LXVIII:6, 44.

<sup>22</sup> *Op. cit.* II, p. 587, Female figures, Type 2, assignable to the local Period 4 at Idalion (*op. cit.* p. 616; Pl. CLXXXII:14); this period dates from Geometric III and the early phase of Cypro-Archaic I, although it may have included also some poor remains of Cypro-Geometric I—II (*op. cit.* p. 624).

<sup>23</sup> The earliest sculptures of a human shape found at Ajia Irini belong to the local period 3, covering the later half of Cypro-Geometric III and the first half of Cypro-Archaic I (cf. p. 34).

female statuette, Fig. 39, and for typological reasons the statuette, Fig. 40, may thus be assigned to Cypro-Geometric III. Unfortunately the fragments of which it has been put together are without known find context.

The statuette, Fig. 41, of Type 7, can be associated with the late phase of the First Proto-Cypriote style, on the evidence of the features of its face<sup>34</sup>, and it can therefore be assigned to the early phase of Cypro-Archaic II (*op. cit.* IV:2, p. 208).

Among the **large human figurines of idol plastic** the statuette, Fig. 42 (No. 2316), is a large-sized adorant idol, a counterpart to the statuette, Fig. 39, mentioned above, but it is bisexual, as indicated by the female breasts and the beard; further, the snake curling along the back of the figure associates it with the adorant bisexual Minotaur figures: in fact, this idol represents an intermediate stage between the theriomorph, or semi-theriomorph, and human shape of the votive figures. It can be assigned to Cypro-Geometric III or the early phase of Cypro-Archaic I (cf. below), and it shows that the decisive step towards a conception of the deity itself in human shape was taken in the period mentioned. This is further indicated by the fact that the first human figures without bisexual or theriomorph association with the time past begin to appear in this period, as proved by the small statuette, Fig. 39, and the larger statuette, Fig. 43 (No. 2372), which together with the bisexual figure mentioned and the statuette No. 2321 form the three specimens of large-sized human figurines assignable to the local Period 3 at Ajia Irini (*op. cit.* II, p. 814), as we know covering the later part of Cypro-Geometric III and the early phase of Cypro-Archaic I (cf. p. 34).

The other large-sized statuettes (Figs. 44–51) are normal representatives of idol plastic contemporary with the art sculpture of the First and Second Proto-Cypriote styles. Some of these statuettes reflect vaguely, others more

closely, the style of the contemporary art sculpture, as already pointed out in the excavation report (*op. cit.* pp. 790 f.) and in the general classification made in *op. cit.* IV:2, p. 127. In the course of time stylistic qualities mark more and more this idol plastic, so that it is often impossible to make a distinction between these categories, idol plastic and art sculpture, as also shown by the intermediate specimens mentioned above in the sections dealing with the Second Proto-Cypriote and the Cypro-Greek styles (pp. 36 f.).

Some remarks have to be added on a few **objects of various character** (Figs. 52–56).

It is instructive to compare the sphinx forming part of a **throne**, Fig. 52, with the sphinxes flanking a throne of a similar kind upon which a female figurine is seated (*op. cit.* II, Pl. CCXXXIII:10, 11). The latter throne is assignable to the local Period 3 at Ajia Irini (for the interesting conditions of finds, cf. *op. cit.* pp. 806 f.), and dates therefore from the later part of Cypro-Geometric III or, more likely for stylistic reasons, the early part of Cypro-Archaic I: the facial features of the sphinx approach those characteristic of the First Proto-Cypriote style. The facial features of the sphinx, Fig. 52, are clearly Neo-Cypriote and these stylistic criteria are confirmed by the find contexts: the fragment was found in Square L 6 at a level of 97.7–98.7, i.e. it belongs to the local Period 5 at Ajia Irini, c. 560–540 B.C., a period in which the Neo-Cypriote style flourished.

The stylized **flowers**, Fig. 53, have of course been held by one or two votive statues, most probably female.

The **thunderbolts**, Fig. 54, on the other hand, must have been attributes of a statue of the god worshipped, confirming that he was a weather god. No sculpture that can be proved to represent this god has yet been identified but among the sculptural fragments there are some which look promising for such an identification. More fragments must, however, be found to ascertain the matter. The thunderbolts to the right on Fig.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. e.g. *op. cit.* Pls. CXCVIII, CCI.

54 have the lower terminals of the same shape as the flowers (Fig. 53), intended for being inserted into a hand. The thunderbolt, Fig. 54, to the left, cannot have been inserted directly into a hand but must have been fixed to a shaft. Sjöqvist has shown that the god worshipped at Ajia Irini has been related to the Near Eastern fertility and weather god, in the religious imagination of the worshippers conceived in the shape of a bull, and if we study the representations of the various types of thunderbolts associated with these Near Eastern gods we find that besides the double-ended thunderbolts of three or more rays, the single-ended thunderbolts with one, two or three rays are also represented and the thunderbolt with bent shaft-hole may well have formed part of such an one-sided thunderbolt with two or three rays<sup>26</sup>.

Fig. 55 shows one ear of a statuette pierced by

<sup>26</sup> For these various types of thunderbolts associated with the Near Eastern fertility and weather god, cf. *Jahrb. deutsch. arch. Inst.* XLIII, 1928, pp. 101 ff., Figs. 12, 14–27, 32–38. Sometimes these thunderbolts are held by the god, sometimes fixed on the back of the bull.

four holes, probably used for fastening an ear-ornament of which no specimens have been found so far, but is often represented on the sculptures<sup>26</sup> and is usually called **ear-cap**.

Finally, Fig. 56, the **vase in the shape of an astragalos**. Its date is not later than the early phase of Cypro-Archaic II, because it was found in a layer containing potsherds of Types IV and V, corresponding to those found in the layer of the local Period 4 at Ajia Irini, covering the time between c. 650 and 560 B.C. We know that astragaloi, both real ones and imitated in various materials, were used as votive offerings in the sanctuaries and given as tombgifts to the deceased; they were also used as adornment on earrings and necklaces and as amulets. Further, they were used as weights and as vases, in Greece fairly often represented by Black Glazed pottery<sup>27</sup>.

<sup>26</sup> *Swed. Cyp. Exp.* IV:2, Pls. II:3; VII:1, 2; VIII:2.

<sup>27</sup> For a recent survey of the material in question see HAMPE, *Die Stele aus Pharsalos im Louvre* (107. Winkelmannsprogramm, Berlin 1951, pp. 12 f., nn. 3–12).



# Kreta, Tiber und Stora Mellösa.

## Bemerkungen zu zwei Bronzeschwertern aus dem Tiber

EVERT BAUDOU

Die zwei Bronzeschwerter Abb. 1–4 sind im Jahre 1960 in Rom im Antiquitätenhandel erworben. Hierbei gegebenen Auskünften zufolge sind die beiden Schwerter, zusammen mit einer bedeutend jüngeren Bronzeschale, nach einer Ueberschwemmung im Strandlager am Tiber oberhalb von Rom einige Tage vor der Erwerbung gefunden<sup>1</sup>. Die Fundangaben scheinen glaubwürdig zu sein, auch wenn sie nicht näher kontrolliert werden können. In diesem Aufsatz gehe ich davon aus, dass der Fundort richtig angegeben ist.

Beide Schwerter gehören zu der grossen Gruppe der Griffzungenschwerter. Ueber den Ursprung dieser Schwerter ist seit langem viel diskutiert worden. Durch ihre grosse Verbreitung vom östlichen Mittelmeergebiet und Kleinasien über Griechenland und Italien, Mittel- und Westeuropa bis hinauf nach Mittelskandinavien erhält die Frage nach dem Aufkommen und nach der Entwicklung der Gruppe grosse Bedeutung. Kaum irgendeine andere so relativ einheitliche Form vorgeschichtlicher Metalldenk-

mäler zeigt eine so weite Verbreitung. Die Einheitlichkeit ist indessen zu einem gewissen Grade trügerisch. Eine genaue Prüfung zeigt, dass es zahlreiche Varianten mit lokaler, begrenzter Ausbreitung gibt. Ebenso muss man damit rechnen, dass das organische Material aus Horn, Knochen oder Holz, das die Griffzunge bekleidete, eine etwas ungleiche Ausformung innerhalb der verschiedenen Gebiete hatte. Die Ähnlichkeit der Griffzungenschwerter über grosse Teile Europas ist somit teilweise nur scheinbar. Es ist daher von grösstem Gewicht, die kleinen Unterschiede, die vorkommen, im Detail nachzuweisen und die Zeitstellung der verschiedenen Varianten festzulegen.

Die grundlegenden Arbeiten für das Studium der Griffzungenschwerter sind von Naue, Sprockhoff und Cowen geschrieben<sup>2</sup>. Naues Publikation erschien 1903 und seine Typeneinteilung ist nicht genau genug, um heutigen Ansprüchen zu genügen. Sprockhoffs Arbeit von 1931 und die von Cowen von 1956 haben die Forschung einen

<sup>1</sup> Die Schwerter (und die Bronzeschale) sind ein Geschenk S.M. König Gustav VI. Adolfs an das Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm. Inv. Nr. MM 1960:25 (Abb. 2) und MM 1960:26 (Abb. 1). Ich danke Professor Axel Boëthius, Rom, für die Provenienztangaben.

<sup>2</sup> J. NAUE, Die vorrömischen Schwerter aus Kupfer, Bronze und Eisen, 1903. — E. SPROCKHOFF, Die germanischen Griffzungenschwerter, 1931. — J. D. COWEN, Eine Einführung in die Geschichte der bronzenen Griffzungenschwerter in Süddeutschland und den angrenzenden Gebieten, 36. Ber.d.Röm.-Germ. Komm. 1955, 1956.

grossen Schritt weitergeführt. Sprockhoff behandelt die Griffzungenschwerter in Nord-europa und Cowen dieselbe Schwertergruppe in Süddeutschland und den angrenzenden Gebieten. Eine ebenso vollständige Durcharbeitung der Griffzungenschwerter im Mittelmeerraum gibt es noch nicht. Die grosse Gruppe früher Griffzungenschwerter in Nordeuropa (Sprockhoff Typ Ia und Ib) mit mindestens ca. 200 Exemplaren gehört zu Montelius' Periode IIb–c. In der mitteleuropäischen Chronologie entspricht das Reineckes Bronzezeit C sowie möglicherweise teilweise Bronzezeit D. Aus Süddeutschland und den angrenzenden Gebieten verzeichnet Cowen 32 Exemplare derselben Form. Er datiert sie in die Bronzezeit C. Reinecke hat nachgewiesen, dass zumindest Sprockhoffs Typ Ia mit ausgebuchteter Zunge von Schwertern des Keszthely (Boiu)-Typs in Ungarn hergeleitet werden kann<sup>3</sup>. Hingegen ist noch nicht klargelegt, wie Typ Ib mit gerader Zunge entstanden ist. In der Bz D und in der frühen Hallstattzeit A kommen in Mitteleuropa Sprockhoffs Griffzungenschwerter „vom gewöhnlichen Typ“ vor, die – zum Unterschied von der Mehrzahl derer vom Typ Ia und Ib – mehrere Nieten in der Zunge sowie schräge Schultern haben. Cowen nennt diese Form den „Nenzinger Typ“. Im Jahre 1931 kannte Sprockhoff ca. 350 solche Schwerter in Nordeuropa, wo sie Montelius' Periode III zugehören, und Cowen im Jahre 1956 ca. 50 Exemplare in Süddeutschland und den angrenzenden Gebieten. Dieser Typ ist von allen Griffzungenschwertern der am weitesten verbreitete. Seit langem ist er auch in einer kleineren Zahl aus Griechenland und aus dem östlichen Mittelmeerraum bekannt. Es ist die erste Form von Griffzungenschwertern, die sowohl in Mitteleuropa wie im östlichen Mittelmeergebiet vorkommt. Mehrere Archäologen, u. a. Childe, haben die Idee der mitteleuropäischen Griffzungenschwerter aus dem östlichen Mittelmeer-

raum herleiten wollen<sup>4</sup>. Der Nenzinger Typ hat indessen in Mitteleuropa die reiche Entwicklung von Sprockhoffs Typ I als Hintergrund und ähnliche Voraussetzungen können im ägäischen Gebiet oder in Kleinasien nicht nachgewiesen werden<sup>5</sup>. Eine andere Sache ist es, dass es dort frühe Griffzungenschwerter gibt, die jedoch nicht mit den mitteleuropäischen Formen verknüpft werden können. Soviel wir jetzt sehen können, so dürfte es am richtigsten sein, mit einer mitteleuropäischen Entwicklung von Griffzungenschwertern zu rechnen, die von dem ungarischen Boiu Typ ausgehen, und mit einer hiervon gänzlich getrennten Entwicklung im östlichen Mittelmeerraum, einer Entwicklung, die noch nicht völlig untersucht ist. In der Ha A-Periode treffen sich somit in der ägäischen Welt die ursprünglich aus dem Mittelmeerraum herstammenden und die mitteleuropäischen Typen, die als Import eingeführt werden oder als lokale Nachbildungen entstehen. Das gilt nicht nur für die Griffzungenschwerter sondern auch für andere Bronzeformen, wie Lanzenspitzen und Messer. Man kann zur gleichen Zeit mitteleuropäische Typen im östlichen Mittelmeergebiet aufspüren und Impulse und Importstücke aus Griechenland nördlich über den Balkan nach dem östlichen Mitteleuropa und westlich über das Mittelmeer nach Westeuropa hin nachweisen. In diesem Aufsatz soll untersucht werden, wie sich die zwei Tiberschwerter in diesen Zusammenhang einfügen.

Das wohlerhaltene Schwert Abb. 1 und 3 ist 61,1 cm lang. Die Zunge ist in der Mitte schwach ausgebuchtet und das Heft hat V-Form. Die Zunge wird von niedrigen Rändern begrenzt, 1,0 bis 1,1 cm hoch, die in ihrem obersten Teil ausgesprochene Hörner haben. Am Knaufende

<sup>3</sup> P. REINECKE, Zur Geschichte der Griffzungenschwerter, Germania 15, 1931, 217 ff.

<sup>4</sup> V. G. CHILDE, The Final Bronze Age in the Near East and in Temperate Europe. Proc. of the Prehist. Soc. N.S. XIV, 1948, 183 ff. — Vgl. auch H. W. CATLING, Bronze Cut-and-Thrust Swords in the Eastern Mediterranean. Proc. of the Prehist. Soc. N.S. XXII, 1956, 102 ff., der jedoch ganz von Naues alter Einteilung ausgeht.

<sup>5</sup> COWEN, 1956, 68 f.

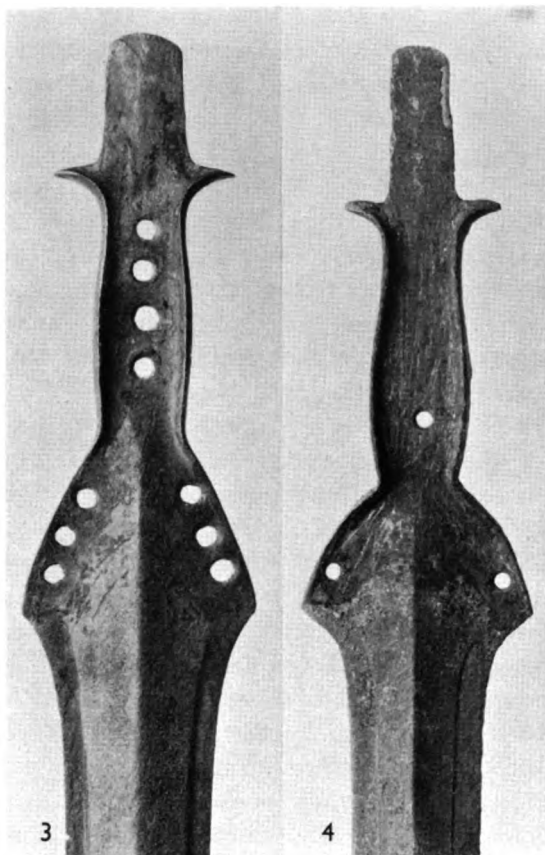
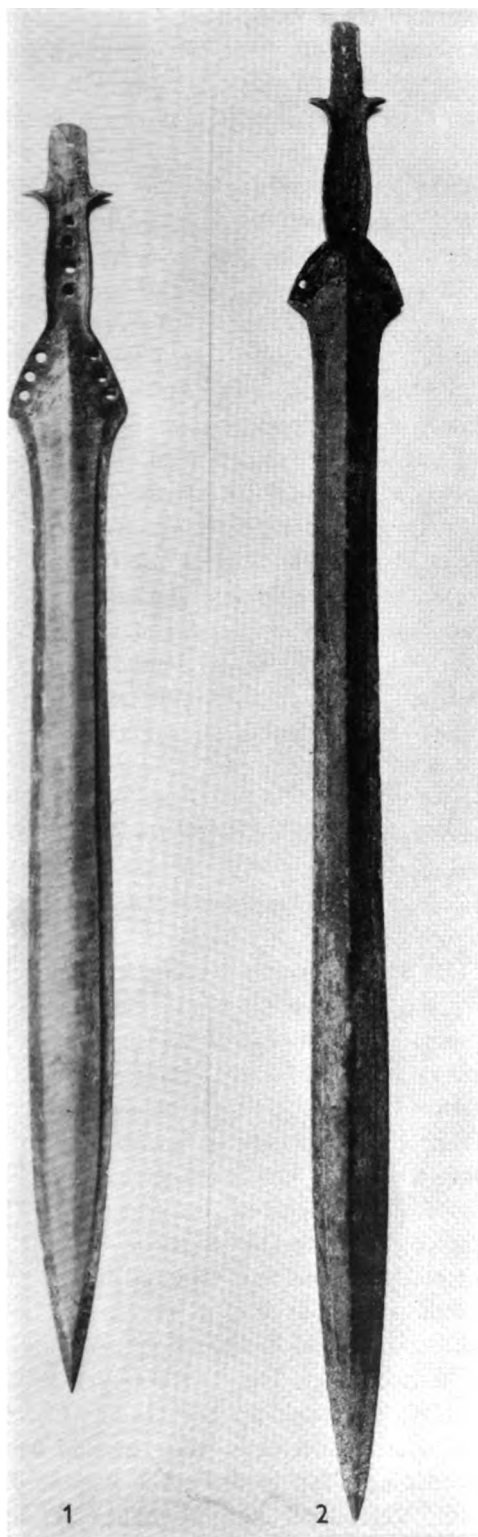


Abb. 3–4. MM 1960:26 und 25. Detail. M. ca. 1:2.

Abb. 1–2. Am Tiber gefundene Schwerter, MM 1960:26 und 25. Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm. Etwas kleiner als 1:4.

des Griffes befindet sich ein 3,2 cm langer spatenförmiger Zungenfortsatz. Die Zunge weist 4 und das Heft  $2 \times 3$  Nietlöcher auf. Das erste und das dritte Nietloch ist grob von derselben Seite her eingeschlagen, das zweite und vierte von der entgegengesetzten Seite. Die Nietlöcher im Heft sind sämtlich von der gleichen Seite her eingeschlagen ausser dem untersten links auf Abb. 3. Die Zunge ist 0,45 cm dick. Der Uebergang vom Heft zur Klinge ist weich geschwungen. Die Klinge ist breit und nach unten zu ausgebuchtet, d. h. blattförmig. An ihrer breitesten Stelle ist sie 4,1 cm und am schmaleren oberen

Teil unter dem Heft 3,5 cm breit. Die Klinge hat nahezu rhombischen Querschnitt, der untere Teil ist jedoch flacher. Die Schneide ist vom Rücken der Klinge durch eine scharfe Kante abgesetzt. Die Patina ist abgeschliffen ausser auf der Zunge und auf Teilen der Schneide. Die erhaltene Patina ist blauschwarz.

Das zweite Schwert, Abb. 2 und 4, ist 72,3 cm lang. Auch dieses ist wohl erhalten. Die Zunge buchtet im unteren Teil aus. Die Ausbuchtung ist gut markiert und viel deutlicher als bei dem ersten Schwert. Das Heft hat nahezu U-Form. Die Zunge wird von niedrigen Rändern begrenzt, 0,9–1,0 cm hoch, die in ihrem oberen Teil in ausgesprochene Hörner auslaufen. Die Zunge hat eine 3,8 cm lange Verlängerung. Im unteren Teil der Zunge befindet sich ein Nietloch und im unteren Teil des Heftes 2×1 Nietlöcher. Die Nietlöcher sind gut gearbeitet und abgeschliffen. Die Zunge ist 0,45 cm dick. Der Uebergang zwischen Heft und Klinge geschieht in schärferem Winkel als beim Schwert Abb. 1. Die Klinge ist blattförmig, an ihrer breitesten Stelle 3,7 cm und am schmalen oberen Teil 3,1 cm breit. Die ganze Klinge hat deutlich rhombischen Querschnitt. Die Schneide ist vom Rücken durch eine schwach markierte Kante abgesetzt. Das Schwert ist mit gleichförmiger, blauschwarzer Patina von gleicher Art wie beim ersten Schwert belegt. Auf der abgebildeten Seite, Abb. 4, sieht man die Grenze für den Heftbelag.

Cowens Arbeit über die süddeutschen Griffzungenschwerter kann zum Ausgangspunkt für die Diskussion dienen. Beide italische Schwerter gehören zur Hauptgruppe unverzierte Griffzungenschwerter mit blattförmigen Klingen<sup>6</sup>. Diese Schwerter werden in drei Typen eingeteilt, den Erbenheimer Typ (20 Exemplare und eine Gussform), den Lettener Typ (9 Exemplare) und den Hemigkofen Typ (49 Exemplare). Vom Erbenheimer Typ weist Cowen auch eine Variante nach, die Ennsdorfer Variante (3 Exemplare). Der Erbenheimer und Lettener

Typ hat einen markierten Griffzungenfortsatz geradeso wie die zwei hier besprochenen italischen Schwerter. Das Schwert Abb. 1 gehört zum Lettener Typ, der durch eine sehr schwach ausbuchtende Zunge mit 3–5 Nieten und 4–6 Nieten am Heft gekennzeichnet ist (Abb. 5–6). Die Länge variiert zwischen 62,4 und 59,5 cm. Das italische Schwert fügt sich sehr gut hier ein.

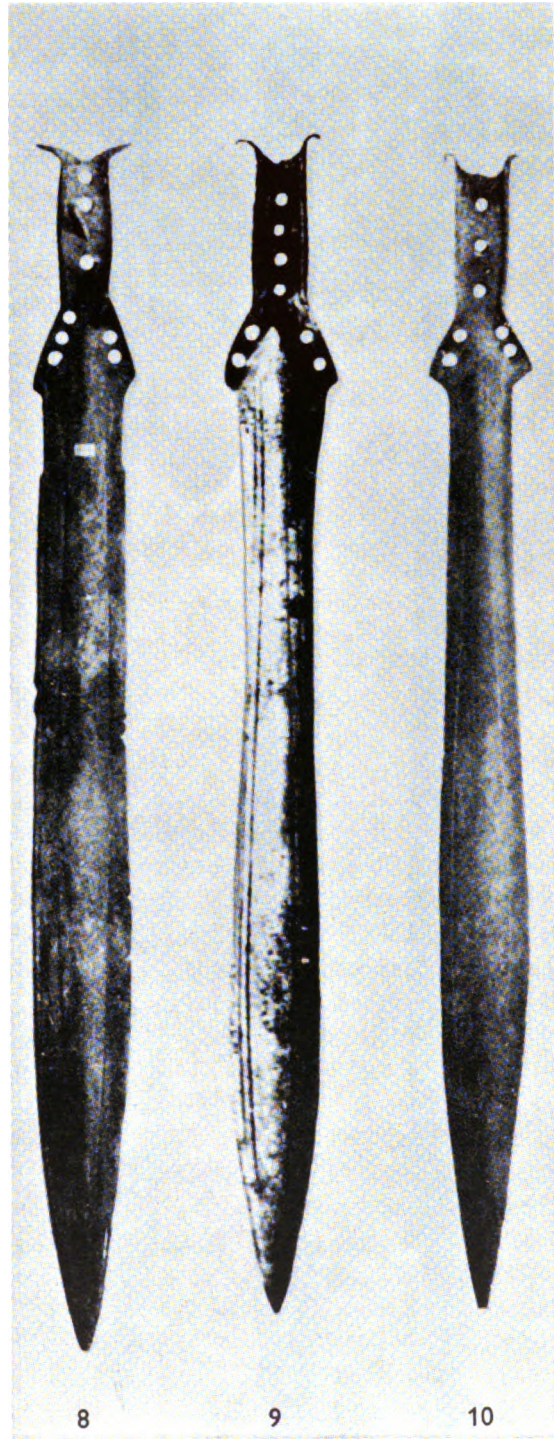
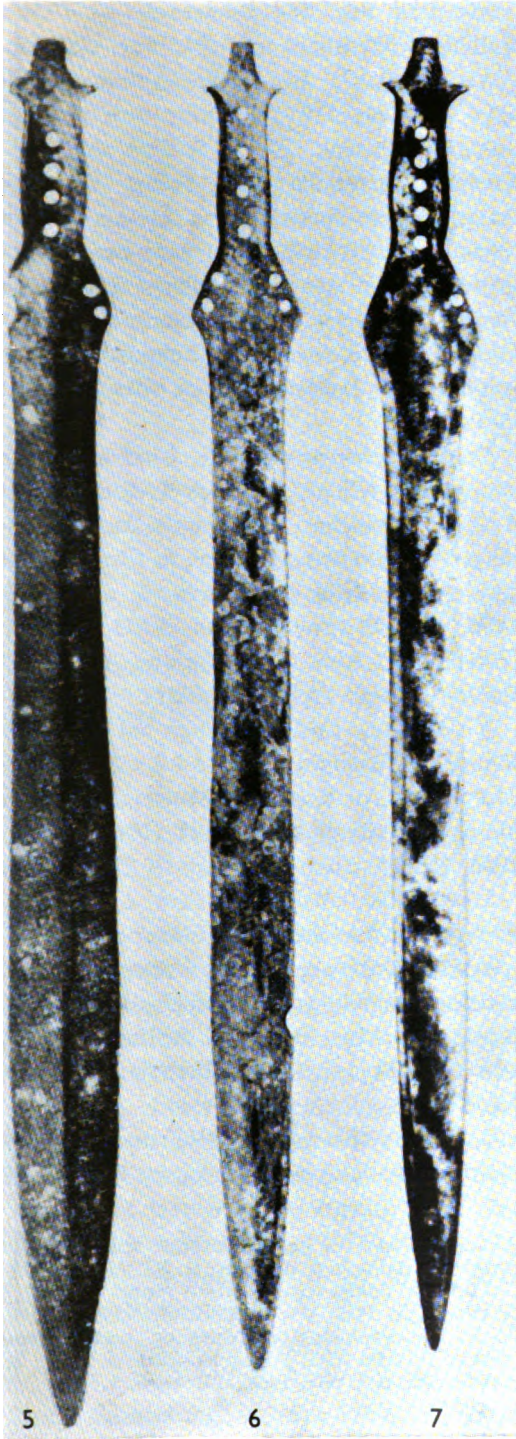
Kein Schwert vom Lettener Typ ist in einem datierbaren Zusammenhang gefunden worden. Die grosse Ähnlichkeit mit dem Hemigkofen Typ (Abb. 8–10) einerseits und dem Erbenheimer Typ andererseits lässt, nach Cowen, vermuten dass der Lettener Typ eine Hybridform zwischen diesen beiden darstellt. Da beide Hauptformen mittels datierbarer Grabfunde zur Ha A gerechnet werden können, ist eine Datierung des Lettener Typs in die gleiche Zeit durchaus glaublich. Cowen versucht den Erbenheimer Typ in die „frühe Ha A“-Periode zu begrenzen und teilt hierdurch auch den Lettener Typ der frühen Ha A-Periode zu. Diese Begrenzung dürfte nicht möglich sein, da der eine der beiden Grabfunde vom Erbenheimer Typ (Erbenheim bei Wiesbaden) in die frühe Ha A-Zeit (Ha A 1) und der andere (Wollmesheim in der Rheinpfalz) in die späte Ha A-Periode (Ha A 2) gehört.

Das Schwert Abb. 2 kommt dem Erbenheimer Typ am nächsten (Abb. 11–13). Bezeichnend ist eine in der Mitte weich ausbuchtende Zunge mit zahlreichen Nietlöchern sowohl am Griff wie am Heft. Das Heft hat nahezu U-Form. Die Klinge hat einen flachen rautenförmigen Querschnitt, ist lang und elegant geschwungen. Die Länge ist zwischen 74,5 und 64,5 cm, im Durchschnitt 69,0 cm. Das italische Schwert unterscheidet sich von den übrigen durch eine ungewöhnlich kleine Anzahl Nieten, nur drei, und dadurch, dass die Ausbuchtung der Zunge tiefer als normal liegt. Die U-Form des Heftes ist ebenfalls deutlicher als bei den von Cowen abgebildeten Schwertern. Wie erwähnt wird der Erbenheimer Typ in die Ha A-Periode datiert.

Ein Verzeichnis von in Italien gefundenen

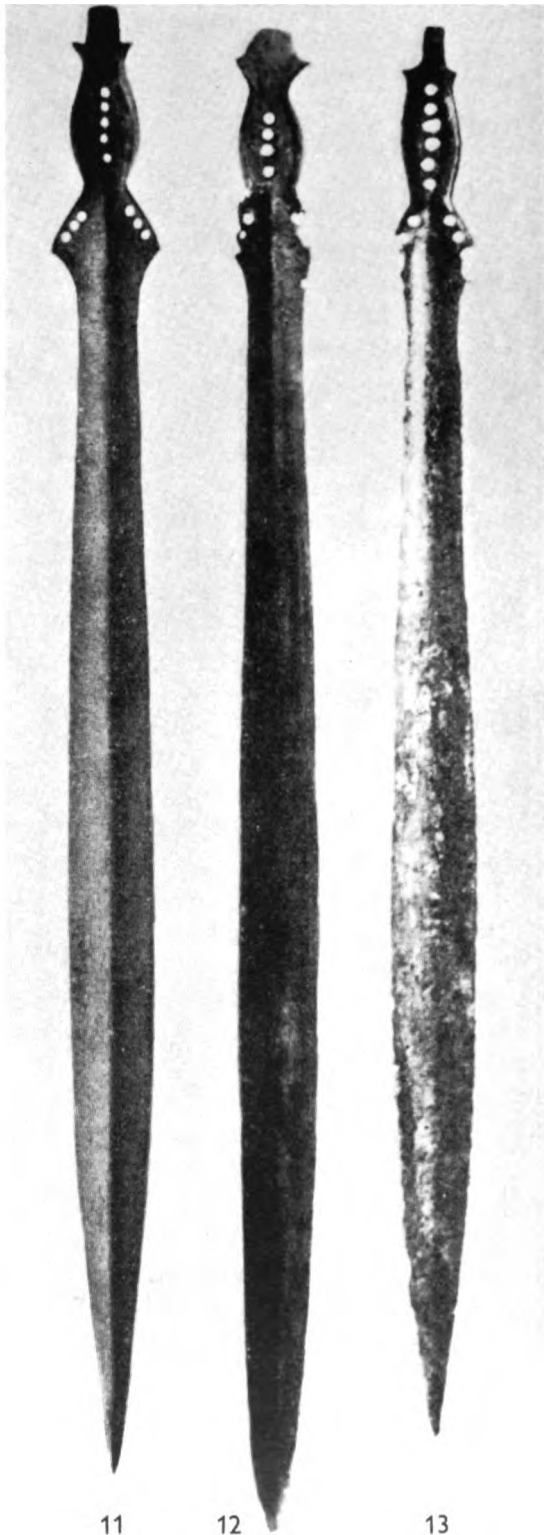
<sup>6</sup> COWEN, 1956, 72 ff.





*Abb. 5–7. Lettener Typ. Fundorte: Basel; Birsfelden bei Basel; Rouen. M. etwas grösser als 1:4. Nach Cowen 1956.*

*Abb. 8–10. Hemigkofener Typ. Fundorte: Zühlkanal, Schweiz; Venlo, Holland; Boppard, Rheinprovinz. M. etwas grösser als 1:4. Nach Cowen 1956.*



Schwertern aus der Bronzezeit ist 1926 von Rellini veröffentlicht und 1942 von Caprino ergänzt worden<sup>7</sup>. Die Verzeichnisse enthalten alles in allem 332 Schwerter, von denen 121 auf dem Festland, 23 auf Sizilien und 189 auf Sardinien gefunden sind. Selbst wenn noch einige weitere Schwerter in kleineren Sammlungen erhalten sind, so ist man berechtigt, die grosse Menge der von Rellini-Caprino publizierten Schwerter als repräsentativ für den Gesamtbestand anzusehen. Folgende Schwerter gehören dem Lettener Typ an oder nähern sich ihm:

1. *Am Trasimenischen See, Umbria*. Länge 75 cm, gerade Klinge. Schwach U-förmiges Heft.  $4+2 \times 2$  Nietlöcher. Jetzt in unbekannter Sammlung. — A. ANCONA, *Le armi, le fibule e qualche altro cimelio della sua collezione archeologica*. 1886. Nr. 44 (Foto). NAUE 1903, Taf. VII, 2 (Zeichnung). Abb. 14 in diesem Aufsatz. Von Rellini-Caprino nicht aufgeführt.

2. *Alerona, Umbria*. Länge 64 cm, gerade Klinge. V-förmiges Heft.  $5+2 \times 2$  Nietlöcher. Mus. Preist. di Roma. — MONTELIUS, *La civil. prim. en Italie II*, 1, 1904, Pl. 126, 11. RELLINI 1926, Nr. 77.

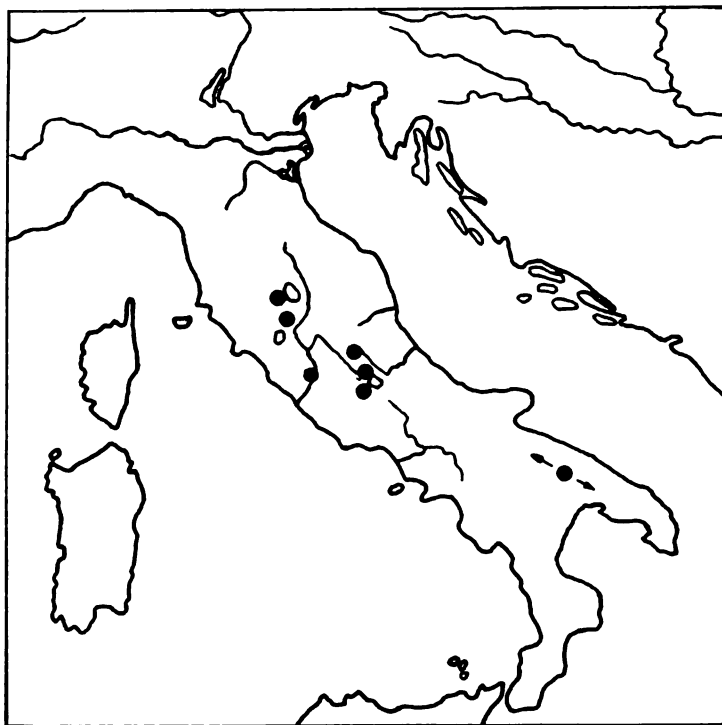
3. *Am Tiber, nördlich von Rom, Lazio*. Schwert. Abb. 1 und 3 in diesem Aufsatz.

4. *Fucino, Abruzzi*. Länge 62 cm. Gerade oder blattförmige Klinge? V-förmiges Heft.  $4+2 \times 3$  Nietlöcher. Mus. Preist. di Roma. — MONTELIUS 1904, Pl. 142, 9 (nur Oberteil). Rellini 1926, Nr. 87.

5. *Fucino, Abruzzi*. Länge 63 cm. Gerade oder blattförmige Klinge? V-förmiges Heft.  $2+2 \times 2$

<sup>7</sup> U. RELLINI, *Per lo studio delle spade di bronzo scoperte in Italia*, Bull. di Paleont. It. XLVI, 1926, 73 ff. — C. CAPRINO, *Spada trovata presso Ienne (Arsoli)*, Bull. di Paleont. It. N.S. V–VI, 1941–42, 198 ff. — Vgl. K. R. MAXWELL-HYSLOP, *Notes on some distinctive types of Bronzes from Populonia, Etruria*. Proc. of the Prehist. Soc. N.S. XII, 1956, 127. Anm. 1.

Abb. 11–13. *Erbenheimer Typ*. Fundorte: Steinamager, Ungarn; Bönningheim, Württemberg; Heilbronn, Württemberg. M. etwas grösser als 1:4. Nach Cowen 1956.



Karte 1. Verbreitung des Lettner Typs und nahestehender Variante mit gerader Klinge in Italien.

Nietlöcher. Mus. Preist. di Roma. — Montelius 1904, Pl. 142,10 (nur Oberteil). Rellini 1926, Nr. 88.

6. *Colle Brignile di S. Benedetto in Perillis, Abruzzi*. Länge 65 cm. Gerade oder blattförmige Klinge? 10 Nietlöcher. Keine Abbildung publiziert, aber Rellinis Beschreibung ist so genau, dass das Schwert trotzdem mit grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit dieser Gruppe zugeteilt werden kann: „Spada a codolo piatto munito di 10 fori pei chiodi, 6 rimasti; in capo linguetta verticale fra due brevi appendici divergenti.“ Als Typ gibt Rellini Montelius 1904, Pl. 142,10, d. h. das oben erwähnte Schwert Nr. 5, an. Mus. Preist. di Roma. — Rellini 1926, Nr. 89.

7. *Puglie*. Länge 61 cm, gerade Klinge, V-förmiges Heft.  $3+2 \times 3$  Nietlöcher. Jetzt in unbekannter Sammlung. — Naue 1903, Taf. VII,6, Abb. 15 in diesem Aufsatz. Bei Rellini-Caprino nicht aufgeführt.

Folgende Gussform und zwei Schwerter ge-

hören am ehesten dem Erbenheimer Typ an:

1. *Piverone bei Ivrea, Piemonte*. Gussform aus Steatit in zwei Hälften, Länge 83 cm. Für Schwerter in drei Längen: 75, 72 und 65 cm. Blattförmige Klinge. Das Heft beinahe U-förmig. Die Form gibt keine Nietlöcher an. Wurde 1942 in der Chiesa Parrocchiale aufbewahrt. — P. Barocelli, *Bullet. Paletn. di It. N.S. II*, 1938, 130 f. Caprino 1942, Nr. 5. Cowen 1956, 131, Nr. 13.

2. *Casale, Veneto*. Länge nach der angegebenen Skala ca. 44 cm, (ist das möglich?). Schwach blattförmige Klinge. Heft schwach U-förmig.  $4+2 \times 2$  Nietlöcher. Museo Civico di Treviso. — R. Battaglia, *Bull. Paletn. di It.*, Vol. fuori serie 67–68, 1958–59, 284, Abb. 98 b. Von Rellini-Caprino nicht genannt.

3. *Am Tiber, nördlich von Rom, Lazio*. Schwert Abb. 2 und 4 in diesem Aufsatz.

Aus *Fucino, Abruzzi* liegt ein weiteres Schwert vor, das die Kennzeichen des Erbenheimer Typs

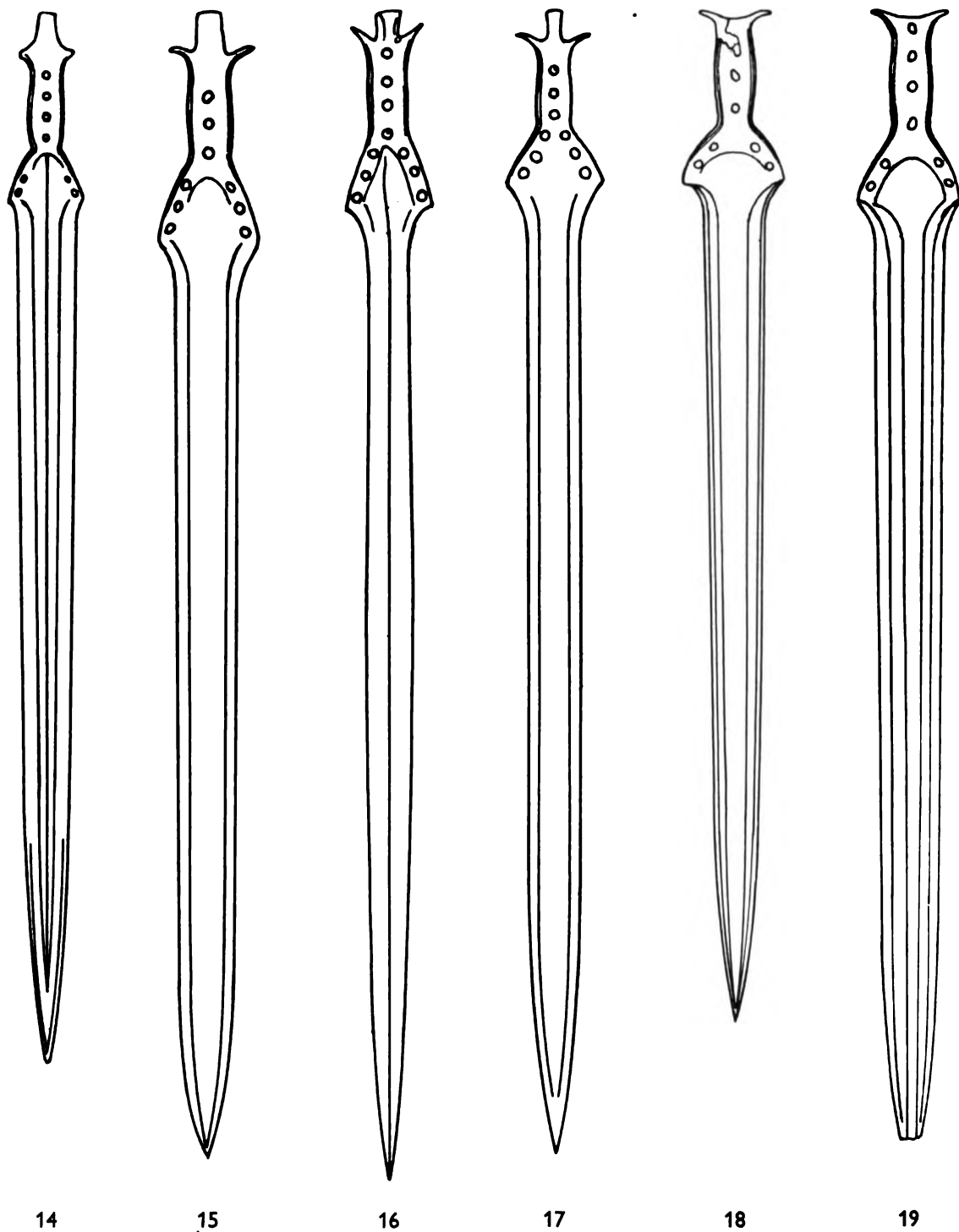


Abb. 14—19. Fundorte: Trasimener See, Umbria; Puglie; Stora Mellösa, Närke, Schweden; Spandau, Berlin; Trasimener See, Umbria; Sulmona, Abruzzi. M. etwas grösser als 1:4 (Nr. 14 etwas kleiner als 1:4). Nr. 14, 15, 18, 19 nach Nauw 1903, Nr. 16 nach Antikvarisk topografiska arkivet, Stockholm, Nr. 17 nach Sprockhoff 1931.



zeigt, die in der Mitte ausbuchtende Zunge, zahlreiche Nietlöcher ( $3+2 \times 2$ ), lange geschwungene Klinge (Montelius 1904, Pl. 142,5. Rellini 1926, Nr. 86). Die Länge beträgt nach der Abbildungsskala 69 cm, d. h. genau die Länge, die für den Durchschnitt des Typs angegeben wird. Die Klinge buchtet nur schwach aus, wie bei dem Exemplar vom Tiber Abb. 1. Die einzige Abweichung besteht darin, dass der Griffzungenfortsatz fehlt. Dieses Exemplar ist die Ennsdorfer Variante, von der Cowen nur drei Exemplare angibt, eines aus Österreich (Ennsdorf, Grab aus Ha A), eines aus der Tschechoslowakei (Karpatorussland) und eines aus Polen (Galizien)<sup>9</sup>. Diese Form ist so selten und so zerstreut, dass sie kaum verdient als eigene Variante bezeichnet zu werden. Es ist eine rein zufällige Form, die hier und da einmal innerhalb oder ausserhalb der Grenzen des Verbreitungsgebietes des Erbenheimer Typs vorkommt.

Nichts ist über die näheren Fundumstände aller dieser Schwerter bekannt. Nichts in datierbarem Zusammenhang liegt vor. Mit Vorbehalt für eine kleinere zeitliche Verschiebung kann man für die italischen Schwerter dieselbe Gebrauchszeit annehmen wie für die mitteleuropäischen, d. h. Ha A. In absoluten Jahreszahlen würde dies, nach Müller-Karpe, das 12–11. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bedeuten und in italischer Periodenbezeichnung die ältere „Protovillanova-Periode“.

Mit Ausnahme des Schwertes von Puglie liegt die erste Gruppe gut in Mittelitalien gesammelt (Karte 1). Auch ihrem Typ nach gehört sie eng zusammen. Einige haben jedoch gerade Klinge, während eines oder einige die für den Lettener Typ charakteristische Blattform zeigt. In Nordueropa gibt es ebenfalls eine kleine Schwertgruppe, die dem Lettener Typ nahesteht aber durch eine gerade Klinge gekennzeichnet ist. Mindestens vier Schwerter gehören hierhin, darunter eines von Stora Mellösa in Närke in

Mittelschweden (Abb. 16) und eines aus Spandau bei Berlin (Abb. 17)<sup>9</sup>. Sowohl Sprockhoff wie Cowen halten es für das wahrscheinlichste, dass die nordische Gruppe einer einheimischen Werkstatt entstammt. Cowen nimmt an, dass diese Schwerter einheimische Abwandlungen importierter Beispiele des Erbenheimer Typs sind (Schwerter von Parum in Mecklenburg und Bremen).

Die nordeuropäische und die mittelitalische Gruppe sind auffallend ähnlich, was darauf beruht, dass diese Varianten unter gleichen Voraussetzungen entstanden sind, trotz ihres grossen geographischen Abstandes. Die für grosse Teile Europas gemeinsame Schwertform während Bz D und früher Ha A-Zeit ist, wie erwähnt, das Griffzungenschwert von Cowens Nenzinger Typ. Die Zunge ist sehr schwach ausgebuchtet, ohne Fortsatz, aber oft mit kleinen Hörnern versehen. Der Uebergang zwischen Heft und Klinge ist weich und gerade. In Italien gibt es mindestens 8 Exemplare, von denen die Mehrzahl in Mittelitalien liegt<sup>10</sup>. Irgendwo in Mitteleuropa, vielleicht in Süddeutschland, entsteht in der frühen Ha A-Periode eine Tendenz, diese Schwerter mit einer blattförmigen Klinge auszuformen, eine Tendenz, die im Norden während Ha A nicht durchschlägt und die eine sehr geringe Rolle in Mittelitalien gespielt zu haben scheint. In Mitteleuropa entsteht der Hemigkofener Typ (Abb. 8–10), wovon man in Italien nur schwache Spuren findet. Ein Schwert von *Montegiorgio, Ascoli-Piceno*, in Mittelitalien ist eine Variante dieses Typs (Montelius 1904, Pl. 131,13; Rellini 1926, Nr. 64).

Für das Aussehen des Schwertes kann es

<sup>9</sup> SPROCKHOFF 1931, 21 ff. und 95 f. Die restlichen zwei Schwerter sind von Bevensen, Kr. Ülzen, Hannover und vom Goplo-See, Polen.

<sup>10</sup> 1. *Cherasco, Piemonte*. Caprino 1942, Nr. 4. — 2. *Casale, Veneto*. Battaglia 1958–59, Abb. 98 c. — 3–5. *Belverde di Cetona, Toscana*. Caprino 1942, Nr. 13–15. — 6. *Am Trasimenischen See, Umbria*, Rellini 1926, Nr. 74. Hier Abb. 18. — 7. *Sulmona, Abruzzi*. Naue 1903, Taf. VII, 1. Hier Abb. 19. — 8. *Poggio Berni, Forlì, Emilia*. Hortfund, Ha A. Tosi, Bull. di Paletn. It. N.S. 3, 1939, 51 ff., Abb. 1, h, m.

<sup>9</sup> COWEN 1956, 76 ff.

keine Rolle gespielt haben, ob die Schwertzunge einen Fortsatz hatte oder nicht. Die funktionelle Aufgabe des Zungenfortsatzes war, dem Schwertknauf eine Stütze zu geben. Wenn auch den meisten Schwertern ein solcher Fortsatz fehlt, so hat man doch keinen Anlass, einen wesentlich anderen Knauf anzunehmen. Was dieses Detail betrifft, so können die Schwerter in unbeschädigtem Zustand durchaus gleichartig angesehen haben. Einen wesentlichen Unterschied zwischen den Typen stellt indessen die kräftig blattförmige Klinge, verglichen mit der geraden, dar. Der Zungenfortsatz kann als eine technische Verbesserung für eine bessere Befestigung des Schwertknaufes angesehen werden. Durch Angabe einiger Ziffern kann gezeigt werden, welche Rolle dieses Detail innerhalb der verschiedenen Gebiete gespielt hat. Von den ca. 375 von Sprockhoff aufgeführten nordeuropäischen Ha A-Schwertern mit Griffzunge haben 9 Zungenfortsatz, von den ca. 135 von Cowen angegebenen Ha A-Schwertern mit Griffzunge aus Mitteleuropa (einschliesslich zweier hier nicht genannter Typen) haben 29 Zungenfortsatz und von den in diesem Aufsatz aufgezählten ca. 20 italischen Ha A-Schwertern mit Griffzunge haben 9 (und eine Gussform) Zungenfortsatz.

Die mittelitalische Gruppe von Schwertern mit Zungenfortsatz kann auf ähnliche Weise wie die nordische betrachtet werden. Die Schwerter mit gerader Klinge sind von lokaler Herstellung, während das Tiber-Schwert mit seiner leicht geschwungenen Klinge am wahrscheinlichsten ein mitteleuropäisches Produkt ist. Cowen bildet zwei fast gleiche Schwerter ab, das eine aus Birsfelden bei Basel (hier Abb. 6) und das andere aus Rouen (hier Abb. 7). Damit kann man drei Gruppen von sehr gleichartigen und nahe verwandten Schwertern unterscheiden:

1. Lettener Typ mit blattförmiger Klinge im eigentlichen Verbreitungsgebiet des Erbenheimer Typs in Mittel- und Westeuropa;

2. Die nordeuropäische Gruppe mit gerader Klinge ausserhalb des eigentlichen Verbreitungsgebietes des Erbenheimer Typs;

3. Die mittelitalische Gruppe mit gerade Klinge ausserhalb des eigentlichen Verbreitungsgebietes des Erbenheimer Typs.

Der Erbenheimer Typ hat seinen Schwerpunkt am Rhein, vor allem im mittleren Teile des Flussgebietes<sup>11</sup>. Von den 8 Exemplaren des Lettener Typs mit bekanntem Fundort liegen drei in der Schweiz am obersten Lauf des Rheins, zwei in Süddeutschland, zwei in Frankreich an der Seine und eines in Belgien. Die mittelitalischen Griffzungenschwerter mit Zungenfortsatz knüpfen über das mittlere Alpengebiet an das obere Rheintal an. Die italische Gruppe vom Nenzinger Typ gehört mit Mitteleuropa in weiteren Sinne zusammen.

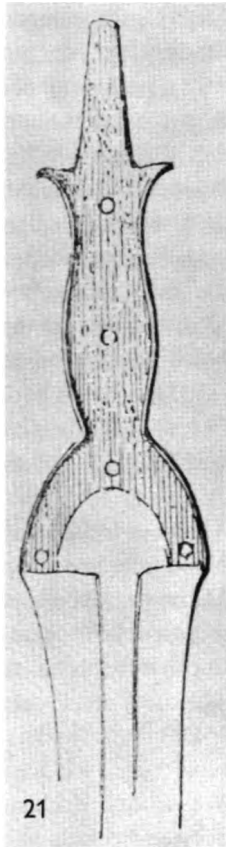
Aus Griechenland ist noch eine kleine Gruppe publiziert worden, die mit Erbenheim-Lettener in Zusammenhang steht. Drei Griffzungenschwerter von Kreta, eines von Patras auf dem Peloponnes und eines aus Phokis haben Zungenfortsatz<sup>12</sup>. Das Schwert von Anthea bei Patras und mindestens eines der kretensischen Schwerter sind vom Lettener Typ (Abb. 20)<sup>13</sup>. Ausserdem gibt es noch einige Schwerter vom Nenzinger Typ sowie einige Bruchstücke von Griffzungenschwertern von nicht näher bestimmbarer Typ<sup>14</sup>. Einige Schwerter von Nenzinger Typ sind, worauf Milojević hingewiesen hat, etw

<sup>11</sup> COWEN 1956, 77, Karte C. Es gibt noch ein paar weitere hierhergehörige Schwerter auf osteuropäischem Gebiet, aber das Kartenbild wird nicht wesentlich verändert.

<sup>12</sup> V. MILOJEVIĆ, Einige „mitteleuropäische“ Fremdlinge auf Kreta, *Jahrb. d. Röm.-Germ. Zentralmus.* Mainz 1955, 159 ff., Abb. 3:1, 4 und 21. — N. KYRIAKIS, *Praktika* 1938, 118 f. (Anthea bei Patras). — X. TSOLAS, *Ephemeris Arch.* 1897, 110, Abb. 1 (Phokis).

<sup>13</sup> S. A. XANTHOUDIDES, *Ephemeris Arch.* 1904, 45–Abb. 11. — G. MARAGHIANNIS, *Antiquités crétoises* 1912, Pl. XXXV, 4.

<sup>14</sup> H. W. CATLING 1956, 109 ff. — J. NAUE, *Die Bronzezeit in Oberbayern*, 1894, Abb. 13 (Bruchstück Korinth). — P. REINECKE 1931, 220 Anm. 12 (Ithaka). — PENDLEBURY, *Brit. School at Athens, Ann.* 38, 1937–Pl. 29 No. 500 (Bruchstück aus Karphi auf Kreta). Das Schwert von Kallitheia, CATLING 1956, 112, hat eine kleine Spitze zwischen den zwei Hörnern. Es ist hier nicht zu den Schwertern mit Zungenfortsatz gerechnet worden. Abgebildet von N. YALOURIS, *Ath. Mitteil.* 1960 (1962), Beil. 31.



20

21

Abb. 20–21. Fundorte: Mouliana, Kreta; Schiste, Phokis. M. Nr. 20 ca. 1:3, Nr. 21 etwas kleiner als 1:2. Nr. 20 nach Maraghiannis 1912, Nr. 21 nach Tsountas 1897.

zierlicher und leichter als die mitteleuropäischen. Das kann darauf hindeuten, dass es sich dabei um lokale Produkte handelt, die durch Einflüsse von den mitteleuropäischen Formen her entstanden sind. In diesem Zusammenhang ist es ausreichend zu konstatieren, dass mindestens zwei Griffzungenschwerter vom Lettener Typ sind und dadurch nahe Verbindung mit Mitteleuropa bezeugen. Anscheinend sind sie in Mitteleuropa hergestellt. Ein wahrscheinlich lokal verfertigtes, nur 45 cm langes Schwert ist bei Enkomi auf Cypern gefunden<sup>15</sup>.

Das zweite Schwert vom Tiber, Abb. 2 und 4, kommt dem Erbenheimer Typ am nächsten. Es unterscheidet sich von den ganz typischen Schwertern dieses Typus durch eine geringere Anzahl Niete, durch die Ausbuchtung der Zunge unterhalb der Mitte und durch die deutlichere U-Form des Heftes. Unter den von Cowen abgebildeten Schwertern findet sich nicht eines was in diesen Details mit dem Tiber-Schwert übereinstimmt. Näher kommt das Schwert aus Phokis mit kleiner Anzahl Niete, U-förmigem Heft und der etwas unterhalb der Mitte ausbuchtenden Zunge (Abb. 21). Die Klinge des griechischen Schwertes ist nicht abgebildet, wird jedoch im Text als gerade angegeben<sup>16</sup>. Die Klinge unterscheidet sich hierin vom Tiber-Schwert. Wo die beiden Schwerter hergestellt sind, kann nicht entschieden werden. Beide können lokale Produkte darstellen. Selbst wenn sie aus lokalen Werkstätten herkommen, so zeigen sie durch ihre Form eine innere Zusammengehörigkeit und nahe Anknüpfung zum Erbenheimer Typ in Mitteleuropa.

Die mittellitalische Gruppe von Griffzungenschwertern mit Zungenfortsatz liegt innerhalb

<sup>15</sup> CATLING 1956, 115, Pl. XI, 1. Die Länge des Schwertes wird S. 115 mit 45 cm angegeben, im Text zur Tafel mit 42 cm.

<sup>16</sup> H. PEAKE, *The Bronze Age and the Celtic World*, 1922, Pl. XII, 3 bildet ein Schwert ab, das aus Levadeia, Griechenland, herkommen soll. Der obere Teil des Schwertes ist genau gleich Tsountas 1897, 110, Abb. 1, und die Klinge ist gerade. Es scheint eine Verwechslung stattgefunden zu haben. Vgl. CATLING 1956, 113, No. 10.

des zentralen Gebietes der apenninischen Kultur während der „Protovillanova-Zeit“, und die Schwerter vom Nenzinger Typ liegen teilweise im gleichen Raum. Wie schon lange bekannt, ist das italische Bronzehandwerk auf dem Festland zu dieser Zeit in hohem Grade unselbständig und wird von mitteleuropäischen Vorbildern geprägt. Zu den mitteleuropäischen Formen aus derselben Zeit wie das Tiber-Schwert gehören z. B. jüngere Violinbogenfibeln, Blattbügelfibeln, Griffzungenschwerter vom Matreier Typ und mittelständige Lappenbeile<sup>17</sup>. Ohne genaue Untersuchungen ist es unmöglich, in Italien verfertigte Bronzegegenstände von importierten zu unterscheiden. Solange solche Untersuchungen nicht in grösserem Masstab ausgeführt worden sind, fehlt es an Unterlagen für Theorien darüber, wie dieser starke mitteleuropäische Einfluss zustande gekommen ist, ob er Völkerwanderungen mit kriegerischen Eroberungen oder friedliche Landnahme, die Tätigkeit wandernder Metallgiesser, entwickelte Handelsverbindungen oder eine Kombination dieser Faktoren widerspiegelt.

Auch in Griechenland gibt es eine Reihe von Funden derselben Gegenstandstypen, die in Italien als mitteleuropäisch bezeichnet worden sind. Ueber sie ist eine lebhafte Diskussion geführt und verschiedene Ursprungsmöglichkeiten sind angegeben worden. Zumindest ein Teil dieser Gegenstände ist seinem Ursprung nach zweifellos mitteleuropäisch, während es sich bei anderen um ägäische Umformungen mitteleuropäischer Typen handelt<sup>18</sup>. Gewöhnlich wird der Weg über den Balkan für diesen mitteleuropäischen Einfluss angeführt. Vor kurzem wies Sp. Marinatos mit neueren Funden aus dem Mittelmeerraum als Ausgangspunkt auf einen anderen wichtigen Weg hin<sup>19</sup>. Er hebt

Lipari mit sehr reichen Wohnplatzfunden als Station auf dem Wege nach dem westlichen Mittelmeer und nach Westeuropa hervor. Von Lipari kommt man leicht nach Sardinien und den Balearen oder nordwärts zum Golf von Neapel. Es ist sicher kein Zufall, sagt Marinatos, dass man mykenische Spuren gerade auf Ischia und bei Vivara findet. Milojević hat betont, dass die auf Kreta gefundenen Peschiera-Dolche ihre nächstverwandte Analogie in Norditalien haben. Nach Marinatos erhält diese Beobachtung ihre Erklärung durch den angegebenen Seeweg via Ischia – Lipari – Griechenland<sup>20</sup>. Man muss aber auch die Verbindung über Puglie beachten. Auf dem Wohnplatz bei Scoglio del Tonno bei Tarent wurden unter anderem spätmykenische Vasenscherben, Bronzen in Typen vom östlichen Mittelmeergebiet und Bronzen vom gleichen mitteleuropäischen Typ gefunden, wie man ihn in Griechenland findet<sup>21</sup>. Unter den Bronzen war auch ein Peschiera-Dolch.

Die griechische Gruppe von Griffzungenschwertern mit Zungenfortsatz erhält auf gleiche Weise ihre Erklärung, wenn man eine direkte Seewegverbindung zwischen der mittelitalischen, apenninischen Gruppe und hierdurch indirekt mit dem Hauptgebiet des Typs im westlichen Mitteleuropa annimmt. Ein auffallender Zug in der Verbreitung der Schwertformen in der Ha A-Zeit ist, dass die Vollgriffschwerter im östlichen Mitteleuropa und die Griffzungenschwerter im westlichen Mitteleuropa dominieren<sup>22</sup>. In Mittelitalien oder auf dem südlichen Balkan sind keine Vollgriffschwerter vom Ha A-Typ gefunden. Dieser Umstand gibt dem westlichen Weg für die griechischen Griffzungenschwerter mit Zungenfortsatz eine noch grössere Wahrscheinlichkeit. Hierdurch erhält man auch eine Erklärung für die Ähnlichkeit des Tiber-Schwertes Abb. 2 mit dem Schwert

<sup>17</sup> H. MÜLLER-KARPE, Beiträge zur Chronologie der Urnenfelderzeit nördlich und südlich der Alpen, 1959, 191, Abb. 26.

<sup>18</sup> MILOJEVIĆ 1955, 153 ff.

<sup>19</sup> SP. MARINATOS, The Minoan and Mycenaean Civilization and its Influence on the Mediterranean and on Europe. Atti del VI congresso internazionale delle

scienze preistoriche e protoistoriche, 1962, 161 ff.

<sup>20</sup> MILOJEVIĆ 1955, 158. — MARINATOS 1962, 170.

<sup>21</sup> MÜLLER-KARPE 1959, 30 ff., Taf. 13.

<sup>22</sup> H. MÜLLER-KARPE, Die Vollgriffschwerter der Urnenfelderzeit aus Bayern, 1961, 86 f., Karte 1–4.

aus Phokis Abb. 21. Die erwähnten Messer vom Matreier Typ, die in Griechenland nicht ungewöhnlich sind, haben die gleiche westliche Verbreitung. Nach Müller-Karpe kommen sie in Bayern, Tirol, Schweiz und in Ober- und Mittelitalien, aber nicht im östlichen Mitteleuropa vor<sup>23</sup>. Hier geht es nicht um die Frage, ob oder wie die verschiedenen ägäischen Typen einschneidiger Messer entstanden sind, ebenso wenig wie es sich früher um die Entstehung der frühesten Griffzungenschwerter gehandelt hat.

Selbst wenn wir mit dem hier skizzierten Weg des mitteleuropäischen Einflusses über Mittelitalien nach Griechenland rechnen können, so spielt doch natürlich auch der nördliche Weg über den Balkan nach Griechenland eine wichtige Rolle. Es war meine Absicht, auf eine bisher wenig beachtete Möglichkeit hinzuweisen. Die beiden Bronzeschwerter vom Tiber gliedern

sich daher in einen wichtigen Zusammenhang ein. Mit dem Ausgangspunkt von verschiedenen Varianten von Griffzungenschwertern mit Zungenfortsatz erhält man eine Andeutung eines Einflusses vom westlichen Mitteleuropa über die Alpen nach Mittelitalien und von dort weiter über die westliche Küste Mittelitaliens oder über Puglie auf dem Seewege nach Griechenland. Die west-mitteleuropäischen Impulse erreichen gleichzeitig den Norden und spiegeln sich in Mittelschweden im Schwerte von Stora Mellösa wieder. Ein Grabfund aus Hovby in Schonen, der einen cyprischen Griffangeldolch mit geraden Schultern und mit durchlochtem Angel, einen Peschiera-Dolch, ein nordisches Miniaturmesser und eine nordische Fibel aus der frühen Periode III der nordischen Bronzezeit enthielt, deutet denselben Weg zwischen dem östlichen Mittelmeer und Nordeuropa an<sup>24</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> MÜLLER-KARPE 1961, 41. — Vgl. N. K. SANDARS, *The Antiquity of the One-edged Bronze Knife in the Aegean*, *Proc. of the Prehist. Soc. N.S.* XXI, 1955, 174 ff.

<sup>24</sup> O. MONTELIUS, *Minnen från vår forntid*, 1917, Abb. 885, 886, 922, 1024. — E. SPROCKHOFF, *Ein Peschiera-dolch aus Niedersachsen*, *Germania* 20, 1936, Taf. 33,2.

# A Black-Figured Neck-Amphora of the Leagros Group

TULLIA RÖNNE-LINDERS

The vase here published<sup>1</sup>, Figs. 1–7, 20, 21, which was presented to Medelhavsmuseet by His Majesty the King, was acquired in Rome, in 1961. Nothing was then known of its provenance. In shape it is a neck-amphora, the height being 0.408 m. It is unbroken and very well preserved, except for slight dents in the surface in places. There is no repainting.

As will be explained below, this is *ABV*, p. 374, no. 197.

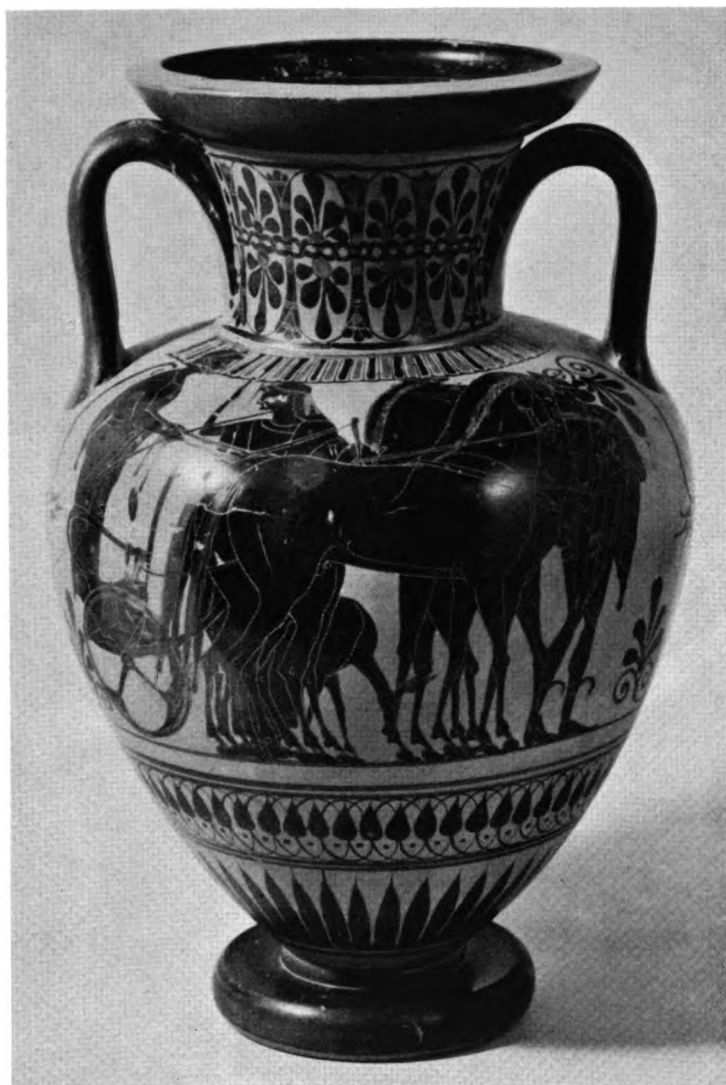
A. Apollo in a chariot drawn by four horses, accompanied by Artemis and Hermes.

A young man stands in a light chariot with two wheels (of which one only is seen) drawn by four horses, holding the reins of the horses. His head overlaps into the tongue-pattern above the picture. He has a short beard, is dressed in a himation and wears a fillet round his head. The

horses have all four hooves on the ground, yet give the impression of moving. They bend their heads in various ways so that three of them are clearly seen, while the ear is all that shows of the fourth, behind the head of the third. On the further side of the horses a woman turns towards the charioteer, lifting her right hand in a gesture of sorrow or greeting. She wears a long chiton and a mantle over her shoulders, a fillet is tied round her head. At the horses' heads and half-hidden by them Hermes walks to the right but turns round looking at the charioteer. He is dressed, in the usual way, in a short chiton, cloak, winged boots tied with string, and a peaked petasos; his long plait of hair is tied up by means of a ribbon. The head of Hermes cuts into the palmette of the handle-ornament.—Underneath the horses a small deer grazes.

Neither the charioteer nor the woman have any attributes to identify them with certainty. Since, however, the deer is an animal sacred to Artemis, it seems most likely that the woman is to be identified with her. The man to whom she bids farewell is then most probably her brother, Apollo.—In fact, the deer is also his sacred animal so that this too points to Apollo as the charioteer; again, the woman is Artemis (or possibly his mother). One notes that the similar

<sup>1</sup> Inv. no. MM 1962:7. My thanks are due to Dr. O. Vessberg, Director of Medelhavsmuseet, for permission to publish this vase. I have also to thank the Staatliche Museen, Antikenabteilung, West-Berlin, the British Museum, Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, London, the Direktion der Antikensammlungen, Munich, Il Soprintendente alle Antichità, Naples, the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, and the Martin von Wagner Museum, Würzburg, which sent photographs of their vases and allowed me to publish them, and Sir John Beazley for information concerning the Stockholm vase.



*Fig. 1. Neck-amphora, Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm, MM 1962:7.*

scenes referred to below, are all taken from the sphere of the gods and heroes.

There is red in Apollo's beard and fillet and on Artemis's fillet; Apollo's himation is decorated with red dots and Hermes's cloak with red borders; further, there are red strokes along the horses' manes and tails.

White was used for the face of Artemis, but this has for the most part faded.

**B. Dionysus and Ariadne with two Satyrs.**

Dionysus is seated on a folding-chair with

animals' feet, with Ariadne on his hither side. Both are dressed in long chitons and big mantles and wear wreaths of ivy; Dionysus has a long beard. He holds the kantharos in his left hand, the vine in his right (though this is not rendered in a wholly clear manner). At either side of them, a Satyr prances; both dance away from them but turn round and look at them. The Satyr to the right shouts or sings (his mouth is half open); he wears a panther's skin knotted around his shoulders, the panther's head showing above







Fig. 3. MM 1962:7.

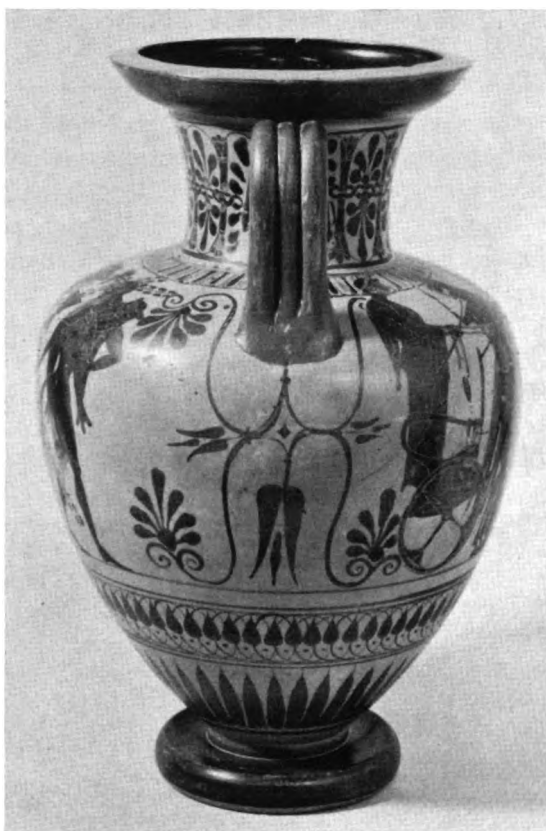


Fig. 4. MM 1962:7.

his left shoulder. The vine, with bunches of grapes, spreads out at both sides in the background of the picture.

Since the woman is crowned with ivy and is accompanied by Satyrs, she is more probably Ariadne than, for instance, Semele (cf. *ABV*, p. 374, no. 197).

Incision is used for the stars decorating the garments of Dionysus and Ariadne and for the short strokes on the panther's skin.

Red is used in the hair and beards of the male figures and for the decorative dots and borders of the garments; further for the tenons of the chair.

White was used for the face, hands, and feet

Fig. 2. MM 1962:7.

of Ariadne. This has mostly faded so that her figure is now a little difficult to distinguish.

Further decoration: On the neck, a lotus-and-palmette-ornament with much incision and red detail. On the shoulder, a tongue-pattern with alternating black and red tongues; a break is made in it under each handle, i. e. it was painted after the handles were attached. Below the handles, a scroll of conventional type, painted without incision. This was evidently painted after the pictures. It is indicated for instance by the manner in which Hermes conceals part of it (Figs. 3, 6); further (Figs. 4, 5), by the fact that the palmette, on the other side of the vase, makes allowances for the wheel of the chariot, and, especially, by another feature of the same scroll. Thus, the upper right hand palmette shows

only the tip of a tendril, above the shoulder of the charioteer, as if the rest were hidden behind him. This is, however, done so that it clearly shows that the charioteer was there before the scroll and that the artist had to take it into account.

Below the figure zone, which is bordered underneath by a black line, forming a ground line for the figures, there is a chain of lotus buds, with dots, and below that, a zone of rays.

The foot is black, except for the ridge and a narrow band at the bottom. The lip of the vase is also black, inside and out, except for the upper side. The inside of the vase is black as far down as the shoulder. The triple handles are painted black on the outside.

The black paint has smeared in places, e.g. on one of the handle-ornaments and on the vine on B; there is further a blot of black paint on A, below the horses' reins.

The black glaze has misfired and turned into red on A on the right-hand Satyr and handle, and on B on Hermes and in a large area on and around the other handle (where it shows on the photographs).

On the underside of the foot there are two graffiti, an arrow-like shape and another which is probably a ligature of *A* and *H*; see Fig. 21.

It is at once clear that the vase here published, although made by very competent and skilful craftsmen, is not the work of any of the great artists. Further, its style shows it to belong to the later Black-figure, towards the end of the sixth century. The closest stylistic affinities are found within the Leagros Group<sup>a</sup> and, more especially, among those vases which J. D. Beazley has assembled under the name of the Group of Würzburg 210<sup>b</sup>. The question arises whether this vase, the previous fortunes of which are unknown, is not identical with the neck-amphora listed by Beazley in *ABV*, p. 374 as no. 197 of

the Leagros Group. It has the caption "Roman Market" and is defined as being "near the Group of Würzburg 210"; the description, although not quite complete, seems to point to this. Sir John Beazley has kindly confirmed by letter that it "is indeed the same vase". Thus, the present study will not bring forward much that is new. I take the opportunity, however, to discuss a little known group of vases, some of which have never been reproduced before, and to show, I hope, that the neck-amphora now in Stockholm, is not merely "near the Group of Würzburg 210", but a proper member of it.

The Group of Würzburg 210 comprises fourteen vases. The majority are neck-amphorae, like the one here published, two are Panathenaic in shape. On four of them, namely Würzburg 210 and 214<sup>c</sup>, Toronto 927.39.3<sup>d</sup> and London B 206 (Panathenaic)<sup>e</sup>, Figs. 8, 10—12, the motif on the main side is a god or hero setting out in a chariot, accompanied by other mythical figures. On the first of these vases the charioteer is Herakles with Iolaos beside him, on the others Dionysus. In one case, on the Toronto vase, with Ariadne at his side.—In general, the composition is strikingly similar to that of the corresponding picture on our vase. Further, the general rendering as well as many details of the latter vase are identical with those of the others. Thus, the charioteers on the five vases, whether they represent Iolaos and Herakles, Dionysus and Ariadne, or Apollo, have exactly the same stance and drapery; the horses correspond closely in the rendering of anatomical details and in their bearing (note especially the heads). Hermes on the Stockholm vase recurs almost exactly on the one in Toronto. The deer present in two of the pictures, beside our own, are all very like each other.

<sup>a</sup> *ABV*, p. 373, nos. 178, 179, LANGLOTZ, *Griech. Vasen in Würzburg*, pls. 52 and 58; our Figs. 8—10.

<sup>b</sup> *ABV*, p. 373, no. 180, ROBINSON and HARCUM, *Cat. of Greek Vases in the Royal Ontario Mus. of Arch.*, Toronto, no. 306, pl. 41, our Fig. 11.

<sup>c</sup> *ABV*, p. 369, no. 120, *CV British Mus.* 4, III He pl. 46, our Figs. 12—13.

<sup>d</sup> BEAZLEY, *ABV*, pp. 354 ff., where references to the earlier literature are given. Cf. also RUMPF, *Malerei u. Zeichn.*, p. 77 with note 2.

<sup>e</sup> Pp. 354, 357 f.

*Fig. 5. MM 1962:7.*

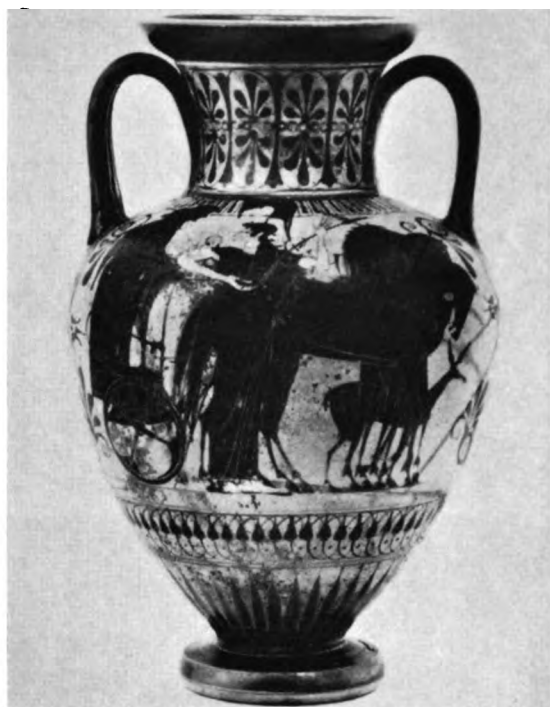


*Fig. 6. MM 1962:7.*



*Fig. 7. MM 1962:7.*





**Fig. 8.** Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum, neck-amphora K 210.



**Fig. 9.** Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum, neck-amphora K 210.



**Fig. 10.** Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum, neck-amphora K 214.



**Fig. 11.** Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, neck-amphora 927.39.3.

The second picture on the Stockholm vase, Dionysus holding kantharos and vine, with Ariadne, flanked by two Satyrs, recurs in a similar form on two of the vases just described, Würzburg 210 and London B 206, Figs. 9 and 13. On the latter, Dionysus and Ariadne sit side by side on a folding-chair, as on our vase, while the Satyrs and Maenads dance along. On Würzburg 210, however, Dionysus stands upright between two Satyrs, with a man-headed goat at his side. This motif of the god standing motionless between Satyrs, or Satyrs and Maenads, is further represented on five other vases of the group, namely the neck-amphorae Berlin F 1845<sup>7</sup>, Fig. 15, Munich 1568<sup>8</sup>, Fig. 16, Vogell 61<sup>9</sup>, New York 41.162.179<sup>10</sup> and the Panathenaic amphora Munich SL 459<sup>11</sup>, Fig. 19. In spite of the difference in Dionysus's position, the resemblance to our picture is apparent in the composition, the stance of the figures, the drapery, and a number of details. Note, for instance, the Satyrs. Those of Munich 1568, and still more those on the New York vase, are extremely like the Stockholm Satyrs.

These pictures are further closely interconnected by other details. Thus, the goat on Würzburg 210 is also found on the Vogell and on the New York vase and on Munich SL 459. On these four vases and on the one in Berlin, Dionysus holds the vine, which spreads to both sides in a decorative way. In most other pictures of this group, including our own, Dionysus does in fact hold the vine, although the design does not give as decorative and pleasing an effect.

The four neck-amphorae which Beazley "com-

pares" with the Group of Würzburg 210<sup>12</sup> and to which he adds our vase as a fifth, all have similar scenes in which Dionysus is the centre. The similarities in composition, stance, drapery, etc., between them and those around Würzburg 210, are apparent. In fact it is easier to define the common features than to explain the differences, although these too are apparent. The four vases are, moreover, not all connected with the main Group of Würzburg 210 in exactly the same way. Two, Villa Giulia M. 486 and Vatican 393, seem to me to be closer to each other than to the rest. On both, the outlines are less distinct than on the vases just discussed. Compare, for instance, the goats in both pictures<sup>13</sup>; if set side by side with the rather magnificent goats on Würzburg 210, Munich SL 459 (Figs. 9 and 19) and New York 41.162.179<sup>14</sup>, it is at once clear that the quality of the first two is inferior and that they are very alike.—It is further evident that the Stockholm vase does not resemble these, nor in fact the other two.

Of the other two, Naples Stg. 148, Fig. 17, is said by Beazley to "recall the Group of Würzburg 210 and the Acheloos Painter"<sup>15</sup>, while about the other, Villa Giulia 50619, he says "B is very like the Acheloos Painter, A recalls the Group of Würzburg 210"<sup>16</sup>. An example of these connections with the Acheloos Painter is the picture of revellers on the latter vase. It recalls, for instance, the komos by the Acheloos Painter on an amphora in New York<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Naples Stg. 148, ABV, p. 371, no. 141, our Fig. 17. Villa Giulia (M. 486), ABV, p. 373, no. 184, MINGAZZINI, Vasi della Coll. Castellani, no. 486, pl. 77,2 (wrongly given as 77,1 in the text), pls. 69,4 and 71,3 (A). Vatican 393, ABV, p. 374, no. 191, Mus. etr. Greg. 2, pl. 35,2; ALBIZZATI, Vasi ant. dipinti del Vaticano, fasc. 6, pl. 56. Villa Giulia 50619, ABV 374, no. 193, MINGAZZINI, op. cit., no. 497, pls. 77,1 (wrongly given in the text as 67,1) and 74,8 (komos).

<sup>12</sup> MINGAZZINI, pl. 77,2 and ALBIZZATI, pl. 56.

<sup>13</sup> See above, note 10.

<sup>14</sup> ABV, p. 371, no. 141.

<sup>15</sup> ABV, p. 374, no. 193.

<sup>17</sup> Kevorkian Coll. ABV, p. 383, no. 10, BEAZLEY, Development of Attic B.-f., pl. 43,1, Cat. Christie March 26 1953, pl. 2.

<sup>1</sup> ABV, p. 370, no. 136, our Figs. 14—15.

<sup>2</sup> ABV, p. 371, no. 145, our Fig. 16.

<sup>3</sup> ABV, p. 372, no. 155. GERHARD, Auserlesene griech. Vasenbilder, pl. 32; [BOEHLAU] Griech. Altertümer aus dem Besitze des Herrn A. Vogell, Karlsruhe: Cassel 26—30 Mai 1908, pl. 2,8.

<sup>4</sup> ABV, p. 373, no. 174, Gaz. Arch. 1875, pl. 29, CV Gallatin Coll., pl. 38,2.

<sup>5</sup> ABV, p. 369, no. 121. SIEVEKING, Bronzen, Terrakotten, Vasen der Samml. Loeb, pl. 40; our Figs. 18—19.



Fig. 12. British Museum, Panathenaic amphora B 206.



Fig. 13. British Museum, Panathenaic amphora B 206.



Fig. 14. West-Berlin, Staatliche Museen, neck-amphora F 1845.



Fig. 15. West-Berlin, Staatliche Museen, neck-amphora F 1845.

This brings up the question of the connections between this vase-painter<sup>18</sup> and the Group of Würzburg 210. In fact, two of the vases discussed earlier, belonging to the main group, are still nearer the Acheloos Painter, namely the neck-amphora Berlin 1845 and the Panathenaic Munich SL 459, Figs. 14–15, 18–19. On both, Herakles is represented on the main side between Athena and Hermes, about to mount a platform holding a kithara, while on the other side Dionysus stands in the midst of his followers.

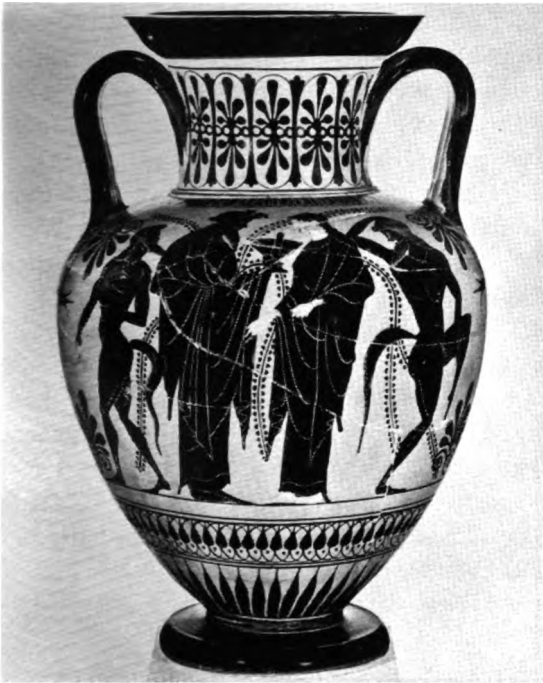
<sup>18</sup> For the works of the Acheloos Painter, see ABV, pp. 354, 382 ff., with references.

According to Beazley, the latter was made by the Acheloos Painter himself, while the former is “near” him<sup>19</sup>. Certainly the Munich Panathenaic is a very fine work, finer than the other vases in the group—the difference is, however, only slight—and finer than its companion in Berlin, although this too is of high quality. The resemblance to the works of the Acheloos Painter is borne out for instance by his amphora Louvre F 272<sup>20</sup>, which has the same motif. On the other hand, the scenes with Dionysus on

<sup>19</sup> ABV, p. 369, no. 121 and p. 370, no. 136.

<sup>20</sup> ABV, p. 383, no. 6, CV Louvre 5, III He pl. 56,4.





*Fig. 16. Munich, Museum antiker Kleinkunst, neck-amphora 1568.*



*Fig. 17. Naples, Museo Nazionale, neck-amphora Sant'angelo 148.*



*Fig. 18. Munich, Museum antiker Kleinkunst, Panathenaic amphora SL 459.*



*Fig. 19. Munich, Museum antiker Kleinkunst, Panathenaic amphora SL 459.*

the Munich and Berlin vases are not to be separated from the other works in the Group of Würzburg 210, in the same way as Naples Stg. 148 and Villa Giulia 50619, mentioned above, recall this group. The fact is that, if one goes through the works of the Acheloos Painter, the general resemblance between them and those of our group is striking. It may be that the figures of the latter are in general a little less vigorous and fleshy than those of the Acheloos Painter. If one compares the pictures with revellers of, or like, him, mentioned above, with the same motif on New York 41.162.179<sup>21</sup>, one may perceive something of this; in any case, the rendering of the folds seems not quite so voluminous. It should be stressed, however, that the difference is very small. Further, the most characteristic works of the Acheloos Painter show a drastic sense of humour and a boisterousness<sup>22</sup> which the pictures of our group seem to lack. On the other hand, many of his works lack these features just as much as do those of our group. Thus, through all this Beazley's words are borne out, "The fact is that the two groups are sometimes indistinguishable"<sup>23</sup>.

Indeed, it seems easier to define the difference between them in terms of subject than of style. Characteristic motifs of the Acheloos Painter are the exploits of Herakles, and revellers, while Dionysus is the favourite subject of the Group of Würzburg 210. It is probably also typical that, when the subjects of the former, for instance Herakles playing the kithara, or revellers, are found on works of our group, then the resemblance between the groups is especially evident.—One may ask oneself whether the pictures of Dionysus and those that go with them were painted by an artist, or artists, who had studied the style of the Acheloos Painter so closely as to be almost indistinguishable from

him; or whether the Acheloos Painter made them himself, but at those moments when he was not quite at his highest level.

Be that as it may, the neck-amphora of Medelhavsmuseet 1962:7 is a characteristic work of the Group of Würzburg 210, its nearest companions being the two neck-amphorae in Würzburg, the one in Toronto, and the Panathenaic amphora in London.

The *shape* of the vase Medelhavsmuseet 1962:7 is a neck-amphora of standard type, with comparatively straight shoulders and body tapering to a narrow base (Fig. 20). Its general type points to the late sixth century and may be compared, roughly, with RICHTER & MILNE, *Shapes and names of Athenian vases*, Fig. 14, and CASKEY, *Geometry of Greek vases*, nos. 10 and 11<sup>24</sup>.

<sup>24</sup> The neck-amphora RICHTER and MILNE Fig. 14, dated to the end of the sixth century, is a little more slender than our vase. CASKEY nos. 10 and 11 have more similar proportions; no. 11, Boston 89.258, is a work of the Antimenes Painter, BEAZLEY, *ABV* p. 276 no. 5 (above), and thus roughly contemporary with our vase.

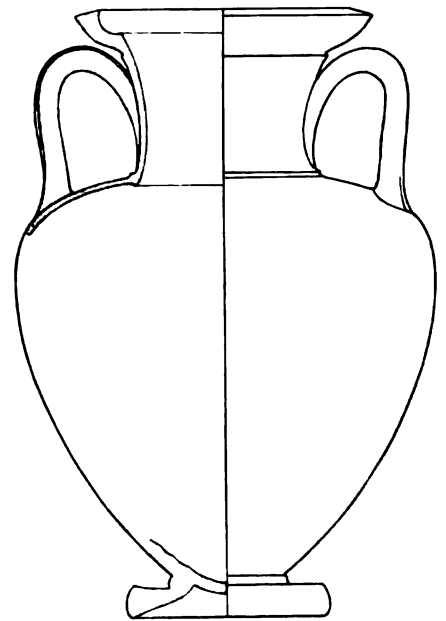


Fig. 20. Medelhavsmuseet 1962:7, profiles.

<sup>21</sup> See above, note 10.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. e.g. BEAZLEY, *Development* p. 86.

<sup>23</sup> *ABV*, p. 369, no. 121.



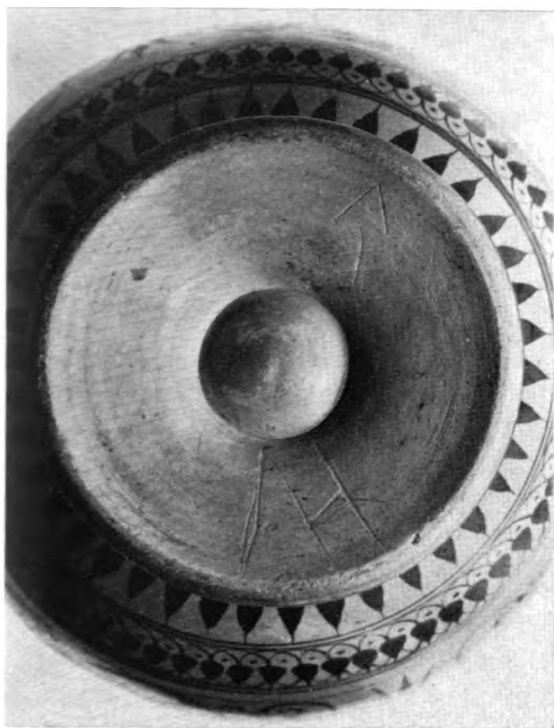


Fig. 21. *Medelhavsmuseet 1962:7, graffiti.*



Fig. 22. *Naples, Museo Nazionale, Santangelo 148, graffiti.*

The development of the neck-amphora, as well as of the amphora and the hydria, in the late sixth century has been traced by Hansjörg Bloesch<sup>26</sup>. He summarizes the development down to ca. 510 as a tendency to change stout forms into slender ones; at that time a renewed preference for stoutness arises which is again followed by a tendency towards lighter and more refined forms. He further isolates the works of three individual potters or groups of potters among the late Archaic neck-amphorae, in the main through the characteristic shapes of the feet and lips of the vases, namely the Group of Lea-neck-amphorae, the Club-foot Potter and the Canoe Potter.

The shapes of pots can only be studied with profit on the pots themselves or from drawings and photographs taken so as to render the shape

without distortions<sup>26</sup>. The material of this sort available to me is slight, yet it seems to me that the Stockholm vase is not to be attributed to any of these potters. Thus, the Club-foot Potter is excluded on account of the different feet of his vases. This is interesting since the name-piece of our group, Würzburg 210, is one of his works<sup>27</sup>. Further, the Lea-neck-amphorae, and those of the Canoe Potter, although they have more in common with our vase, yet differ too much in shapes and profiles. It is to be noted that Würzburg 214, another member of our group, is attributed to the Lea-neck-amphorae<sup>28</sup>. It is probably significant that the

<sup>26</sup> The requirements are defined by BLOESCH, *op. cit.* p. 29 note 2.

<sup>27</sup> BLOESCH, p. 38 and p. 33, Fig. 17 (profiles).

<sup>28</sup> The Lea-neck-amphorae, BLOESCH, p. 38, with examples of profiles, p. 33, Fig. 16. The Canoe Potter, p. 38, with typical profiles, p. 33, Figs. 18–20, and shapes, pl. 19 d, e, f.

<sup>29</sup> JHS 71 1951 pp. 29 ff.

Stockholm vase, as regards the shape, has more in common with the vases placed at the beginning of the three groups than with the later ones<sup>29</sup>. Further, the foot and, to some extent the lip, has a counterpart in, for instance, the neck-amphora Munich 1486, dated around 510 B.C., which in its turn is very like Munich 1480 A, in this respect, of the preceding decade<sup>30</sup>. I would suggest that the potter of the Stockholm neck-amphora used forms like these as his models; he varied them a little but in a more moderate way than the potters studied by Bloesch.

It has already been noted that two of the vases of the Group of Würzburg 210 have been identified as the works of two different potters. Even if my theory concerning the Stockholm vase should be wrong—so that it belongs to, let us say, the Lea-neck-amphorae<sup>31</sup>—one must admit the possibility that one or more of the unattributed members is the work of some other potter. Thus, the vases of the Group of Würzburg 210, so few and so closely interconnected, were made by at least two potters, probably three and more. While our knowledge of the vase-paintings and their artists has been brought nearly to perfection in later years, we know far less about the potters. A study of their work and of the co-operation between them and the painters would be of great interest<sup>32</sup>.

The *graffiti* on the underside of the vase (Fig. 21) are carelessly drawn: one notes that in the ligature the stylus has slipped; they were probably engraved after firing. Both figures found on the

Stockholm vase occur also on two other vases of the Group of Würzburg 210, namely the neck-amphorae Naples Stg. 148 (Fig. 22) and Würzburg 214<sup>33</sup>. They have been discussed by Hackl in *Merkantile Inschriften auf attischen Vasen*, who lists thirty-six instances of the ligature and twenty-one of the "arrow"<sup>34</sup>; the latter is in every case but one combined with the ligature. Hackl put forward the theory that the ligatures and other signs, of the same type as on our vase, were in general made by, or on behalf of, the traders. He suggested that they were usually put on one vase in every ordered lot, to serve as a reminder for the maker, or as a sort of address. A certain number of the marks may further have been made by the potter, for his own or his colleagues' benefit<sup>35</sup>.

While there seems no ground to doubt that Hackl's theories are essentially correct, a renewed study of the *graffiti* would probably add much of interest. Thus, the material now available is more extensive; the chronology of the Attic vases is securely established, through the study of the vase-paintings; our knowledge of ancient industry and trade has increased. Through all this a comprehensive study of the *graffiti* would probably be more profitable now than it was at the beginning of the century. Greek vases are in fact—beside their importance for the history of art—a source of information about practices in industry and trade, probably also about social and economic conditions in the ancient world.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. e.g. Würzburg 214, no. 1 of the Lea-neck-amphorae, Würzburg 210, no. 2 of the Club-foot Potter, and London B 220, no. 1 of the Canoe Potter, CV British Mus. 4, III He pl. 53,4, BLOESCH, pl. 19 d.

<sup>30</sup> BLOESCH, p. 37; the profiles of Munich 1486 are seen on p. 33, Fig. 15, and those of Munich 1480A on Fig. 13.

<sup>31</sup> The Club-foot Potter seems to be excluded, on account of the widely different profiles of his feet.

<sup>32</sup> This has often been stressed, see e.g. BLOESCH, op. cit. p. 29. — An interesting picture of the work in an Athenian pottery is given by Beazley in *Potter and painter in ancient Athens*, pp. 25 ff.

<sup>33</sup> The *graffiti* of Würzburg 214 are illustrated in LANGLOTZ, *Griech. Vasen in Würzburg*, p. 174. — Three more vases of this group have *graffiti* of a different shape, namely Würzburg 210, LANGLOTZ, p. 174, Berlin F 1845, FURTWÄNGLER, *Beschr. der Vasensamml. im Antiquarium*, pl. 1, and Munich SL 459, a carelessly engraved alpha (information from the museum).

<sup>34</sup> Hackl's work was published in *Münchener arch. Studien dem Andenken Adolf Furtwänglers gewidmet*, in 1909. The *graffiti* here discussed are listed on pp. 39 f. and 46 f., the Würzburg vase under nos. 393 and 526, the Naples vase, possibly, under 402 and 532. (Würzburg 210 is no. 508 and Berlin 1845 no. 509.)

<sup>35</sup> Op. cit., pp. 94 f. A summary is given by RICHTER, *Attic red-fig. vases*, pp. 19 ff.

# A Republican Portrait from the Sabina

OLOF VESSBERG

The portrait that is reproduced in Figures 1–3, a gift to Medelhavsmuseet from His Majesty the King, was bought in Rome in November 1960. It arrived in Stockholm in February 1961 and its accession number is MM 1961:2.

The portrait is executed in a white, fine-crystalline, very hard marble, presumably Grecian. It has a narrow portion of the bust and was probably inserted in a statue<sup>1</sup>. Naturally it is also conceivable that it was mounted as a bust also in classical times. Its height is 32 cm. This head is extraordinarily well preserved and has only a few minor injuries: the nose-tip is missing as well as pieces of the shells of the ears, especially in the case of the right ear. While the surface of the left half of the face is quite fresh, the right side is slightly abraded by water or sand erosion.

The portrait represents what one would call a true Roman, depicted in the unadorned manner that was fashionable in Roman portraiture in the time of Pompey and Caesar. It is the image of an elderly but still vigorous man with

grim features which nevertheless leave room for a certain good-naturedness. The face is lean with strong jaws and prominent cheek-bones. The mouth with the thin, tight lips is framed by deep furrows. The nose, unusually well preserved despite the missing tip, is broad and fleshy, and has a swelling at the side of the left nostril. The eyes are overhung by shaggy, jutting eyebrows curving outwards. The wrinkles of the forehead are carefully noted and the V-shaped vein in the middle of the brow makes an effective crown-piece to the architecture of the head. Realistically rendered are also the veins at the temple. A bunch of wrinkles radiates from the corners of the eyes and two long, parallel wrinkles define the cheek in relation to the ear. The neck is scraggy with several horizontal wrinkles and sharply marked tendons. The hair is faintly marked like a hood, which only just rises above the skin of the face. The surface of the hair is roughly carved with shallow chisel cuts and grooves. Here it is quite clear that the hair must have been painted.

This is, as we see, a face depicted with great realism in detail, but the details are put together with the firm intention of giving a synthesis of the personality. Indeed, he comes to us life-like and very much alive, this grim old man with a

<sup>1</sup> Such small busts with rather unevenly hewn rims are common during the last century B.C. Cf. O. VESSBERG, *Studien zur Kunstgeschichte der römischen Republik*, Taf. LVI:2, LX, LXX:2, LXXXIV:1, 2, LXXXVI.

glint of goodness and humour in the slightly screwed-up eyes. Now what is his time?

To begin with, it is easy to see where his closest stylistic counterparts are. Among many possibilities I will mention as particularly striking examples the following: two busts in the Museo Nazionale in Naples<sup>3</sup>, two heads in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen<sup>4</sup>, one portrait head, probably from a tomb relief, in the Museo Nuovo in Rome<sup>5</sup> (Fig. 4), one head from Palestrina in the Museo delle Terme in Rome<sup>6</sup>, and one head from a tomb relief in the Villa Colonna in Rome<sup>6</sup> (Fig. 5). These are examples of Late Republican verism in its original form. For the broad structure of the face with the powerful jaws the two busts in Naples provide particularly good parallels. Note the drawing of the wrinkles on the head in Glyptoteket 561 (especially of the furrows in the cheek) and on the head from Palestrina in the Museo delle Terme, and compare particularly the treatment of the hair on the Glyptoteket head 564: "flat hood, whose details would be rendered by painting" (F. Poulsen). This hair type in the form of a hood with the hair almost graphically sketched, is very characteristic of Late Republican portraiture and indicates that painting was a fundamental element in these portraits.

The above-cited parallels to the Medelhavsmuseet's most recent portrait acquisition are Late Republican works from the closing decades of the Republic. The two portrait busts in

Naples represent an earlier group characterized by a less rigid modelling, a less emphasized bony framework and a strong link with the purely Hellenistic line in contemporary portrait art, while the two heads 561 and 564 in the Glyptotek in Copenhagen belong to a later line of evolution that is characterized by a drier and somehow harder verism. It is to this line that our portrait belongs.

The portrait stems from the Sabina. It was of interest to us to clarify its provenance, and Axel Boëthius—who first saw the head in Rome—and the author of these lines made a little trip together in the autumn of 1961 to the earlier home of the portrait, the little town of Montopoli di Sabina. We could there verify the facts given by the art-dealer in Rome about the place where the head had been kept before he acquired it. It had previously been located in a villino outside Montopoli, built in 1831 and belonging to the Torlonia family. There, together with other heads, it had stood on the balustrade of a terrace. Socles and postaments for the heads still exist and metal rods for fixing them. But the heads themselves were removed after an attempted theft about fifteen or twenty years ago. The terrace borders the road and was passed by the peasants from Montopoli when they went out to their fields. Legends seem to have grown up round the heads. An octogenarian in Montopoli relates that *il calvo*, as he called our portrait, represented *un gran signore, governatore della Sabina*, who was surrounded by *il suo consiglio*<sup>7</sup>. Thus, the head stood for a long time in this position and may perhaps have been part of the original decoration of the house. After the attempted theft the head was kept inside the

<sup>3</sup> A. RUESCH, Guida illustrata del Museo Nazionale di Napoli, No. 1104; VESSBERG, Studien, Taf. LXIII:2 and 3–4.

<sup>4</sup> F. POULSEN, Katalog over antike skulpturer, Nos. 561 and 564; V. POULSEN, Les portraits Romains I (Publications de la Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg No. 7), Nos. 20 and 22; VESSBERG, Studien, Taf. LXVII:1–2, 3–4.

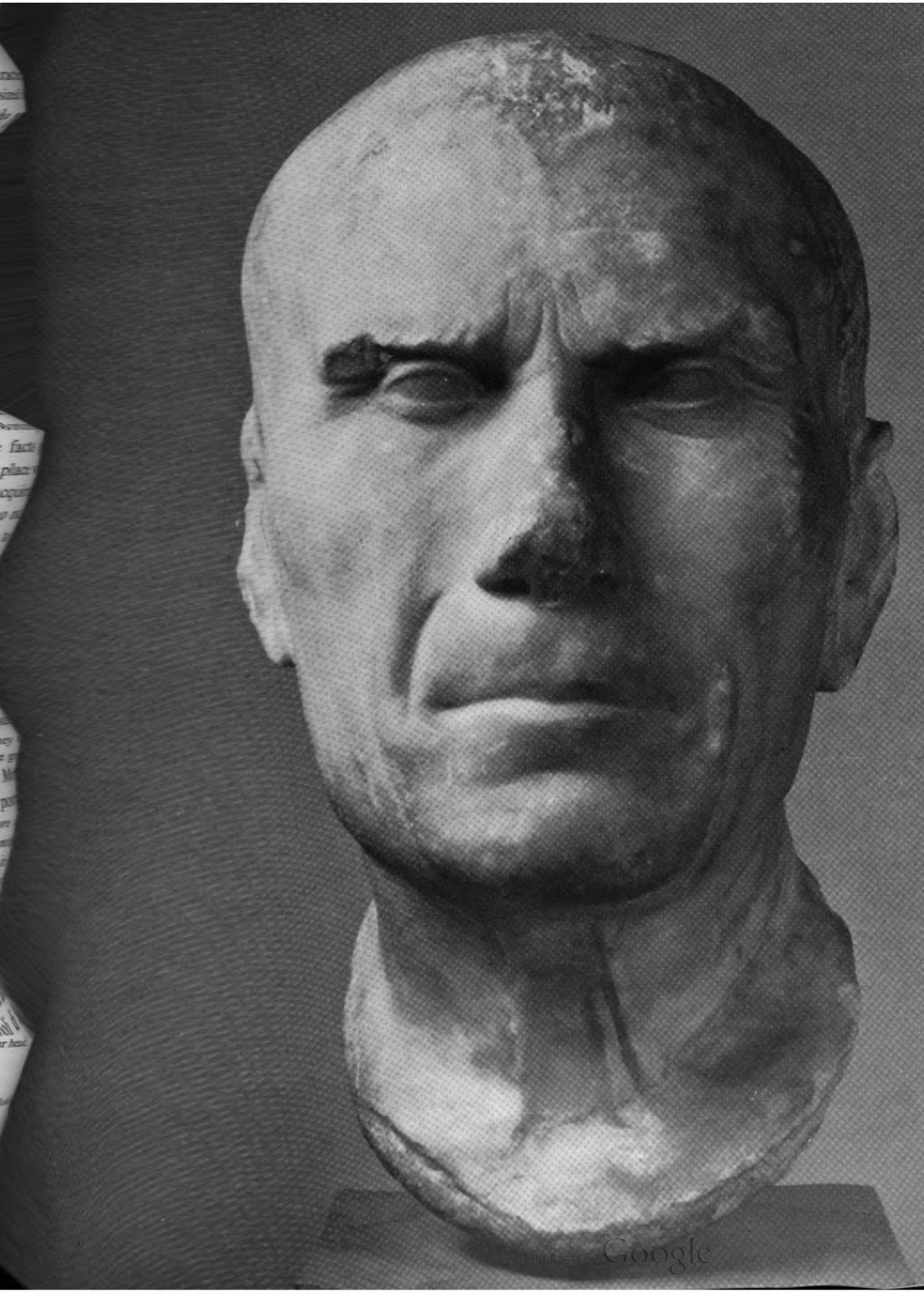
<sup>5</sup> H. STUART JONES, The Sculptures of the Palazzo dei Conservatori, p. 233, No. 17; D. MUSTILLI, Il Museo Mussolini, p. 5, No. 5; VESSBERG, Studien, Taf. LXIX.

<sup>6</sup> B. M. FELLETTI MAJ, Museo Nazionale Romano, I Ritratti, No. 59; VESSBERG, Studien, Taf. LXXXII:4; E. BUSCHOR, Das hellenistische Bildnis, p. 63.

<sup>7</sup> FR. MATZ—F. V. DUHN, Antike Bildwerke in Rom mit Ausschluss der grösseren Sammlungen, No. 3816; VESSBERG, Studien, Taf. XXXVIII:1.

<sup>7</sup> For information I am very grateful to Axel Boëthius, who on a subsequent visit to Montopoli di Sabina learned more about the earlier history of our head.

Fig. 1. Roman male portrait, MM 1961:2. Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm.



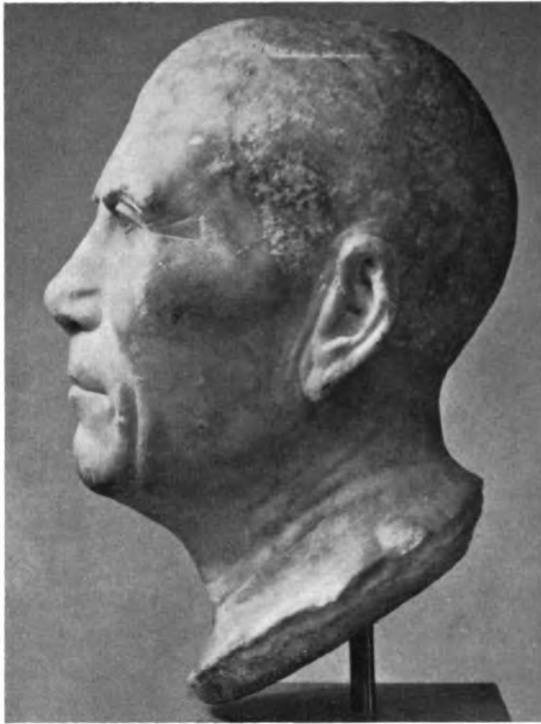


Fig. 2. *MM* 1961:2.

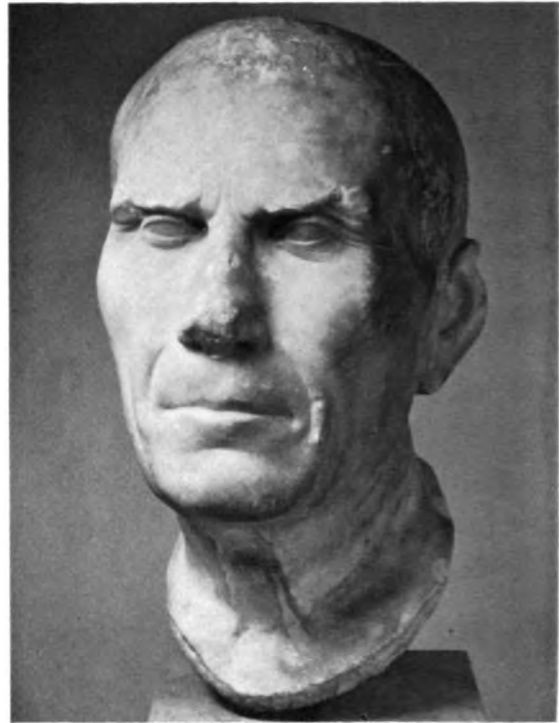


Fig. 3. *MM* 1961:2.

villino in the care of one of the two families who live in the house and it was sold by this family to the Roman art-dealer from whom it passed into the possession of our Museum. Of the other sculptures that were on the terrace before the attempted theft, there remain two herms, which are still kept inside the house<sup>8</sup>.

Naturally, there is much to suggest that the portrait was found in this district. It is a natural find-site for a work of this kind. The veristic Late Republican portraiture has in Italy a very uniform distribution throughout Latium and Etruria, while in the rest of the country, especially in the south of Italy, its occurrence is rare. A group of portrait statues in Chiusi provide some parallels, locally quite close<sup>9</sup>, and they also

give certain suggestions with regard to the dating. For judging by the toga types they are from the time of transition to the Imperial sculpture and at all events belong to the second half of the last century B.C.<sup>10</sup>

The most striking parallel, however, is the above-mentioned portrait on a relief in the Villa Colonna in Rome. This relief is made up of two parts, one comprising two portrait busts, a woman named Manlia Rufa and a man, Manlius Stephanus, the other consisting of the bust of an elderly man without inscription. This latter portrait comes remarkably close to our head. The powerful structure of the head with the emphasized breadth across the cheek-bones, which gives the face an almost Mongol look, is the

<sup>8</sup> Greek portrait types with prototypes from the 4th century B.C., perhaps from the library of some Roman villa in the Sabine Mountains (A. Boëthius).

<sup>9</sup> VESSBERG, Studien, Taf. LXXXV.

<sup>10</sup> O.c., pp. 240 f.

same in both. We may further compare the form of the mouth with the enclosing curved furrows and the powerfully marked jaws, the narrow and quite small eyes with thin lids overhung by strong brows, the arrangement of the hair in a thin hood with roughly hewn surface. The strongly marked wrinkles of the neck are also a feature common to both portraits, which is particularly characteristic of the style of the time.

I have earlier dated the portrait in the Villa Colonna to c. 40 B.C.<sup>11</sup> The basis of the chronological system lies at this time to an exceptional degree in the coin-types. They show that the Late Republican realism in portraiture reaches its height in the middle of the century, particular support for this being provided by the coin-types of Postumius Albinus<sup>12</sup>, Antius Restio<sup>13</sup>, Pompey<sup>14</sup> and Caesar<sup>15</sup>. With regard to the first three of these, one has to reckon with an interval between the time of the original prototype and that of the coin-type which may, at most, run to three or four decades<sup>16</sup>. Consequently, the portraits of Caesar are of paramount importance. A large group of these constitute the first example of Roman coin portraits that are not posthumous, and where on the whole there is identity of time between the original prototype and the coin-type. They provide the reliable evidence for the development of Caesar's portrait from the last year of his life and the decades immediately after his death. They not only reflect the changed opinion about Caesar but also the stylistic evolution in the important period, also from the art historian's point of view,

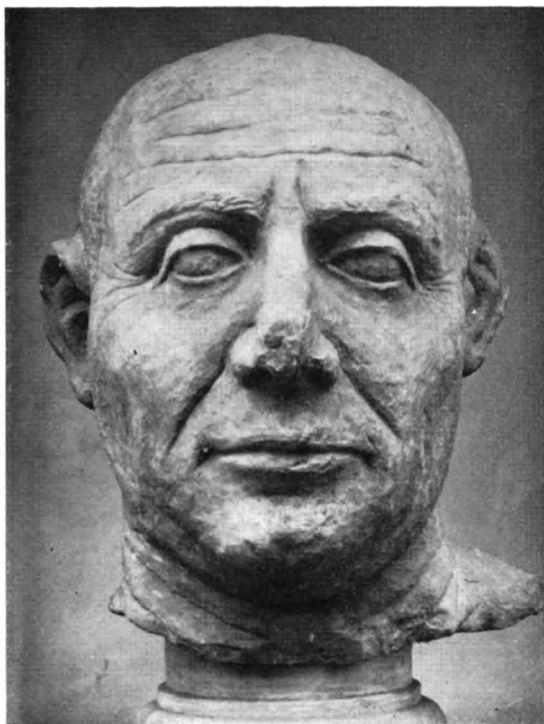


Fig. 4. Roman male portrait. Museo Nuovo, Rome.



Fig. 5. Tomb relief in the Villa Colonna, Rome. Detail.

<sup>11</sup> VESSBERG, Studien, pp. 198 ff.

<sup>12</sup> H. A. GRUEBER, Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum I, pp. 507 ff.; E. A. SYDENHAM, The Coinage of the Roman Republic, p. 158; VESSBERG, Studien, pp. 132 ff.

<sup>13</sup> GRUEBER, o. c. I, p. 521; SYDENHAM, o. c., p. 162; VESSBERG, Studien, p. 134.

<sup>14</sup> GRUEBER, o. c. II, pp. 366 f., 560 f., 564 f., 370 ff.; SYDENHAM, o. c., pp. 171 ff.; VESSBERG, Studien, pp. 135 ff.

<sup>15</sup> GRUEBER, o. c. I, pp. 542 ff.; SYDENHAM, o. c., pp. 176 ff.; VESSBERG, Studien, pp. 138 ff.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. VESSBERG, Studien, pp. 132 ff.

of the Second Triumvirate. They span Republican to Augustan portraiture. However, they are not alone in this function, being supported by a number of other important coin portraits from the Second Triumvirate, and thus we have an unusually clear picture of the portrait art of this period.

The most realistic group of coin-types with Caesar, mainly belonging to the issues of coinage from 44 and 43 B.C., continue in their plain rendering of the dictator's prematurely aged countenance the tradition of the portraits of Postumius Albinus and Antius Restio. But they also mark the end of a style, for at the same time there already appears on the coins struck by Flaminius Chilo<sup>17</sup> a portrait of Caesar in which the realism has been toned down and subordinated to a firmer and more synthetic form. Our portrait from Montopoli, like the portrait in the Villa Colonna and the stylistically very similar portrait in the Museo Nuovo, is probably at the same stage in the evolution, and all three might suitably be grouped with Chilo's image of

Caesar<sup>18</sup>. A dating of our head to the beginning of the Second Triumvirate, to c. 40 B.C., would therefore seem natural.

However, as, *inter alia*, the series of tomb reliefs shows<sup>19</sup>, the late Republican realism continues for a long time side by side with the classicism, and if all external criteria for dating, such as form of the bust, dress, inscription and so forth, are lacking in identifying a portrait, then one must exercise a certain caution. It is dangerous to regard the Republican realism as an exclusively Republican style.

Hence I think we have to reckon with a certain margin for the date of our head.

Our association of *il calvo* with the relief in the Villa Colonna, which in all probability was found in or near Rome, and with the head in the Museo Nuovo, which is undoubtedly of Roman provenance, makes it perhaps most likely that our portrait was also a Roman find, which by way of the Torlonia collections came to be placed in that family's villino at Montopoli di Sabina.

<sup>17</sup> GRUEBER, *o. c.* I, pp. 565 f.; SYDENHAM, *o. c.*, p. 180; VESSBERG, *Studien*, p. 142.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. VESSBERG, *Studien*, pp. 199 f.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. VESSBERG, *Studien*, pp. 201 ff.



**Photos:**

O. Ekberg, pp. 11, 18 (Fig. 24a), 28 (Fig. 45b), 29 (Figs. 47a, 49b), 55—59, 69—70, and photo on the cover.

N. Lagergren, pp. 6—10, 12—17, 18 (Figs. 23, 24b, 25), 19—26, 28—29 (except Figs. 45b, 47a, 49b), 30—31, 43, 65 (Fig. 21).

**Drawing:**

B. Millberg, p. 64.

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# MEDELHAVSMUSEET

## BULLETIN

Number 4 1964





**The Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities**  
**M E D E L H A V S M U S E E T**

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# **BULLETIN**

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# Vier Stelen und eine Opfertafel aus Deir el-Medineh

STEN V. WÄNGSTEDT

Im Jahr 1961 erhielt die ägyptische Sammlung des Medelhavsmuseet einen sehr wertvollen Zuschuss durch den Erwerb von drei Grabstelen, alle aus Deir el-Medineh. Den Stelen sind in dem Inventarverzeichnis des Museums die Nrn. MM 18565, MM 18566 und MM 18567 gegeben worden. Zwei der Stelen, Nr. 18565 und Nr. 18566, sind nahezu unbeschädigt, während von der dritten, Nr. 18567, nur die rechte Hälfte erhalten ist.

Der Erwerb dieser Stelen war insofern wertvoll, als das Museum bisher nur zwei aus Deir el-Medineh stammende Denkmäler, eine Stele MM 32000 und eine Opfertafel MM 32001, besass<sup>1</sup>.

Von den drei Stelen, welche vor dem Erwerb einem Privatsammler gehörten<sup>2</sup>, war nur eine, Nr. 18565, vorher bekannt. Diese Stele ist von

dem russischen Ägyptologen Boris Turaieff veröffentlicht und nach einer Zeichnung aus einem handschriftlichen Katalog über ägyptische Antiquitäten wiedergegeben worden<sup>3</sup>. Der Katalog, den Turaieff in dem Rumjantseff-Museum in Moskau gefunden hatte, war auf Französisch und rubriziert „Cette collection a appartenu a Ms Lidman, ministre du culte protestant, qui voyagea en Egypte 1815“. Da es von grossem Interesse ist, von diesem Katalog Kenntnis zu nehmen, sind in Moskau Nachforschungen unternommen, welche aber bis heute erfolglos geblieben sind<sup>4</sup>.

Der Besitzer der Kollektion ist mit dem schwedischen Theologen und Orientalisten Sven Fredrik Lidman identisch, der von etwa 1811 bis 1817 als Prediger bei der Schwedischen Gesandtschaft in Konstantinopel angestellt war. Während seiner Reisen im Vorderen Orient hatte er eine erhebliche Sammlung von Antiquitäten, u.a. ägyptischen, zusammenbringen können, die

<sup>1</sup> Früher im Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, NME 28 und NME 20 (J. D. C. LIEBLEIN, Katalog öfver egyptiska fornlemningar i National-Museum, Stockholm 1868, S. 24 und S. 21). Die beiden Denkmäler, welche dem im Jahr 1928 gegründeten Ägyptischen Museum als Deposition übertragen wurde, sind von MARIA MOGENSEN publiziert worden (Stèles égyptiennes au Musée National de Stockholm, Copenhagen 1919, S. 45 f. und S. 30.). Da die Denkmäler in der angeführten Arbeit etwas summarisch behandelt sind, scheint mir eine erneute Veröffentlichung begründet zu sein.

<sup>2</sup> Branddirektor Sven Arwidsson, Lidingsö.

<sup>3</sup> Zapiski Klassitscheskogo Otdelenia Imperatorskogo Russkogo Arkheologitscheskogo Obshtchestva, Vol. 2, Petersburg 1913, S. 17 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Herrn Dr. Staffan Dahl von der Königlichen Bibliothek in Stockholm, der es gütig übernahm zu versuchen, den Katalog aufzuspüren, bin ich zu grossem Dank verpflichtet.

aber im Jahr 1818 in Konstantinopel zum grössten Teil durch Feuer vernichtet wurde.

Wann und woher der oben genannte Privatsammler die Stelen erworben hat, ist mir unbekannt. Ebenso dunkel ist das Schicksal der linken Hälfte der Stele Nr. 18567.

Über die beiden Denkmäler MM 32000 und MM 32001 liegen nur sehr dürftige Notizen vor. Im Jahr 1826 wurde die ägyptische Sammlung des damaligen Königlichen Museums durch eine Stiftung des schwedischen Vizekonsuls in Alexandria, Giovanni d'Anastasy gegründet. Kein erforderliche Aufschlüsse enthaltendes Verzeichnis über die erhaltenen Antiquitäten scheint aber angelegt worden zu sein. Dasselbe gilt auch für die Stiftung des ehemaligen schwedischen Botschafters beim Ottomanischen Tor, Nils Gustaf Palin, im Jahr 1833 gemacht<sup>6</sup>, sowie für spätere Schenkungen<sup>7</sup>. Es dürfte aber nicht ganz unwahrscheinlich sein, dass die beiden Denkmäler schon 1826 dem Museum übergeben worden sind<sup>7</sup>.


#### Stele (Abb. 1)

MM 18565<sup>8</sup>. *Material*: Kalkstein. *Grösse*: 34 × 22,5 × 5 cm.

*Datierung*: 19. Dynastie. *Herkunft*: Deir el-Medineh.

Die oben gerundete Stele ist in zwei wagerechte, hauptsächlich bemalte Darstellungen tragende Register eingeteilt. Vor der Farbgebung der verschiedenen Darstellungen ist die Fläche

der Stele mit einer gelblichen Grundfarbe überzogen worden.

Das obere Register zeigt in Flachrelief und gegeneinandergewandt den Ibisköpfigen Mondgott Iah<sup>9</sup> und die als Schlange wiedergegebene Erntegöttin Renenut<sup>10</sup>. Der Kopf des Mondgottes, weiss mit schwarzem Schnabel und rotem Auge, ist von einer dunkelblauen, in breiten Streifen endenden Perücke umrahmt und mit dem Emblem des Gottes gekrönt. Das Emblem, in Gestalt eines von einer Sichel umgebenen Mondballs, ist aus gelbbraun gestrichenem Feuerstein hergestellt und mit Zement in Aussparungen in der Stele festgehalten<sup>11</sup>. Der Gott, der sitzend dargestellt ist, trägt einen breiten, dunkelbraun gefärbten Halskragen und hält in der auf den Knien ruhenden linken Hand eine Schreibpalette<sup>12</sup>. Der Körper und die Palette sind rotbraun bzw. braun. Vor dem Gottesemblem steht  „Iah, der grosse Gott“<sup>13</sup>.

Der Kopf der Göttin Renenut ist von einem Rindergehörn mit Sonnenscheibe gekrönt, von denen die letztere in Gestalt eines eingelassenen, rotbraun gefärbten Feuersteinknollens (teilweise abgesplittert) ist. Das Gehörn ist in schwarzer Farbe gezeichnet. Der äusserst detailliert aus-

<sup>6</sup> Über diesen im thebanischen Gebiet verehrten Gott siehe H. BONNET, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, Berlin 1952, s.v. Joh.

<sup>10</sup> Über diese Göttin siehe BONNET, a. A., s. v. Thermutis.

<sup>11</sup> Vgl. J. ČERNÝ, *Egyptian Stelae in the Bankes Collections*, Oxford 1958, Nr. 4.

<sup>12</sup> Die Schreibpalette, das Attribut des Gottes Thot, zeigt, dass Iah als eine Form des Thot aufzufassen ist. Die Identifizierung der beiden Götter miteinander, welche in der 18. Dynastie stattfand, geht u. a. aus dem Namen Iah-Thot hervor, unter welchem der Mondgott nicht selten auftritt. Vgl. R. LANZONE, *Dizionario di mitologia egizia*, Vol. 1, Torino 1881, Pl. 36 f.; *ÄZ* 72, 1936, Pl. 7:4; B. BRUYÈRE, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Medineh (1935–1940)*, Fasc. 2, Le Caire 1952, Pl. 10. Vgl. auch BONNET, a. A.

<sup>13</sup> Statt „der grosse Gott“ ist auch die Lesung des Epithetons als „der gute Gott“ (*ntr nfr*) möglich.

<sup>6</sup> In einem Königlichen Brief vom 24. Aug. 1833 wird von dieser Stiftung nur gesagt, dass dem Museum eine grosse Menge ägyptischer Antiquitäten verehrt wurde.

<sup>7</sup> Die Schenkung eines Schiffsreeders Polack sowie wiederholte Schenkungen von G. d'Anastasy.


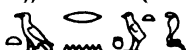
<sup>7</sup> Aus einem Königlichen Brief vom 31. Aug. 1826 geht hervor, dass die Stiftung u. a. „Tolf fyrkantiga Kalkstens-Pilastrar af åtskilliga storlekar, föreställande, i upphöjdt arbete, offerscener, samt dessutom prydd med hieroglyphiske inhuggningar“ enthielt. Die Bezeichnung „Kalkstens-Pilastrar“ bezieht sich aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach auf „Grabstelen“, worauf auch die begleitende Beschreibung hindeutet.

<sup>8</sup> BERTA PORTER & ROSALIND MOSS, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*, I:2, Oxford 1964, S. 734.

Abb. 1. Stele des Ramose (MM 18565).





geführte Schlangenkörper ist dunkelbraun, mit den verschiedenen Einzelheiten in schwarz, weiss, braun und rot. Die begleitenden Texte lauten:  „der Re“ (über der Sonnenscheibe) bzw.  „die Renenut“<sup>14</sup>.

Das untere Register zeigt in Flachrelief einen Mann in adorierender Stellung vor den von Kartuschen umschlossenen Namen Ramses II. (*R<sup>c</sup>-mšš-mrj-Imn*) (*Wšr-m 3<sup>c</sup>. t-R<sup>c</sup>-štp-n-R<sup>c</sup>*) knieend. Er trägt eine geflochtene schwarze Perücke<sup>15</sup>, einen kurzen, in schwarzer Farbe angedeuteten Kinnbart, Halskragen und Arm-bänder und ist mit einem gefalteten, teilweise braun gefärbten, weissen Gewand bekleidet. Die unbedeckten Körperteile sind rotbraun.

Die Kartuschen sowie die einzelnen Zeichen der Königsnamen sind in Flachrelief und in verschiedenen Farben gemalt. Auf den freien Flächen neben dem knieenden Mann steht die folgende Inschrift:



„Gemacht von dem königlichen Schreiber an der Stätte der Wahrheit<sup>16</sup>, Ramose, den Seligen, den Sohn des Amenemheb, geboren von der Hausfrau Kakaia, der Seligen.“

Ramose, für welchen diese und die folgende Stele (Nr. 18566) gemacht worden sind, ist aus mehreren anderen Denkmälern (u.a. Stelen) bekannt<sup>17</sup>. Als einer der reichsten Einwohner der besonderen Stadtbildung, in der die Arbeiter und Künstler wohnten, die mit dem Aushauen und der Schmückung der Felsengräber der

Könige und Königinnen des Neuen Reiches beschäftigt waren, und der unter dem Namen Deir el-Medineh bekannt ist, hat er sich in der Stadtnekropole drei Gräber anlegen lassen<sup>18</sup>. Ramose hat eine hervorragende amtliche Stellung in der Arbeiterstadt bekleidet, was u.a. aus den auf einer seiner Grabstelen notierten Titeln hervorgeht<sup>19</sup>. In dem 5. Regierungsjahr des Ramses II. wurde er zum „Königlichen Schreiber am Grab des Königs“ ernannt<sup>20</sup>.

#### Stele (Abb. 2)

MM 18566<sup>21</sup>. *Material*: Kalkstein. *Grösse*: 32,3 × × 20,5 × 4 cm.

*Datierung*: 19. Dynastie. *Herkunft*: Deir el-Medineh.

Die oben gerundete Stele, die bis auf einige in der linken Seite lokalisierte Beschädigungen gut erhalten ist, enthält eine an den Sonnengott Amun-Re gerichtete Anrufung. Unten rechts erscheint der Anrufende, knieend und mit in Adoration erhobenen Händen. Der Adorant, derselbe Ramose wie auf der Stele Nr. 18565, ist in vertieftem Relief dargestellt. Er trägt eine halblange Perücke<sup>22</sup>, einen Halskragen und ein plissiertes Gewand. Von der ursprünglichen Bemalung sind nur die gelblichbraune Grundfarbe der Stelenfläche und schwache Spuren der rot-

<sup>18</sup> Nr. 7, 212, 250. PORTER & MOSS, *Bibliography etc.*, I:1, Oxford 1960.

<sup>19</sup> Auf einer seiner Grabstelen nennt er sich „Vorstehender des Schatzhauses in dem Hause (Tempel) des Mencheperure (Thutmosis IV.)“, „Vorstehender der Verwaltung in dem Hause des Vorstehers der Siegelträger“, „Vielschreiber des Amun-Re“, „Hilfsbriefschreiber des Kronprinzen (Ramses II.)“, „Vorstehender der Arbeiten im westlichen Theben“ und „Vorstehender des Schatzhauses an der Stätte der Wahrheit“ (ČERNÝ, a. A., Nr. 4). Über die Biographie des Ramose siehe, BRUYÈRE, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Medineh* (1935–1940), Fasc. 3, Le Caire 1952, S. 13 ff.

<sup>20</sup> Vgl. ČERNÝ, *ib.*

<sup>21</sup> PORTER & MOSS, *Bibliography etc.*, I:2, S. 734.

<sup>22</sup> Die Perücke hat hier eine andere Form als in Nr. 18565.

<sup>14</sup> Der Name der Göttin ist hier mit Artikel geschrieben. Vgl. griech. *Ἡερμιοθις*.

<sup>15</sup> Ein längeres Modell der kurzen nubischen Perücke. Vgl. C. ALDRED, *BMMA* XV, 6, 1957, S. 141 ff.

<sup>16</sup> „Die Stätte der Wahrheit“ als Bezeichnung des Grabes des Königs (bzw. der Königin) in der Nekropole Thebens.

<sup>17</sup> PORTER & MOSS, a. A., S. 861.

Abb. 2. Stele des Ramose (MM 18566).



braunen Farben der unbedeckten Körperteile des Adoranten erhalten.



Die Anrufung, die neun senkrechte Zeilen umfasst, lautet folgendermassen:



<sup>22</sup> Von dem Stier ist der Schwanz sichtbar.

<sup>24</sup> Zur Ergänzung vgl. *Recueil de Travaux relatifs etc.*, 2, 1880, S. 176: XXXI; 3, 1882, S. 104: CIV; 4, 1883, S. 147: XXVIII. Zur Orthographie vgl. die angeführten Beispiele.

<sup>25</sup> Wohl so zu ergänzen.


<sup>26</sup> Der Schreiber hat zuerst ein  geschrieben, das in ein  umändert worden ist.

„(1) Gepriesen sei Amun-Re, der [Stier] in Theben, der herrliche Gott, der sich über die Wahrheit freut in diesem seinem Namen von Hor-Achti [-Tum, dem Herrn der beiden Länder, dem Heliopolitaner, gross] an Kraft, Herrscher der Neunheit, der (2) [grosse Gott, der] sich selbst [erzeugt] hat, der für den Bedarf der Menschen und der Götter sorgt und den Hapi gebracht hat für ihre Nahrung, und (der) alle Menschen, Untertanen, (und) Menschen am Leben erhält. (3) [Er] hört die Armen, wenn (sie) ihn anrufen. Er gibt ein Begräbnis dem, der ihm untertänig ist. Du lässt mich schauen deine Schönheit jedesmal, wenn Du aufgehst. Meine Augen sehen Deine Strahlen . . . (4) . . . Gegrüsst sei Du, der Erste seines Frauenhauses. O Grosser, Oberster der Götter! Ich preise Dich bis zur Höhe des Himmels. Ich preise Dein Antlitz. (5) Sei mir gnädig in Deinen Erscheinungsformen an jedem Ort, in dem Du bist. Ich jauchze, weil ich Dich liebe in (6) Deinen Gestalten als Leuchtender. Mein Körper ist gesund bei dem Begleiten deines Ka an seinem Fest am Jahrestag. (7) Möge (mein)<sup>27</sup> Name genannt werden nach Jahren, wie jeder Gerechte. Möge jeder Bittsteller erhört werden (8) jedesmal, wenn Re am Himmel aufgeht. Für den Ka des königlichen Schreibers an der Stätte der Wahrheit, Ramose, des Seligen, des Dieners des Ptah, der seine Lehre kennt.“

Stele (Bruchstück) (Abb. 3)

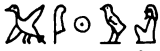

MM 18567<sup>28</sup>. *Material*: Kalkstein. *Grösse*: 20,2 × 14,5 × 3,4 cm.

*Datierung*: 19. – 20. Dynastie. *Herkunft*: Deir el-Medineh.

Von der oben gerundeten Stele, die für einen Arbeiter in der königlichen Nekropole, namens  Mesu, gemacht worden ist, ist nur die in drei Stücke zerbrochene, rechte Hälfte erhalten. Die Vorderfläche der Stele ist mit einer gelblichen Grundfarbe bestrichen und in zwei Register eingeteilt.

<sup>27</sup> Das Personalsuffix im Text ausgelassen.


<sup>28</sup> PORTER & MOSS, *Bibliography etc.*, I: 2, S. 725.

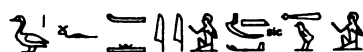
Das obere Register zeigt, in vertieftem Relief, das Sonnenschiff mit dem Sonnengott Shu. Von dem letztgenannten ist nur ein Teil der Beine auf dem Bruchstück sichtbar. Vor dem Gott sind sein Name, hier  „der Shu“ (Pshu) geschrieben<sup>29</sup>, die Symbole  <sup>30</sup> und das schutzbringende Horusauge *wd<sup>3</sup>.t*.

<sup>29</sup> Vgl. ČERNÝ, a. A., Nr. 6.

<sup>30</sup> Nach J. CAPART ist das Symbol ein Substitut für den Gott Seth, der mit seiner Lanze die Schlange Apophis und die Feinde des Gottes tötet (ÄZ, 36, 1898, S. 126.).



In dem unteren Register sind — in vertieftem Relief — die Frau und der Sohn des Mesu in adorierender Stellung dargestellt, welche eine Anrufung an den Himmelsgott rezitieren. Über ihnen steht  <sup>31</sup> „(die) Hausfrau Sheri[-Re]“ bzw.:



„sein Sohn Hui, der Selige“.

Die ursprünglich in bunten Farben gemalten Darstellungen sowie die vorkommenden Inschriften sind ziemlich flüchtig ausgeführt. Der Anruf, von dem der Schluss erhalten ist, lautet:



„(x - 1) . . . Du gehst unter (?). Ich kenne (2) das Gesagte. Deine Stärke (3) gehört den Fischen des Meeres (4) (und) den Vögeln des (5) Himmels. (Gesagt) von dem Diener der Stätte der Wahrheit (6) Mesu, dem Seligen, seiner Gattin, der Hausfrau (7) Sheri-Re, der Seligen, seinem Sohn (8) Hui, dem Seligen.“

Der Anruf der ziemlich kurzgefasst ist<sup>32</sup>, wird — wie aus dem Text hervorgeht — auch von Mesu hergesagt, der vor seiner Frau abgebildet

<sup>31</sup> Das Zeichen für Re (  ) im Text ausgelassen.

<sup>32</sup> Die fehlende Stelenhälfte, dürfte kaum mehr als vier Textzeilen enthalten haben.

Abb. 3. Stele des Mesu (MM 18567).






gewesen ist (auf dem Bruchstück ist die Umrisslinie der Unterseite seines linken Fusses deutlich erkennbar)<sup>33</sup>.

#### Stele (Abb. 4)



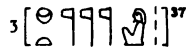
MM 32000<sup>34</sup>. *Material*: Kalkstein. *Grösse*: 33 × 23 × 2,5 cm.

*Datierung*: 19. Dynastie. *Herkunft*: Deir el-Medineh.

Die oben abgerundete Stele ist in ihrem unteren Teil durch tiefgehende Absplitterungen stark beschädigt. Die Vorderseite ist in zwei Felder geteilt, mit vorkommenden Bilddarstellungen in vertieftem Relief.

Das obere Feld zeigt den falkenköpfigen Gott Harsiese, auf einem Sessel sitzend<sup>35</sup>. Er trägt die Doppelkrone (zum grössten Teil ausgetilgt), eine lange geflochtene Perücke, breiten Halskragen, Armbänder und ist mit einem eng anliegenden gefalteten Lendenschurz bekleidet. In der vorgestreckten linken Hand hält er das  $\text{w}^3\text{s}$ -Zepter, in der rechten das  $\text{nh}$ -Zeichen, das Symbol des Lebens. Vor dem Gott steht ein schmaler hoher Opfertisch mit einem Libationsgefäss. Hinter dem Sessel ist ein Symbol  abgebildet<sup>36</sup>.

Über dem Gott steht die folgende, zum Teil zerstörte Beischrift:

1  2  3 

„Horus, Sohn der [Isis], der Herrscher [der Götterneunheit].“

<sup>33</sup> Mesu und seine Familie ist m. W. nur aus diesem Stelenbruchstück bekannt.

<sup>34</sup> Vom Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, deponiert (NME 28). PORTER & MOSS, *Bibliographie etc.*, I: 2, S. 726.




<sup>35</sup> Über den Gott Harsiese siehe BONNET, a. A., S. 275 f.

<sup>36</sup> Für andere ähnliche Symbole vgl. z.B. *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire, Stèles du Nouvel Empire*, Nr. 34070 und 34073, K. LANGE-M. HIRMER, *Aegypten*, München 1955, Pl. 128, MARIA MOGENSEN, *La collection égyptienne de la Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg*, Copenhagen 1930, Pl. CII. Vgl. auch *Recueil de Travaux relatifs etc.* 27, 1905, S. 173 f.

<sup>37</sup> Zur Ergänzung vgl. *Hieroglyphical Texts etc. from Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum*, Part V, London 1914, Nr. 467, Pl. 43.

Abb. 4. Stele des Nachi (MM 32000).

Vor dem Gott verrichtet ein Mann ein Rauchopfer. Dieser trägt eine lange Löckchenperücke, Halskragen und Armbänder und ist mit einem von den Hüften bis auf die Unterschenkel reichenden, gefälteten Doppelschurz bekleidet. Er hält in der einen Hand ein Gefäss mit brennendem Weihrauch, dessen Unterständer (?) hinter ihm steht. Über und hinter dem Opfernden steht:

1  2  3 

„der grosse Künstler an der Stätte der Wahrheit, Nachi, der Selige.“

In dem unteren Feld sind drei Verwandte des Nachi, knieend und mit erhobenen Händen, dargestellt. Zwei von ihnen halten in der einen Hand ein Gefäss mit brennendem Weihrauch. Alle drei tragen, wie Nachi, eine lange Löckchenperücke, den üblichen Hals- und Armschmuck und wahrscheinlich auch denselben gefälteten Doppelschurz.

Die Verwandten, deren Namen die begleitenden Inschriften anzeigen, sind:


1  2  3   
4  5  6   
7  8 

„Sein Sohn, der Diener an der Stätte der Wahrheit, Buquentuef, der Selige; sein Enkel Qen, der Selige; sein Enkel Nachi, der Selige.“

#### Opfertafel (Abb. 5)

MM 32001<sup>40</sup>. *Material*: Kalkstein. *Grösse*: 37,5 × 35 × 8,5 cm.

*Datierung*: 19.–20. Dynastie. *Herkunft*: Deir el-Medineh.

Die Opfertafel, von einem beschrifteten Rahmen mit angeschlossenem Ausgussvorschuss umgeben, hat die Form der Hieroglyphe .

<sup>40</sup> Nach BRUYÈRE soll Nachi mit Ramose verwandt sein [Rapport . . . (1935–1940), Fasc. 3, S. 15].

<sup>39</sup> Das letzte Zeichen ist auf der Stele hinter das Personendeterminativ senkrecht geschrieben.

<sup>40</sup> Vom Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, deponiert (NME 20). PORTER & MOSS, *Bibliographie etc.*, I:2, S. 744.





# Two Royal Heads from Amarna

## Studies in the Art of the Amarna Age

BENGT JULIUS PETERSON

The radical and profound structural change in Egyptian religion and art that may be observed during the brief period of time in the fourteenth century B.C. which is named the Amarna Age, had in its ideas and concept existed earlier, but latently. The great breakthrough came, however, with the accession to the throne of Amenophis IV and, along with a reform of religion, led to a unique departure in the case of art from the conventional and conservative pattern which Egyptian art had followed for centuries.

The religious revolution of Amenophis IV, which involved a monotheistic worship of Aton, the sun-disc, had been prepared beforehand. This divinity was not the king's creation<sup>1</sup>, but the stressing of it was largely the work of the king. The reformation quickly gained a hold, as in certain circles it was a distinct help in meeting the religious needs of the period.

The art that was now created in conjunction with the new religious ideals, is chiefly characterized by a widespread striving after truth and reality in representations and, especially in those of the human form, by a conscious accentuation of the

individual, while nevertheless displaying a thorough stylization. Similar trends in art, primarily in tomb painting, had already been noted in the time of Thutmosis IV, some fifty years before the Amarna Age, as has long ago been pointed out by various scholars<sup>2</sup>. These currents show a breaking up and a disintegration of the classical, traditional phase in Egyptian art and become more marked in the reign of Amenophis III<sup>3</sup>.

The definitive breaking through of these tendencies comes with Amenophis IV, when a new art develops, yet an art which cannot be said to be a direct development or an effect of the earlier disintegration. The adoption of a new art is intimately connected with the religious

<sup>2</sup> E.g. W. SPIEGELBERG, *Geschichte der ägyptischen Kunst bis zum Hellenismus*, Der Alte Orient, I. Ergänzungsband, Leipzig 1903, p. 69; F. W. VON BISSING, *Denkmäler ägyptischer Skulptur*, Textband, München 1914, text to pl. 72, 82 & 83; N. DE G. DAVIES, *Bulletin Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Part II, December 1923, pp. 40 ff; idem, *Akhenaten at Thebes*, JEA 9, 1923, pp. 132 ff; F. BALODIS, *Echnatons Kunstreform*, *Filologu biedrības raksti II*, Riga (1924), p. 76; M. WEGNER, *Stilentwicklung der thebanischen Beamtengräber*, MDAIK IV, 1933, p. 160; J. WILSON, *The culture of Ancient Egypt (The burden of Egypt)*, Chicago 1958, p. 214.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. H. SCHÄFER, *Amarna in Religion und Kunst*, 7. Sendschrift d. Dt. Orient-Gesellschaft, Berlin 1931, p. 43; J. VANDIER, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne III*, Paris 1958, pp. 331 ff; W. WOLF, *Die Kunst Ägyptens*, Stuttgart 1957, pp. 536 ff.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. W. WOLF, *Vorläufer der Reformation Echnatons*, ZÄS 59, 1924, pp. 109 ff.; M. & J. DORESSE, *Le culte d'Aton sous la XVIIIe dynastie avant le schisme amarnien*, *Journal Asiatique* 233, 1941–42, pp. 18 ff.

reformation. The old art represented a tradition—that of the old gods and their cult—foreign to the new ideals, and there was a desire to break with it. Art in the reign of Akhenaten, the name taken by Amenophis IV in connection with his reforms, turns away from the idealism which had previously been almost paramount, notably in the religious and royal representations, that is to say in nearly all fashion-setting art<sup>4</sup>.

For all the innovations in religion and art Akhenaten himself, more or less dependent on the circle that had gathered round him, was the deliverer and the dominating figure. His own interest was probably personal and one may assume, as is customary, that he himself gave the incentives and directives to the working artists<sup>5</sup>. One cannot sufficiently stress what such initiative can have meant for the special character of the Amarna art.

As to locality, the new art was chiefly restricted to the king's immediate environment. Its first monuments were from the earliest years of his reign at Thebes, but it was later concentrated to the new capital which he founded at Amarna<sup>6</sup>. There it was the royal family and the small circle around it who were the chief art patrons. It is notable that the monuments from Amarna are almost totally confined to representations of royal persons, especially in the case of sculpture in the round, the kind of representations which in the reign of Amenophis III, like the tomb painting somewhat earlier, had been affected

by disintegrating tendencies<sup>7</sup>. Private art is rare, particularly as regards sculpture in the round. The tombs of nobles display the typical art of Amarna in abundance, although several elements in their execution are still linked with old and purely Theban features<sup>8</sup> of style, but the wall decorations are mostly concerned with figures of the royal family.

The art of Amarna does not break completely with the tradition of Egyptian art. It is, however, no natural development of different currents in art, but a conscious accentuation of certain tendencies of that time, a stressing of certain components that would serve a new programme of art. The fundamental conventions remain unchanged however, the old fundamental ideas being merely altered a trifle. It is above all the style of the works of art that is changed. It becomes expressive, exaggerated, *outré*; the idealism and the harmony disappear. The iconographical schemes are changed, because now new values underlie them, which were formerly unacceptable. The most violent departures from the old stylistic ideals may be observed in the earliest of Akhenaten's monuments, those at Thebes. With the move to Amarna and with the death of Amenophis III, the characteristic, exaggerated style is toned down and becomes milder and gentler; its sensuality is accentuated. A new idealism is created in art<sup>9</sup>.

The direct origins of the Amarna art, its background and prehistory, as well as the origins of the two different stylistic phases which it contained, have in fact only been dealt with by scholars in general terms. Some aspects of this problem will now be considered.

<sup>7</sup> VANDIER, Manuel III, p. 331.

<sup>8</sup> Perhaps too much stressed in BISSING, *Denkmäler zur Geschichte der Kunst* etc., p. 15. The internal development within the tomb decoration of Amarna shows, side by side with the newly introduced stylistic elements, an association with the disintegrating tendencies that set in during the reigns of Thutmosis IV and Amenophis III, and thus a gradual liberation from the Theban refined style.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. J. CAPART's wording in his article on Egyptian art in *The Legacy of Egypt*, Oxford 1942, p. 105.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. E. MEYER, *Geschichte d. Altertums* II:1<sup>8</sup>, Stuttgart & Berlin 1928, p. 386.

<sup>5</sup> An often quoted phrase illustrating the king's interest is one of the titles of the sculptor Bek: "he whom His Majesty himself taught". Text in F. W. VON BISSING, *Denkmäler zur Geschichte der Kunst Amenophis IV*, Sitzungsber. d. Königl. Bayer. Ak. d. Wiss., Phil. philolog. und hist. Klasse 1914:3, München 1914, p. 6.

<sup>6</sup> An urgent need is a closely detailed study of the topographical distribution of the characteristic monuments of the time of Akenaten. There is e.g. the Medamoud question, see R. COTTEVIEILLE-GIRAUDET, *Les reliefs d'Amenophis IV Akhenaton*, FIFAO XIII, Le Caire 1936. Further, a full publication of e.g. the Sesebi excavations would be of great help, for finds see B. PORTER & R. MOSS, *Topographical bibliography VII*, Oxford 1951, pp. 173 f.

SPIEGELBERG suggested in his history of Egyptian art published in 1903, that Akhenaten introduced and adopted the vulgar art, a "Volksstil" in place of the "Hofstil"<sup>10</sup>. This, according to SPIEGELBERG, is a special style that had always existed and was used for representations of popular scenes as distinct from representations of gods and kings<sup>11</sup>.

In his synthesis of the culture and history of the Amarna Age, primarily based on the results of the British excavations, PENDLEBURY puts forward a hypothesis about the background of the Amarna style<sup>12</sup>. He puts the fall of Crete and Knossos circa 1400 B.C. in immediate relation to the art of Amarna. Artists from Crete left their island and sought refuge in Egypt. These artists, in the opinion of PENDLEBURY, took part in the creation of the Amarna art. However, he does not point to any concrete material for his hypothesis.

Many scholars have, like PENDLEBURY, in connection with the art of that time, named Crete as a vital factor in the entire or partial development of the art of Amarna, especially referring to the mural paintings of the palaces<sup>13</sup>. It is easy to try to elucidate the background of the Amarna art by reference to the Aegean culture, particularly in Crete. This island was indeed one of the most important maritime powers in the Mediterranean having communications with both Egypt and other countries, primarily various trading centres in the eastern Mediterranean. The communications with Egypt were particularly evident during the 18th dynasty, as is clearly seen not least from concrete finds both in Egypt and

Crete, although these communications are hardly likely to have been direct to any great extent; the route from the Aegean world to Egypt went mainly via the Syrian coast<sup>14</sup>. Reciprocal communication—direct or indirect—declined after the sack of Knossos and thus, at the time of Akhenaten, cannot have been a culture-promoting factor<sup>15</sup>. The suggested influence on art from Crete to Amarna applies chiefly to painting. Several motifs in this are said to be borrowed from Crete<sup>16</sup>. In the case of sculpture there is no material for comparison, as large sculpture is entirely lacking in the Minoan culture.

The earliest style, almost bordering on caricature, which appears on the first monuments at Thebes, has been partially explained by ALDRED in his drawing attention to the fact that when these monuments were executed Akhenaten had only young, untrained artists at his disposal, since the older and skilled ones were engaged upon the monuments of Amenophis III<sup>17</sup>; Akhenaten was, as suggested by many scholars (see note 30), at the beginning joint regent with his father. The break with tradition, the new ideas inspired by Akhenaten, the less skilled artists and the lack of direct prototypes for the new

<sup>14</sup> Cf. H. R. H. HALL, *Egypt and the external world in the time of Akhenaten*, JEA 7, 1921, pp. 39 ff; for finds see i.a. J. PENDLEBURY, *Aegyptiaca*, a catalogue of Egyptian objects in the Aegean area, Cambridge 1930; valuable is the thorough examination in A. FURUMARK, *The settlement at Ialysos and Aegean history c. 1550—1400 B.C.*, *Opuscula Archaeologica VI=Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae XV*, Lund 1950; direct communications with Crete cannot be excluded, cf. J. VERCOUTTER, *L'Egypte et le monde égéen préhellénique*, Le Caire 1956, pp. 417 ff.

<sup>15</sup> The communications were irregular and infrequent, cf. HALL, op. cit.: Amarna's foreign contacts chiefly concerned "mainlanders of Mycenae, Rhodians of Ialysos and Cyprians of Enkomi", p. 50. Further F. MATZ, *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 6:2, Handbuch der Archäologie II*, München 1954, p. 271.

<sup>16</sup> E.g. the "flying gallop" motif and various details in the ornamentation; fairly general recourse to nature motifs and a predilection for representations of animals and plants, cf. H. FRANKFORT, *The mural painting of El-'Amarneh*, London 1929; D. FIMMEN, *Kretisch-mykenische Kultur*, Leipzig & Berlin 1921, pp. 197 ff.

<sup>17</sup> C. ALDRED, *New Kingdom Art in ancient Egypt*, London 1961, p. 25. Cf. also G. BENEDITE, *A propos d'un buste égyptien*, Mon. Fond. Piot XIII, 1906, pp. 6 ff.

<sup>10</sup> SPIEGELBERG, op. cit., p. 63.

<sup>11</sup> Idem, op. cit., pp. 22 ff.

<sup>12</sup> J. PENDLEBURY, *Tell el-Amarna*, London 1935, pp. 124 ff.

<sup>13</sup> SCHÄFER, op. cit., pp. 47 f; G. STEINDORFF, *Die Kunst der Ägypter*, Leipzig 1928, pp. 77 & 87; F. W. VON BISSING, *Der Fussboden aus dem Palaste des Königs Amenophis IV zu el Hawata*, München 1941, pp. 33 ff; W. C. HAYES, *The Scepter of Egypt II*, Cambridge Mass. 1959, p. 290; B. DE RACHEWILTZ, *Kunst der Pharaonen (Incontro con l'arte egiziana)*, Zürich & Stuttgart 1959, p. 99.

art, were the causes of the exaggerations of the first period, according to ALDRED. Upon the death of Amenophis III, his artists entered the service of the new king; at the same time the exaggeration is reduced, but also the emphatic expressiveness of the art; the credit for this must lie with the older artists trained with other stylistic ideals, when they had been set to work on the new art programme.

The art of Amarna cannot be made clear in a few words; it was many-sided and made up of many different components. The views put forward here give some of the background, but are partially without relevance. SPIEGELBERG's distinction of "Hofstil" versus "Volksstil" is irrelevant, as in fact we cannot speak of such a pronounced stylistic contrast within Egyptian art<sup>18</sup>. It is not entirely correct when he distinguishes between two styles, because in actual fact it is not a question of a difference in form but of a difference in the content of the representations, originally arising out of, and conditioned by, appraisal of the objects represented and the completely different activities of these objects.

Provincial peculiarities, works of art of lower artistic quality, can mislead the modern judge into using, on that account, the term popular art (which is not suitable, because popular art need in no way be inferior technically); the aims and aspirations, however, are here the same as in the official art surrounding the king and his court. The shaping and aim of art in Egypt were in the highest degree dependent upon the wishes of the consumer, usually conservative and fettered by tradition. But one must take into account the existence of a freer, popular art, which however only seldom found concrete expression and which largely remained latent. This freer art can be seen in the many picture ostraca commonly occurring during the New Kingdom in the quarters of workmen and artists. These ostraca often represent an art unbound by stylistic and icono-

graphical dogmas, an art which is healthy and alive. Its vulgarity can seldom be mistaken<sup>19</sup>. This art had no direct consumers. The picture ostraca had various purposes; some were undoubtedly occasional pieces, which were perhaps kept for a time by the maker or were perhaps thrown away when finished; therefore the artist's own imagination and desire could have free play. However, it does not go beyond the fundamental conventions of Egyptian art. But it is of course not such an independent art as SPIEGELBERG has in mind when speaking of a "Volksstil". These ostraca point to the existence of a latent, popular art, which is timeless, but that is not to say that the particular art represented in most of the known ostraca (Ramesside) would be exactly the same if the main part of them stemmed from before the time of Akhenaten. At all events it must here be submitted that a popular art of the kind sometimes displayed by these picture ostraca must have greatly contributed to the emergence of the Amarna style. Here this spontaneous art had a chance to break through.

As regards the Minoan and to some extent the Mycenaean influence in the Amarna art, hypotheses about a direct influence must be rejected, as there are no evident Aegean elements in this art<sup>20</sup>. The separate motifs and details to

<sup>18</sup> Many ostraca show the existence of fables, a type of literature usually belonging to the masses of the people. In written form these were not recorded in Egypt until the Late Period. The interpretation of picture ostraca with fable motifs is, however, not quite clear, cf. E. BRUNNER-TRAUT, *Ägyptische Tiermärchen*, ZÄS 80, 1955, pp. 12 ff and W. HELCK, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* = *Ägyptologische Abhandlungen* Bd 5, Wiesbaden 1962, p. 543. Although most of the known picture ostraca are Ramesside, it should not be irrelevant to cite these here as examples of the existence of a latent folk art that could only emerge sporadically.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. BALODIS, *op. cit.*, p. 76; A. SCHARFF, *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* 6:1, *Handbuch der Archäologie* I, München 1939, p. 580; WEGNER, *op. cit.*, p. 158; WOLF, *Die Kunst Ägyptens*, p. 486. That there were probably people from the Aegean world who had settled in Egypt and indeed at Amarna (cf. PENDLEBURY, *op. cit.* pp. 120 ff.) need not imply a direct Aegean influence on Egyptian art. Nor need trade contacts have exerted an influence on a strong, independent art. Several of the alleged Aegean

<sup>18</sup> Cf. H. SCHÄFER, *Von ägyptischer Kunst*<sup>3</sup>, Leipzig 1930, p. 62.

which attention has been drawn (cf. note 16), are no innovations in this period, having successively appeared in Egypt during the 18th dynasty; some may possibly be borrowed from abroad, although this is very controversial (cf. note 22). The main branch of art which was alleged to show resemblances and possible points of affinity between Aegean and Egyptian during the Amarna Age, is painting. The Minoan painting has an intimate connection with the Egyptian, but the contributing party was Egypt, which with its influence made an impress on the origins of the Minoan painting and to some extent on its iconography, but not on its subsequent independent development<sup>21</sup>. Despite the fact that for various reasons one must refuse to admit a direct influence of the Cretan mural paintings upon those of Amarna (*inter alia* on account of the difference in time; the sack of Knossos was circa 1410 B.C., while the foundation of Amarna took place some 40–50 years later; also we would mention that the increasing monumentalization in the late Minoan painting is not reflected in Amarna), one must nevertheless admit a certain Aegean influence on the art of the 18th dynasty, which however by no means was direct or furnished Egyptian art with any new elements<sup>22</sup>.

elements in Egyptian painting during the 18th dynasty are foreign and new to Egyptian art only in the matter of content, not of form; there is no foreign stylistic influence.

<sup>21</sup> F. MATZ, Minoan civilization: Maturity and zenith, Cambridge Ancient History vol. II, Cambridge 1962, p. 33; R. W. HUTCHINSON, Prehistoric Crete, Pelican Books 1962, p. 131. See however also F. MATZ in Handbuch der Archäologie II, p. 250: "Die ägyptischen Anregungen können sich nur auf das Allgemeinste beschränkt haben." It would be interesting to examine in greater detail these Egyptian impulses in Minoan painting. No general survey exists.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. HALL, op. cit., p. 51; idem, The relations of Aegean with Egyptian art, JEA 1, 1914, pp. 201 ff; WOLF, Die Kunst Ägyptens, pp. 486 ff. Asiatic influences (mainly Syrian), apart from certain motifs (cf. FURUMARK, op. cit., pp. 219 ff.), are not evident, cf. HELCK, op. cit., pp. 542 f. Mention must be made parenthetically of P. GILBERT, Influences orientales sur l'art d'Amarna, Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves XV, Bruxelles 1960, pp. 5 ff. This work is mainly concerned with the fundamental principles of art, but does not arrive at any conclusions that need be given here.

Indirectly Aegean art, however, must have contributed somewhat to the contemporaneous disintegrating tendencies in art; it became, from the very fact of the Egyptians' obtaining knowledge of its existence, a component in the otherwise internal development of art in Egypt during the 18th dynasty, when a greater freedom than before and a broadened outlook became apparent. To think that Egypt was in complete cultural isolation during the New Kingdom is impossible, not least in view of the many foreign immigrants, chiefly from Western Asia.

Instead of suggesting influences from abroad one should look for the origins of the art of the Amarna Age inside Egypt. WEGNER took this line when he desired to show that the painting in the reign of Akhenaten is a natural consequence of the artistic development within Egypt, particularly at Thebes<sup>23</sup>. The Amarna art, in his opinion, is the direct continuation of the stylistic changes occurring during the reigns of Thutmosis IV and Amenophis III: "Mit der unerschütterlichen Stetigkeit natürlichen Wachstums und ohne einschneidenden Bruch ist die Kunst Echnatons in die Spätzeit der 18. Dynastie eingefügt"<sup>24</sup>. WEGNER refers to different details within the art of Amarna, often details established earlier during the 18th dynasty, and thus tries to show that the Amarna art in no way breaks with the art of the preceding period. But he does not compare the Amarna art *in toto* with the preceding art. Such a comparison is however necessary, as it is not the separate details that in this case may be decisive, but the character of the art as a whole. WEGNER's point of view is correct to the extent that the artistic development during the 18th dynasty leads towards Amarna and forms the basis of the art during that period, but incorrect when he refuses to admit the addition of new elements during Akhenaten's reign and exclusively points to the natural development<sup>25</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> WEGNER, op. cit., pp. 154 ff.

<sup>24</sup> Idem, op. cit., p. 159.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. WOLF, Die Kunst Ägyptens, p. 536.

Basic to the Amarna art must be the tendency to disintegration which was found in the earlier art and which several scholars have noted, especially in the tomb painting<sup>26</sup>, but also in the sculpture<sup>27</sup>. As a result of Akhenaten's initiative<sup>28</sup>, this current is emphasized and developed; supported by other components that are consciously brought forward it is accentuated for the purpose of creating a new art fitting to the new ideals. One of these components is most probably a popular art that had previously found no opportunity for expression, especially not in monumental art; it is a latent art, not differing however in principle from the fundamental conventions of the earlier art; also this popular art must have had prototypes, these being among what had previously been created. An art of this kind could readily find an echo at this juncture, when there was a need for religion to be represented by an art differing from the old traditional one which was firmly linked to the old religion. In addition, it must be observed that the consumers, apart from those belonging to the royal family, were mainly people who, from all appearances, are to be regarded as parvenus; their families were not previously known in the court circles. As *novi homines* these men gained a high social position under Akhenaten<sup>29</sup>. The adoption of popular, even vulgar elements at this time, is also indicative of the language. It is from the outset of Akhenaten's reign that the language of classical literature, evolved during the Middle Kingdom, is superseded by the popular, spoken tongue for literary purposes.

The merging of the current art and its disintegrating tendencies with a more original and direct popular art is the basis of Akhenaten's art. Through personal initiatives and presumably through the individual freedom of the artists

within the limits of the purchasers' wishes, the art went on developing and soon became mannered in the brief period during which this special art flourished. The change-over and transition to the gentler and more idealistic style after Amenophis III's death is partly due to the influence, as ALDRED assumes, of the older artists handing down the ancient traditions<sup>30</sup>. It is certainly also dependent in part on the varying skill of the artists<sup>31</sup>. Their works develop and a mannerism is evolved. But one must also look to the art consumers for the cause. Their demands and tastes may have changed and become stabilized; one question is to what extent was there still dependence on the old art. How consistently could one break with tradition? Partly it is also a social question. These *novi homines* at Amarna, what was their attitude to the old—in art, culture, religion, etc.,—when they had become great men in the state?

The soil in which the new ideas had germinated and taken concrete shape had in many cases been loosened by influences from abroad. Egypt during the 18th dynasty became the centre of the then known world and she widened by means of warlike and peaceable expeditions her horizon and escaped from the earlier restraints of cultural isolation. That the country was extremely receptive of foreign impulses is clearly shown by many phenomena in the progressive development through which the country was passing at that time. These foreign impulses involve in the case of art, if not direct influences and prototypes, yet a broadened outlook, an internationalization, a greater freedom from tradition in general and a new sense of the value of the purely Egyptian tradition and heritage.

<sup>26</sup> If there was no joint rulership of Amenophis III and Akhenaten, then this argument is of a little value. The most recent research adopts a negative attitude to a joint reign. cf. E. HORNUNG, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie und Geschichte des Neuen Reiches = Ägyptologische Abhandlungen* Bd 11, Wiesbaden 1964, pp. 71 ff; E. F. CAMPBELL, *The chronology of the Amarna letters*, Baltimore 1964, p. 140.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. FRANKFORT, *op. cit.*, p. 29; ALDRED, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. above notes 2 & 3.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. above note 7.

<sup>28</sup> This, as already noted, is closely connected with the development of his religious ideas.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. E. OTTO, *Ägypten*, Stuttgart 1959, p. 163; H. KEES, *Ancient Egypt*, London 1961, pp. 301 f.

The art of Amarna is thus a synthesis of several different phenomena, a synthesis consciously made to meet a need. The changes in the art of this time are ultimately, however, in character, a transformation of the innermost essence of the cultural life, a change in the spirit of the cultural life.

To the earliest representations of Akhenaten belong the famous monumental statues found at Thebes. They are characterized by violence in expression, by exaggeration in style. The king's appearance seems pathological and the question of his physical and even mental condition has been much discussed<sup>32</sup>. From the art-historical point of view this discussion is of secondary importance; the problem is not so much what the king looked like in reality, but rather in the various ways in which he was represented in the monuments.

From Amarna we have most of the representations of the king. A number of more or less fragmentary works sculptured in the round or in the form of reliefs can be reliably identified as depicting him. These representations are mostly small, life-size or less. There are several statuettes, but many of the works are portrait heads which had belonged to, or been intended for, statuettes; in addition, there are portrait heads that had belonged to reliefs as well as several that must be looked upon as separate trial pieces. The materials are the usual ones: limestone, alabaster, quartz, sandstone and to a lesser degree granite<sup>33</sup>.

Identification of the portrait sculpture at

Amarna is difficult. In most cases there are no inscriptions on the works sculptured in the round to establish their identities, but it has nevertheless been possible to distinguish nearly all the members of the royal family. In particular, the last stylistic phase, the mature and idealistic one, presents several difficulties, as by then we have some additional historical persons who are available for identification, for instance Smenkhkare and Tutankhamun. The difficulties are increased also by the family features, a true resemblance between the persons. Besides this, in the case of the royal image an idealized head was created<sup>34</sup>, which set the fashion and more or less strongly influenced the representations of persons other than the king.

The representations of Akhenaten are generally characterized by a long, narrow face, a prominent, hanging chin and a protruding mouth; the nose is long, sometimes pointed<sup>35</sup>. These distinctive features vary; the only constant feature however, according to SCHÄFER, is the long, hanging chin<sup>36</sup>.

A grouping of the sculptures in the round of Akhenaten has been made by VANDIER, who divides his sculptures from Amarna into four groups<sup>37</sup>. In the first the old conventionalism and idealism partly remain<sup>38</sup>. The type is earlier in style than Akhenaten's Theban sculptures. The second has clear relations to the king's Theban sculptures<sup>39</sup>. The third group is distinguished by a round, soft style<sup>40</sup>. The fourth comprises the

<sup>34</sup> SCHARFF, op. cit., p. 585.

<sup>35</sup> In the present article no account is given of the king's body, as our purpose is the publication of two portraits.

<sup>36</sup> H. SCHÄFER, *Altes und Neues zur Kunst und Religion von Tell el-Amarna*, ZÄS 55, 1918, p. 9.

<sup>37</sup> VANDIER, *Manuel III*, pp. 338 f.

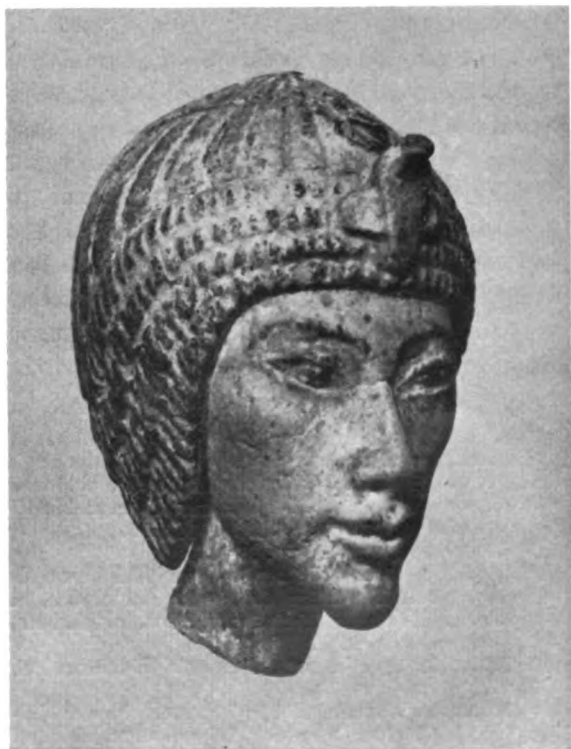
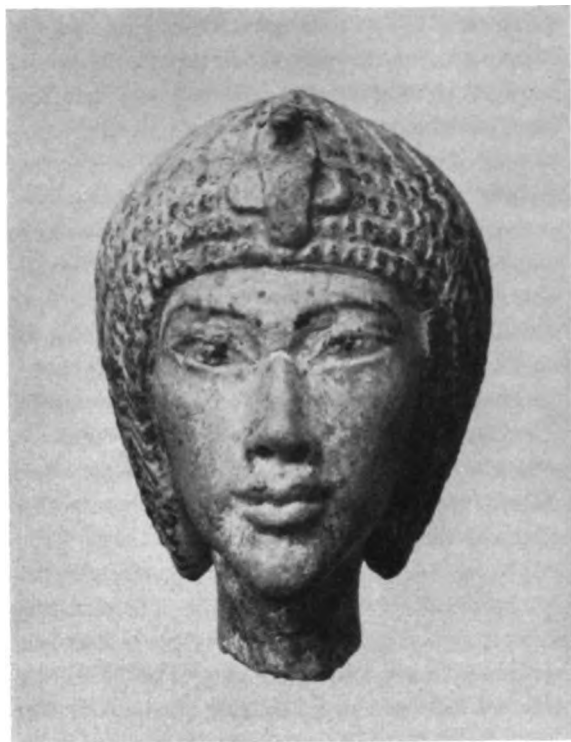
<sup>38</sup> Cf. Cairo 43580 = VANDIER, *Manuel III-Album de planches*, pl. CX:1; Cairo 67921 = R. ENGELBACH, *A limestone head of king Akhenaten in the Cairo Museum*, ASAE 38, 1938, pp. 95 ff.

<sup>39</sup> Berlin 21835 = VANDIER, *Manuel III-Album*, pl. CXI:3.

<sup>40</sup> Brooklyn Museum 29.34 = VANDIER, *Manuel III-Album*, pl. CX:4; Louvre E 15593 = VANDIER, *Manuel III-Album*, pl. CXI:1; Berlin 21836 = VANDIER, *Manuel III-Album*, pl. CX:3.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. P. GHALIOUNGUI, *A medical study of Akhenaten*, ASAE 47, 1947, pp. 29 ff; A. T. SANDISON, *The tomb of Akhenaten-Appendix*, JEA 47, 1961, pp. 60 ff. See also W. WESTENDORF, *Amenophis IV in Urgottgestalt*, *Pantheon XXI*:V, München 1963.

<sup>33</sup> Besides there is an isolated group of portrait heads of different persons in plaster, among which are alleged representations of Akhenaten. These form a special category, whose genesis will not be discussed here, cf. G. ROEDER, *Lebensgrosse Tonmodelle aus einer altägyptischen Bildhauerwerkstatt*, *Jahrbücher d. preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, Bd 62, Berlin 1941, pp. 145 ff.



*Figs. 1—4. Smenkhkare. Faience head in the collection of Mr. Henry Nilsson, Stockholm.*



works that are most "spiritualized", which, in the opinion of VANDIER, corresponded best to the king's ideal. The most outstanding work in this group is the famous bust of Akhenaten in the Louvre<sup>41</sup>.

This grouping is correct in the main<sup>42</sup>. But it must be pointed out that the boundary lines of the different groups are rather vague. The resemblances are great; the first and third groups, in particular, are very much alike. The same grouping does not apply to the reliefs. No survey of these has yet been made, but it is possible to say that the king's portraits in the reliefs do not display the same refined and spiritualized style that is typical of much of the Amarna sculpture. The relief portraits, for instance in the tombs of nobles, are strongly linked with the Theban sculpture of Akhenaten of the first years of his reign.

To the problem of identification can now be brought an additional important criterion. The significant features for identifying the representations of the king have been reduced solely to the long, hanging chin<sup>43</sup>. But the characteristic mouth is also typical and must be emphasized. Not only the accentuated, protruding mouth but also the more or less downturned corners of the mouth are characteristic of the representations of Akhenaten<sup>44</sup>, <sup>45</sup>. This distinctive mouth is very

frequent in his case and even occurs on the shawabti figures<sup>46</sup>. One can clearly distinguish the portraits of the king with this mouth, and so together with the long, hanging chin can get quite a reliable identification. This not altogether common mouth, which is certainly a true copy of the king's physiognomy, can be definitely established too in the case of his mother, Queen Tiye<sup>47</sup>. It is obviously a family feature.

Thus we may regard as the basic criteria for identifying the king's portrait, on the one hand the long, hanging chin and on the other hand the typical mouth with the downturned corners.

In a Swedish private collection of Egyptian antiquities, owned by Director HENRY NILSSON of Stockholm, there is a small portrait head which because of its style must undoubtedly be assigned to the Amarna Age (Figs. 1-4). Its provenience is also said to be el-Amarna<sup>48</sup>.

The head, which may have belonged to a statuette, is worked in faience of a bluish green turquoise colour. The height is 7 cm. The face seen frontally narrows sharply and has a pointed, prominent chin. The eyes are almond-shaped and slanting. The eyebrows are marked with lines of darker colour. The pupils of the eyes are also in the same dark shade. The nose widens at the base; the nostrils are dilated. The mouth is clearly marked and protruding. The corners of the mouth, which are slightly upturned, are emphasized by a downward running line. Seen in profile the nose does not make a straight line with the forehead; there is a slight depression in the line at the root of the nose, where the straight line is broken. The chin is not abnormally long. The lower line is very sharply swung to the neck.

A large headdress covers the head. In type it

<sup>41</sup> Louvre E 11076=VANDIER, Manuel III-Album, pl. CXI:4 & 6. The plaster masks of the king come close to this head, cf. VANDIER, Manuel III, p. 339.

<sup>42</sup> For other groupings, see L. BORCHARDT, *Aus der Arbeit an den Funden von Tell el-Amarna*, Mitt. d. Dt. Orient-Gesellschaft Nr. 57, 1917. Review of this SCHÄFER, op. cit., ZÄS 55, 1918, pp. 6 ff. See also below note 77.

<sup>43</sup> See above note 36.

<sup>44</sup> SCHÄFER has in one way stressed the mouth in the art of the Amarna Age: "Der Amarnakunst ist neben den Augen vor allem der Mund der Sitz ihrer Seelenkundung", *Von ägyptischer Kunst*, p. 275.

<sup>45</sup> Here it is not necessary to give all the examples of this. For a comparison between Akhenaten's mouth and another mouth (in this case Nefertiti's), see, for instance, Brooklyn Museum 16.48=J. CAPART, *Documents pour servir à l'étude de l'art égyptien I*, Paris 1927, pl. 49. Naturally there are exceptions as regards the mouth. There are portraits of Akhenaten without this characteristic mouth and there are portraits of other persons with the same protruding mouth. In the latter case it is of course reasonable to interpret the appearance of Akhenaten's mouth on other persons as an influence from the royal portrait, cf. note 34.

<sup>46</sup> See e.g. HAYES, *Scepter II*, fig. 178. Cf. below note 78.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. the head Cairo 38257 which is reliably identified by means of the inscription, and also the famous Berlin head 21834, both in VANDIER, Manuel III-Album, pl. CVII.

<sup>48</sup> The head is said to have been found in a well at el-Amarna. Here I should like to express my gratitude to Director H. NILSSON for his kind permission to let me publish the head.

has several parallels in the Amarna Age. The lines radiating down from the top of the headdress and the rows of curls cut in steps are in the same dark, bluish black colour as the eyebrows and pupils. A clearly modelled uraeus is in the middle of the front of the headdress; its tail twists towards the centre of the headdress on the top of the crown. The head is intact apart from a few slight cracks.

It is tempting at once to identify the head as Akhenaten<sup>49</sup>. Yet many of the individual details differ from his iconography. Although the total effect may give the impression of Akhenaten, the identification has still to be tested.

The two principal criteria, the long chin and the characteristic mouth, cannot be seen. The chin, however, certainly resembles that of Akhenaten in some of his representations. The forehead-nose line is not straight, as is often the case in many portraits of Akhenaten<sup>50</sup>. Representations of Akhenaten sculptured in the round with a similar headdress are entirely unknown<sup>51</sup>. Only on one relief in Mery-re's tomb at Amarna is he wearing this headdress<sup>52</sup> as well as on one relief from Karnak<sup>53</sup>. If we observe the position of the eyes, we do not find a similarly oblique set of the eyes in portraits of Akhenaten<sup>54</sup>.

<sup>49</sup> The head has been held to represent Akhenaten. It was on view in Stockholm in 1961 in connection with the exhibition "5000 år egyptisk konst", cf. Nationalmusei utställningskatalog nr 265, Stockholm 1961, p. 92.

<sup>50</sup> Cf., for instance, the Nilsson head with a close parallel in relief representing Akhenaten wearing the same headdress (PILLET, see below note 53) where this line is quite straight.

<sup>51</sup> But for one unpublished head in the Cairo Museum belonging to the group of the Akhenaten shawabtis, nr. 2229 (Room 12, case U). This head is of uncertain provenience but the identification is fairly clear. The royal head J 66642 (Amarna Room, case D) also unpublished and also of unknown provenience, should perhaps be taken into account here. It has not been possible for me to study the head in detail.

<sup>52</sup> N. DE G. DAVIES, *The rock tombs of El Amarna I*, London 1903, pl. XXX.

<sup>53</sup> M. PILLET, *Quelques bas-reliefs inédits d'Amenhotep IV- Akhenaton à Karnak*, *Revue de l'Égypte ancienne* 2, Paris 1929, pl. IV.

<sup>54</sup> The sculpture in the round does not have it, although the reliefs often show a slanting eye. The slanting eyes occur on the likenesses of Akhenaten from Thebes, but they are of a rather special type, cf. WOLF, *Die Kunst Ägyptens*, pp. 450 ff.

There is much to support the view that the Nilsson head belongs to a late date of the Amarna period. What is decisive here is the headdress, on the one hand. Except on the representations just mentioned, no such type of headdress is known on Akhenaten, although it is known on other male royal heads which are stylistically later than Akhenaten<sup>55</sup>. On the other hand, the eyes are also decisive. The slanting position of the eyes is inappropriate for Akhenaten, but it does occur after his time. The best example is the famous glass head in the Louvre, which is placed in Tutankhamun's period<sup>56</sup> (Fig. 5). The sensitive and well accentuated mouth is not exclusive to representations from Akhenaten's time. If we look at portraits made in imitation of him and of his iconography, we find that a protruding, full mouth characterizes royal representations for quite a while to come<sup>57</sup>. On the Nilsson head, however, we do

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Amarna 31.581=J. PENDLEBURY, *The city of Akhenaten III:2*, London 1951, pl. LXXIV:7 (Cf. JEA 18, 1932, pl. XIX:2 and p. 148, "perhaps Smenkhkare—certainly not Akhenaten"); G. ROEDER, *Thronfolger und König Smench-ka-Rê*, ZAS 83, 1958, pp. 54 f; further a plausible royal head, see T. E. PEET-C. L. WOOLLEY, *The city of Akhenaten I*, London 1923, pl. XXXV:2 (cf. JEA 7, 1921, pl. XXIX:4). In particular this headdress is worn by Tutankhamun in several representations on objects in his tomb. From the time immediately after Akhenaten or contemporary with the last year of his reign are also the funerary objects, the sarcophagus and canopic jars from the famous tomb 55 at Thebes, which also display this headdress. By ROEDER, op. cit., pp. 67 ff. these have been attributed to Smenkhkare, although C. ALDRED in *Hair styles and history*, *Bulletin Metropolitan Museum of Art* XV, pp. 141 ff, has shown that the canopic jars were made for Meritaton and thus cannot portray Smenkhkare (cf. ALDRED, *The tomb of Akhenaten at Thebes*, JEA 47, 1961, pp. 43 ff.). For the sarcophagus cf. H. W. FAIRMAN, *Once again the so-called coffin of Akhenaten*, JEA 47, 1961, p. 39, the sarcophagus was made for Meritaton. Although these funerary objects were made for the queen of Smenkhkare we must assume that they reflect the style of the royal representations, the idealized representations of the king. At Amarna the actual headdress is worn, as ALDRED has pointed out, especially by Nefertiti and the princesses. Before Amarna it occurs too, although not often, cf. for instance Louvre E 11107=VANDIER, *Manuel III-Album*, pl. CVII:6 in a representation in the old idealistic style of Amenophis III.

<sup>56</sup> Louvre E 11658=VANDIER, *Manuel III-Album*, pl. CXVI:1 & 2.

<sup>57</sup> So with the glass head in the Louvre (see note 56). Further e.g. Boston 11.1533=VANDIER, *Manuel III-Album*, pl. CXVII:2 (Tutankhamun).

not find the downturned corners of the mouth typical of Akhenaten.

Thus there are good reasons for excluding Akhenaten as a possible identification of the small portrait head. This is specially evident if a comparison is made between this head seen in profile and the relief of Akhenaten at Karnak, where he is wearing the same headdress (cf. note 53). We must then decide on one of Akhenaten's nearest successors, and this raises a series of problems.

Smenkhkare<sup>58</sup>, towards the end of the Amarna Age, became co-regent with Akhenaten. This man, whose parentage is not clear, had, among other things, by his marriage to Meritaton, one of the daughters of Akhenaten and Nefertiti, legitimated himself as successor to the throne. The end of the declining Amarna Age and the history of the subsequent period is obscure. After Smenkhkare had reigned for about three years, as co-regent before Akhenaten's death (about which no details are known to us) and as sole regent after it, he was succeeded by Tutankhaten, yet another son-in-law of Akhenaten, who left Amarna and moved to Thebes. In his name the religious restoration was effected, the cult of Amun being re-instituted; when this happened he took the name of Tutankhamun. He died, however, after a few short years as pharaoh and was followed by the influential key figure of the Amarna period Ay, who had probably been the real power behind the throne during Tutankhamun's reign. He, too, ruled only for a short time and after him came Horemhab, under whom Amarna was destroyed.

No reliably identified portraits of Smenkhkare are extant; however, a number have been ascribed to him. Those concerned are such royal portraits as have been discovered at Amarna and cannot depict either Akhenaten or Tutankhaten<sup>59</sup>. These representations have been put to-

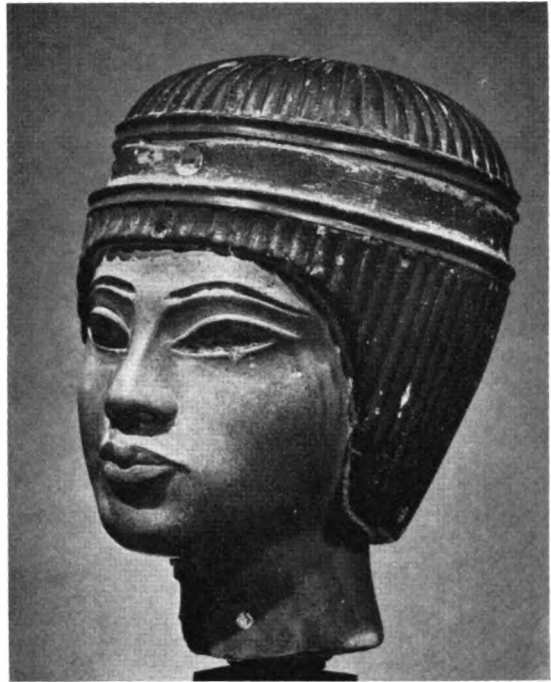


Fig. 5. Unidentified head (Louvre E 11658).

Fig. 6. Smenkhkare. Artist's trial piece (The British Museum | Amarna 31.581).



<sup>58</sup> A new study of Smenkhkare and representations of him, see the above-mentioned work by ROEDER, above note 55.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. VANDIER, Manuel III, pp. 344 f.

gether by ROEDER in a work published in 1958 (see note 55). For many of the portraits cited by him the identification is extremely uncertain and in some cases incorrect<sup>60</sup>. But here a number of relatively certain ascriptions will be put together. It will then be seen that they may be divided into two different groups, two stylistic phases. As regards Akhenaten, his representations could be divided into four groups. Those of Smenkhkare can be dealt with in the same manner. In his portraits we can distinguish two stylistic phases, which need not necessarily have succeeded each other but can have been contemporaneous with each other. But it has to be stressed that this stylistic grouping *must be provisional* in charac-

<sup>60</sup> E.g. ROEDER, *op. cit.*, p. 53, D:III:1, cf. ALDRED, The end of the el-Amarna period, JEA 43, 1957, p. 37, note 5; further, the funerary objects from tomb 55 at Thebes, cf. above note 55. The head Metropolitan Museum CAPART, Documents I, pl. 31 may more reasonably be called Akhenaten, as was earlier done, for instance by HAYES, Scepter II, p. 288. In this study some uncertain and controversial sculptures and reliefs are omitted, not least the much discussed representations in Berlin and Paris, see VANDIER, Manuel III, pp. 345 ff. In the present discussion the badly damaged and extremely uncertain portraits are not included either.

Fig. 7. Smenkhkare. Detail from plaque (Berlin 15000).



ter, as the identification of these representations is in several cases very uncertain.

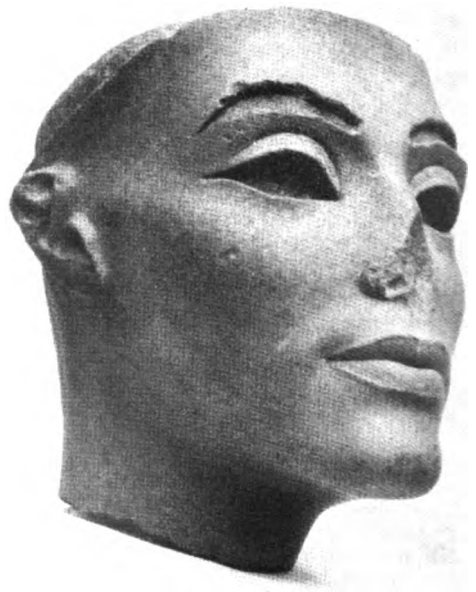
To the first phase, here called Style I, may be referred representations that are more or less dependent on portraits of Akhenaten. They still display the rather exaggerated, *outré* style that characterizes Akhenaten's early portraits. They are more akin to these than to the gentle idealizing art familiar to us from the mature Amarna style, although sometimes they do not lack a touch of that later style.

To this Style I belongs Amarna 32.75<sup>61</sup>, a plaque with portraits of Akhenaten and Smenkhkare. These two on the same relief slab show that Style I existed during the time of their joint rule. Also belonging to this Style I is the above-mentioned relief Amarna 31.581<sup>62</sup> (Fig. 6), where we find the type of headdress already referred to. Another work of art belonging here is the plaque in Berlin portraying a king and a queen (Smenkh-

<sup>61</sup> Now in Cairo 59294. Cf. JEA 19, 1933, p. 116; PENDLEBURY, The city III:2, pl. LIX:1 and ROEDER, *op. cit.*, p. 49 and pl. V.

<sup>62</sup> See above note 55, now in the British Museum 63631.

Fig. 8. Smenkhkare (Cairo 45547).



kare and Meritaton)<sup>65</sup> (Fig. 7). In this group may also be included, more peripherally, a head in relief from the British excavations at Amarna, 21.488<sup>66</sup>.

A representation which may mark the transition to Style II is a relief fragment in Berlin, showing Smenkhkare together with Meritaton<sup>67</sup>.

What is here called Style II is characterized by an idealism which is associated more with the art current before the Amarna Age and which points in the direction of Tutankhamun's idealistic, technically perfected tomb-art. This second stylistic phase is grouped naturally round the famous quartzite head from Memphis, now in Cairo<sup>68</sup> (Fig. 8). Closely allied to this is Amarna 33.6<sup>69</sup>, also a quartzite head, inseparable in style from the Memphis head<sup>68</sup>. Two relief carvings, intended for insertion into larger reliefs, which since PETRIE's excavations have been at University College, London<sup>70</sup>, and a similar work in Brooklyn Museum<sup>71</sup>, clearly belong to this stylistic phase.

As the Nilsson head cannot be identified as Akhenaten, all that remains is to try to fit it into Smenkhkare's iconographical scheme. None of



Fig. 9. Ay as a private man. Detail from his tomb in Amarna (Worcester Art Museum 1949.42).

the other royal persons from the Amarna period may be considered; an idea that the head could be that of a woman seems improbable. Tutankhamun's sculpture differs so much in manner from the style here at issue that it cannot be necessary to look for parallels there. His successor Ay shows a striking resemblance in his iconography as a private man in Amarna (Fig. 9) to the idealized portrait of the king (Akhenaten), the style of which in the case of Smenkhkare is represented by his Style I<sup>71</sup>. However, the whole Tutankhamun complex in art lies between the

<sup>65</sup> Berlin 15000, P. E. NEWBERRY, Note on the sculptured slab, etc., JEA 14, 1928, p. 117; ROEDER, op. cit., p. 56.

<sup>66</sup> Amarna 21.488 = PEET-WOOLLEY, The city I, pl. XII:6, cf. p. 14: "head of the Akhenaten type". Also published by M. MOGENSEN, Les oeuvres d'art, etc., BIFAO 30, 1930, p. 463 and pl. IV. It is not a royal head with the uraeus, but as it is a sculptor's trial piece, which is confirmed by the representations on the verso, it is still probable that it is the type of a royal head. It is reasonable to identify it as Smenkhkare.

<sup>67</sup> Berlin 14511 = SCHÄFER, Amarna in Religion und Kunst, pl. 22; ROEDER, op. cit., pp. 55 f.

<sup>68</sup> Cairo 45547 = CAPART, Documents I, pl. 30; ROEDER, op. cit., pp. 62 f.

<sup>69</sup> Brooklyn Museum 34.6042 = PENDLEBURY, The city III:2, pl. LIX:6-8; ROEDER, op. cit., pp. 59 f.

<sup>70</sup> VANDIER, Manuel III, p. 345.

<sup>71</sup> UC 101 & UC 103 = PENDLEBURY, The city III:2, pl. CV:4 & 8; ROEDER, op. cit., p. 54.

<sup>72</sup> Brooklyn Museum 33.685 = PENDLEBURY, The city III:2, pl. LVII:4; ROEDER, op. cit., p. 54. This representation and those mentioned above at University College (note 69) differ decisively in respect of the mouth from the Maru Aton relief head 1921/22, PEET-WOOLLEY, The city I, pl. XXXV:1, which is extremely doubtful as a representation of Smenkhkare, cf. ROEDER, op. cit., p. 54.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. the representation of Ay in his tomb at Amarna, DAVIES, The rock tombs of El Amarna VI, London 1908, pl. XXXIX. The relief slab bearing Ay's head is no longer *in situ* but barbarously hewn out (now in Worcester Art Museum, Massachusetts, Acc. No. 1949.42, see Archaeology vol. 16, no. 3, 1963, p. 155 and the cover photo).

Amarna representations of Ay and the portraits of him as regent, which latter show a return to the old, more particularly Theban tradition, though not without a certain spiritualization of the stereotypy. Then when Haremhab ascends the throne, art has almost entirely dissociated itself from Amarna's direct stylistic influence; Amarna has then become an obsolete phase.

The Nilsson head is clearly associated with Smenkhkare's Style I and cannot be assigned to Style II. Despite minor divergences (but not greater than those occurring within Style I) the Nilsson head is excellently in character with Style I.

On the plaque Amarna 32.75 (see note 61) we can observe the difference between Akhenaten and Smenkhkare. The forehead-nose line on Smenkhkare's head agrees with the Nilsson head, while the same line on Akhenaten is straighter. The mouth provides the main difference between the two heads on the relief slab. The Nilsson head, in both this feature and the chin, is more like the portrait of Smenkhkare than that of Akhenaten (cf. here also the Karnak relief head of Akhenaten, above note 53).

As regards the relief slab 31.581, this representation comes very close to the Akhenaten type; it is above all the mouth that resembles this type (cf. note 55). The head displays a youthful portrait, more suitable for Smenkhkare than for Akhenaten. It also has the characteristic headdress, which is more frequently worn by the kings after Akhenaten (often by Tutankhamun) than by Akhenaten himself. This representation comes close to the Nilsson head as well, although not to the same extent as the preceding example.

A good parallel is the relief displaying Smenkhkare standing together with his queen (see note 63). The same motif occurs on a casket in Tutankhamun's tomb<sup>73</sup>, where we can clearly see the difference between Smenkhkare's Style I and the art of the next king, to which Smenkhkare's Style II forms the transition. On this Berlin

relief there is, however, a portrait very similar to the Nilsson head; not only the mouth but also the rounded, slightly hanging chin agree in a striking manner (see Fig. 7).

Finally, we can make a comparison with the relief fragment Amarna 21.488 (see note 64) of uncertain identity, which is not far from the Nilsson head in style; it has moreover the same kind of headdress and a slanting eye.

Here it can only be regretted that we have no knowledge of any representations of Smenkhkare sculptured in the round, which could be fitted into Style I. The Nilsson head as a result of the above comparisons must be assigned to it and thus becomes the first known work of Smenkhkare sculptured in the round, which shows how strongly Akhenaten's portraits influenced the contemporary portraiture of the kings.

The representations of Smenkhkare were executed, as we know, during a period of about three years, in the first part of which Akhenaten was still living and ruling<sup>74</sup>. It is tempting to suggest that Style I corresponds with the representations of the younger king during the joint rulership, and that Style II appeared from the outset of Smenkhkare's sole rule, when the religion and art of the Amarna period were abandoned and when the art could take on a shape that was closer to the old tradition. Who took the initiative in making these changes, the new king or other influential persons, is a matter that must remain uncertain. New problems present themselves, and to discuss them would lead us far beyond the scope of this article.

Yet another portrait head from the Amarna Age is in private Swedish ownership. It is a fragmentary, rather damaged and cracked head in reddish brown sandstone, belonging to the Stockholm collection of the late artist R. HOLTERMANN<sup>74</sup> (Figs. 10—13). The height of the head

<sup>73</sup> The current opinion that Smenkhkare was sole ruler after Akhenaten's death is, however, controversial. See the recent discussion in HORNUNG, *op. cit.*, pp. 88 ff.

<sup>74</sup> Holtermann collection H 172. Provenience unknown.

<sup>72</sup> See ROEDER, *op. cit.*, pp. 56 f and pl. VI.





*Figs. 10—13. Akhenaten. Quartzite head in the collection of the late Mr. R. Holtermann, Stockholm.*



Fig. 14. Head of a shawabti of Akhenaten (The Brooklyn Museum 33.50).



Fig. 15. Head of a shawabti of Akhenaten (Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Bruxelles, E 6845).

is 5.5 cm. at the mid-front. The face is rather rounded, tapering slightly towards the point of the chin. The eyes are not modelled, merely indicated by elevations, which are defined upwards by a groove between the upper edge of the eyes and the eyebrows starting from the base of the nose and marking the position of the eyebrows. The tip of the nose is missing. The mouth is sensitive and full; the upper lip projects beyond the lower. The corners of the mouth are drawn down owing to the drooping outer lines of the upper lip. The forehead-nose line has a depression at the base of the nose; the actual forehead recedes. The chin is long and hanging. The fragments of the ears show that these were large and pronounced. The head had worn a crown or headdress, as shown by the line extending from the ears across the forehead. A uræus was evidently prominent in the centre of the front of the crown or headdress; it is now missing.

Originally the Holtermann head belonged with the utmost certainty to a statuette of the same

kind as, for example, that of Nefertiti in Berlin<sup>75</sup>. And like that statuette it was also painted. A microscopic examination of the Holtermann head has in fact revealed black pigment, presumably lamp-black, round the eyes<sup>76</sup>.

It is beyond all doubt that this head, of the highest artistic quality, represents Akhenaten himself. One can see here the long, slightly hanging chin and, in addition, the still more reliable criterion, the characteristic mouth with the downturned corners. There is nothing else either that deviates from the king's greatly diversified but nevertheless quite homogeneous iconography.

In style the royal head belongs to a late phase of the Amarna art, when the new idealism had matured and had become mannered<sup>77</sup>. In

<sup>75</sup> Berlin 21263 = K. LANGE, *König Echnaton und die Amarna-Zeit*, München 1951, pl. 21. Identity not quite certain.

<sup>76</sup> For this examination I wish to thank my friend Mr. JOHN INGELS, Stockholm.

<sup>77</sup> It should be noted *en passant* that the grouping made by VANDIER cannot be taken for granted as a chronological sequence. It is a stylistic question, not yet solved, to what extent the different stylistic phases succeed each other.



VANDIER's grouping referred to above, the Holtermann head could be assigned to the fourth group and would thus, broadly speaking, come close to the Louvre head (E 11076). However, several more striking parallels exist.

It is among the small portraits of Akhenaten's shawabtis that the closest parallels are to be found<sup>78</sup> (Figs. 14–15). It is primarily the apparently unfinished eyes which are significant<sup>79</sup>. On the shawabti figures these were painted as one may suppose—there are some examples in the Cairo Museum, but no investigation of these figures has ever been published—and it was only by means of the painting that the portrait became complete. The Holtermann head had been painted, as noted above, but it cannot come from the same group of representations as the shawabtis. For all the Akhenaten shawabtis that have been published have the traditional false beard. The Holtermann head has no such beard. It is also

of rather finer artistic quality than these shawabti figures, which were produced in large quantity.

Other sculptures related in style and technique to the Holtermann head are two representations of Nefertiti in Berlin and London, the latter an unfinished work<sup>80</sup>. There is, in addition, an unidentified head in Berlin, probably portraying one of the daughters of Akhenaten and Nefer-titi, and also a portrait of a princess in Cairo<sup>81</sup>.

Further, there is a small head in Turin mounted in the war helmet which in style is closely related to the Holtermann head. It should most probably be considered a portrait of Akhenaten<sup>82</sup>.

The Holtermann head is an excellent exponent of the soft and gentle style that is associated with the maturity and stabilization of the art of Amarna. It is this idealizing style that once more reaches its highest pitch of excellence in style and technique in the tomb-art of Tutankhamun and it is this gentle, sensual element in the style that is destined to live on in art even after Amarna has finally played out its rôle.

<sup>78</sup> A number of these are in Cairo, cf. P. E. NEWBERRY, *Funerary statuettes and model sarcophagi*, CGC, 1930 ff. pp. 397 ff., but only one head is reproduced=48573, see idem, op. cit., pl. XXXI. University College 007 is reproduced in PENDLEBURY, *The city III:2*, pl. CV:12 (cf. pl. LXIII). Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire of Bruxelles has an alabaster head E 6845, cf. BILLE DE MOT, *Bulletin des Musées Royaux 3e ser. 7e an. 1935*, No 1, pp. 11 f. From the Metropolitan Museum of Art HAYES reproduces a quartzite shawabti, *Scepter II*, p. 289. Brooklyn Museum has about a hundred unpublished Akhenaten shawabtis of every quality, including 33.50, a fragmentary but characteristic head. Several shawabtis are in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, but are headless. In addition, these figures are found in private collections too, cf. i.a. J. D. COONEY, *Egyptian art in the collection of Albert Gallatin*, JNES XII, 1953, p. 12 (not reproduced). It would be urgent to have a complete publication of all these shawabtis, especially as they are of various shapes. The article by C. DE WIT, *Une tête d'oushebti d'Amenophis IV au Musée du Cinquantenaire*, CdE XL, 1965, pp. 20 ff. is an attempt to make a survey.

<sup>79</sup> This eye part has been the subject of a curious article by P. GILBERT, *De la mystique amarnienne au sfumato praxitélien*, CdE XXXIII, 1958, pp. 19 ff.

<sup>80</sup> Berlin 21358=LANGE, op. cit., pl. 22; University College UC 010=PENDLEBURY, *The city III:2*, pl. CV:11.

<sup>81</sup> Berlin 21245=LANGE, op. cit., pl. 26; Cairo 13213=FRANKFORT & PENDLEBURY, *The city II*, pl. XXXIX.

<sup>82</sup> The Turin head has been reproduced by J. PIRENNE, *Histoire de la civilisation de l'Egypte ancienne II*, Neuchâtel 1962, pl. 74. PIRENNE suggests (pp. 538 f.) that it could be a likeness of Smenkhkare.

For some valuable comments on this article I am indebted to Professor T. Säve-Söderbergh, Upsala, Dr. J. D. Cooney, Curator of Egyptian and Classical Art, Cleveland Museum of Art, Ohio and Professor H. H. Brummer, Stockholm-Los Angeles.

For permission to reproduce photographs I thank Louisa Dresser, Curator, Worcester Art Museum, Massachusetts, Dr. C. de Wit, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Bruxelles, Dr. Bernard V. Bothmer, Curator of Ancient Art, The Brooklyn Museum, New York, and the Trustees of the British Museum.

This article has been translated from the Swedish by Miss Kathleen Pain, B. A., Fil. kand., London.

# An Italic Iron Age Hut Urn

ARVID ANDRÉN

The hut urn reproduced in Figs. 1—3 was recently acquired by the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities in Stockholm (Inv. No. MM 1964:20); I am indebted to the director of the Museum, Dr. O. Vessberg, for his having most kindly offered me the privilege of publishing it in this Bulletin.

The urn was purchased in Switzerland. No information is available as to its provenance, except the general one that it comes from Italy. It is made of coarse clay of the type generally described as *impasto italico*, dark grey in the core, reddish-brown on the surface. The outside of the urn is covered by a greyish, black-mottled slip, on which are preserved considerable traces of geometric ornament in white. The slip is worn off in places, especially on the eaves of the roof. Upon the whole, however, the urn has suffered very small damage.

The dimensions of the urn are: total height, 35.3 cm.; length at base, 31.5 cm., width at base, 33.0 cm.; length of roof, 39.5 cm., width of same, 38.5 cm.; thickness of wall, about 1.0 cm.

The main body of the urn is cylindrical, its walls rising straight and vertically, or with a very slight inclination inwards, from a circular projecting socle, square in section, with a slightly concave periphery. The socle, for reasons to be

explained below, does not continue across the opening of the door but passes above it, forming a raised door-frame. The door-opening is trapezoidal, with a small recessed edge below the lintel to receive the door-slab. This also is trapezoidal and slightly curved but a little too small for the opening, probably owing to shrinkage during the firing. On the outside of the door-slab a little above its lower edge are two small bronze knobs; three lacunae in the calcareous deposit which covers the lower part of the slab suggest that there were once three more knobs placed in line with the two remaining ones. The door-slab was fastened with a pin, now lost, which passed horizontally through a perforation in the right-hand door-post and then through a perforated vertical projection on the inside of the slab; there is, however, no corresponding perforation in the left-hand door-post, whence it may be assumed that the door-slab was held in place by the tension of the pin when pushed against the curved inside of the wall. Opposite the door-opening there is a small perforation made in the back of the wall just above the socle, perhaps to represent some outlet for slops and penetrating rain-water in real Iron Age huts<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> This interpretation seems probable in view of the

The roof is testudinate, with a ridged top and widely projecting eaves which slope slightly less than the central part of the roof. The ridge is curved and terminates at the front and at the back in a flat, semielliptical end-piece pierced by a large, round vent-hole. On either side of the central part of the roof are six ridge-logs, meeting two by two above the ridge in double horn-like projections, straight or curved more or less downwards<sup>3</sup>. One of the projections of the foremost pair of ridge-logs, which had been broken off and glued on after the discovery of the urn, is now missing. The end of the corresponding projection of the next pair of ridge-logs is also broken off and missing. Each of the projections was decorated with a round bronze cap fastened to its point; two of these caps are preserved, one

remaining in situ, the other glued on to its original place.

In the roof there are a great number of perforations. Some of these are in a row along the edges of the semielliptical end-pieces of the ridge. Others are in a row along the edge of the eaves and are spaced in a manner showing that the artisan started piercing the clay at the back, where the holes are set very closely, then proceeded leaving greater interstices between the holes, and stopped at some distance from the starting-point. The irregular spacing suggests that the artisan regarded these perforations as a conventional ornamentation and had no sense of their original purpose, which may have been that of imitating some decoration or with the plaiting along the eaves of real huts. Other perfora-

existence of drainage channels cut in the living rock around the Iron Age hut foundations excavated on the Palatine, as described by S. M. PUGLISI, *Gli abitatori primitivi del Palatino attraverso le testimonianze archeologiche e le nuove indagini stratigrafiche sul Germalo*, in *Mon. Ant.*, 41, 1951, cc. 47 ff., Figs. 16–17 and Tav. I.

<sup>3</sup> The raised ribs generally seen on the roofs of Italic Iron Age hut urns are mostly taken to represent the rafters of real hut roofs, according to the terminology used by F. v. BEHN, *Hausurnen* (1924), F. v. DUHN, *Italische Gräberkunde*, I (1924), J. SUNDWALL, *Die italischen Hütternurnen* (*Acta Academiae Aboensis, Humaniora*, IV:5, 1925), W. R. BRYAN, *Italic Hut Urns and Hut Urn Cemeteries* (*Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome*, IV, 1925), and many other scholars writing on the matter. Others again, in view of the fact that rafters are not visible from the outside of a completed roof, have interpreted the ribs as rafters projected on to the outside of the roof for the sake of exactitude or in order to maintain the vasa character of the urn; cf. A. GRENIER, *Bologne villanovienne et étrusque*, p. 81; G. PINZA, *Monumenti primitivi di Roma e del Lazio*, in *Mon. Ant.*, 15, 1905, cc. 473 f.; S. M. PUGLISI, op. cit., cc. 73 f. But the fact that the ribs often stop at or above the beginning of the eaves and are sometimes curved or bent angularly at their lower ends, perhaps in imitation of some contrivance for fastening, makes it probable that they represent logs placed over the ridge and below the vent-holes to weigh down the wattle-and-daub covering of real hut roofs, like the ridge-logs still to be seen on thatched roofs of Scanian, Danish, and North German peasant houses; cf. A. ANDRÉN, *Architectural Terracottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples*, p. XXV; *Id.*, *Origine e formazione dell'architettura templare etrusco-italica*, in *Rend. Pont. Accad. Rom. di Arch.*, 32, 1959–60, p. 51, note 73. This is confirmed: a) by the hut urn from Tomb Q of the Forum necropolis, which presents the peculiar feature of having very short ribs made separately and fastened across the ridge with bronze pins; cf. G. BONI,

in *Not. scavi*, 1906, pp. 11 ff., Figs. 5–6; J. SUNDWALL, op. cit., pp. 50 f., Rom, No. 5; E. GJERSTAD, *Early Rome*, II, p. 30, Fig. 19:1; b) by a hut urn from Vulci, which has along its ridge a series of very short ribs of a form that excludes their being imitations of rafters; cf. R. VIGHI, *Il nuovo Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia*, Tav. 5; R. BARTOCCINI, *Vulci, storia scavi rinvenimenti* (1960), p. 5, Tav. II, Fig. 2; A. ANDRÉN, *Origine etc.*, pp. 53 f., Fig. 21; M. MORETTI, *Il Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia*, p. 28, Fig. 21; c) by a recently discovered hut urn from Vulci, which—like another Italic hut urn described by GISELA M. A. RICHTER, in *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, 34, 1939, pp. 66–68, Figs. 1–2—is peculiar by being made entirely of sheet bronze, with pairs of separate ornamental bronze rods across the ridge and a series of bronze ringlets along the eaves; I am indebted to Dr. M. Moretti, Soprintendente and Director of the Museo di Villa Giulia, for having kindly shown me this hut urn and allowed me to make a note of it; d) by the well-known bronze house urn from Civita Castellana, which is also provided with separate bronze strips placed cross-wise along the ridge; cf. G. Q. GIGLIOLI, *L'arte etrusca*, Tav. IV:4. My interpretation has been accepted by E. GJERSTAD, op. cit., II, p. 30, note 1, and by P. G. GIEROW, *The Iron Age Culture of Latium*, II:1 (1964).

The V-shaped projections which are ranged along the ridge of the roof of many Italic Iron Age hut urns, and are sometimes transformed, especially in Etruria, into more or less horn-like, serpentine or anserine shapes, thus have a structural origin, reproducing the crossed upper ends of the ridge-logs, which were probably similarly transformed in many real huts, for decoration and/or with an apotropaic intention, and—it is reasonable to suppose—without any inspiration from the “Mond- bzw. Hörnerpaarmotiv” of Minoan and sub-Minoan representations, as proposed by H. MÜLLER-KARPE, *Vom Anfang Roms*, pp. 48 f.; cf. M. PALLOTTINO, *Le origini di Roma*, in *Archeologia Classica*, 12, 1960, p. 15, and E. GJERSTAD, in *Gnomon*, 33, 1961, pp. 378 ff.



*Fig. 1. Italic hut urn (MM 1964:20).*



*Fig. 2. MM 1964:20.*



*Fig. 3. MM 1964:20.*

tions, a little larger than those mentioned, are placed two by two radially at eight equidistant places higher up on the eaves in such a way that the lower hole of each pair goes through the roof outside, the upper one inside the wall, which is itself pierced by a similar hole just below each pair of these perforations. The placing of these triplet perforations makes it highly probable that they are meant to indicate how the roof was fastened to the wall in real huts, by binding it on with withes passed through both members. There is nothing, however, to suggest that pins, threads or wires have been actually passed through any of the perforations described.

The urn was also adorned, as already stated, with geometric ornament in white. Remains of

this decoration are to be seen all over the urn. On the door-slab, within a border composed of a zigzag line between two straight lines, is a square field divided into four parts filled with angles. Round the wall, between double borders of similar zigzag bands, was a series of square "metopes", each consisting of a frame of zigzag bands round a field filled with angles or other geometric patterns now hardly distinguishable. On the eaves are traces of a series of disconnected meander hooks above two concentric zigzag bands. On one of the ridge-logs are remains of two interwoven zigzag lines. The projecting parts of the ridge-logs are decorated with small encircling stripes of white, zebra-fashion. An analysis carried out by Mrs. Eva Brita Blomberg

at the laboratory of the Museum of National Antiquities, Stockholm, has shown that the entire geometric decoration of our hut urn, and the similar decoration seen on some Villanova sherds found during the excavations undertaken at Veii by the British School at Rome, are executed with very thin strips or lamellae of tin applied to the surface of the impasto (Fig. 4), as was rightly suggested by a member of the School, Miss Joanna Close-Brooks<sup>24</sup>.

The extensive use of bronze ornaments, perforations, and geometric decoration executed in the manner just mentioned, combine to make this hut urn a particularly fine and interesting specimen of its kind<sup>25</sup>. But what makes it still

more interesting is the unparalleled feature of its having no bottom. The lower edge of its wall is largely covered by a white calcareous matter resembling fine mortar, traces of which are also left on the inside of the wall below, on and above the socle on its outside and, as already mentioned, on the lower part of the door-slab. This calcareous matter has been examined by Mrs. Blomberg and Dr. Vessberg, who share the opinion expressed by Miss Close-Brooks that it is of the same nature as the deposit often seen on Villanova ossuaries, which probably comes from the tufa ground upon which the vessels were placed. In spite of this deposit it can be clearly seen that the wall has no traces of breaks

<sup>24</sup> I am much indebted to Miss Close-Brooks for having revised this and the following article in point of language and made the suggestions mentioned. I also wish to express my gratitude to Mrs. Blomberg for the spectrophotographic analysis referred to. I give here an English version of Mrs. Blomberg's report of this analysis.

"The analysis was carried out on samples of metal inlay on the door of the hut urn. The following spectra lines were measured on the plate:

2354 Sn	2663 Pb
2706 Sn	2666 Cu
2840 Sn	3247 Cu
2863 Sn	3273 Cu
3175 Sn	
3262 Sn	

It is thus seen that the metal inlays mainly consist of tin. The amount of copper is not sufficiently large to raise the melting temperature of the metal appreciably above 300° C (the melting point of tin), whence it must be assumed that the metal was applied to the vessel after the firing. The pattern was perhaps marked on the clay before the firing with incisions in which the tin was subsequently laid. As shown by micro-photographs, the metal was applied in the form of bands folded into angles to obtain the decoration."

For vases and hut urns with decoration executed by means of tin or lead lamellae, and for the methods used for the application of such lamellae, generally with some resinous glue, cf. BERTA STJERNQUIST, *Ornamentation métallique sur vases d'argile*, in *Meddelanden från Lunds universitets historiska museum*, 1958, pp. 107 ff., and *La decorazione metallica delle ceramiche villanoviane*, in *Civiltà del ferro* (Bologna 1960), pp. 431 ff.

<sup>25</sup> The decoration of Italic Iron Age clay hut urns with bronze ornaments is probably a feature taken over from hut urns of bronze like those referred to in note 2. Anyhow, such ornaments are rare and generally consist of miniature garlands or pendants hanging from the eaves,

or of small nails fixed along the edges of the eaves and/or in the clay plugs used to close the vent-holes; cf. I. FALCHI, *Vetulonia e la sua necropoli antichissima*, pp. 55 ff., Tav. IV:4 and 10; SUNDWALL, *op.cit.*, *Vetulonia*, Nos. 3, 30, 35–37, *Tarquini*, Nos. 4 and 6; BRYAN, *op.cit.*, Nos. 32, 44, 45, 53, Fig. 13; G. Q. GIGLIOLI, *op.cit.*, Tav. III:1; D. LEVI, in *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, Italia, Fasc. VIII, Firenze, Fasc. I, Tav. 9:18, 10:19.

There is no parallel, as far as I am aware, to the system of triplet perforations piercing roof and wall at equidistant points, as seen in our hut urn. A row of perforations along the edge of the eaves, on the other hand, is a common feature of a great number of hut urns from Vetulonia and is also met with in some hut urns from Latium; cf. SUNDWALL, *op.cit.*, *Vetulonia*, Nos. 1–4, 6–7, 11, 13, 16, 25, 27, 30, 36–39, *Albanergerbirge*, Nos. 3, 4, 10, 13; GIEROW, *op.cit.*, II:1, Figs. 12:1, 43:1, 190, 198:3, 200:6. Three hut urns from Vetulonia present the peculiar feature of having, among the small perforations of the eaves, some larger holes, equidistant and corresponding with similar holes in the socle; cf. I. FALCHI, *op.cit.*, p. 49, Tav. III:9, pp. 77 ff.; SUNDWALL, *op.cit.*, pp. 9 ff., *Vetulonia*, Nos. 13, 16, 25; BRYAN, *op.cit.*, No. 39; D. LEVI, *op.cit.*, Tav. 6:23, 7:28, 9:18, 12:9 and 11. These larger holes were probably made to receive pins representing wooden props supporting the eaves in real Iron Age huts, in the manner illustrated by African huts of today; cf. for instance, those of a Gwemba Tonga village in Northern Rhodesia, reproduced in *The Illustrated London News*, June 20, 1964, p. 988, Fig. 1. In this connexion must also be mentioned a well-known hut urn from Campo Fattore, Marino, with two detached pillars of clay supporting the eaves on either side of the door; cf. SUNDWALL, *op.cit.*, *Albanergerbirge*, No. 7; PUGLISI, *op.cit.*, Fig. 24; GIEROW, *op.cit.*, II:1, pp. 117 f., Figs. 60–61:1.

Hut urns with geometric decoration, incised, or executed with tin lamellae, are frequent among those found at Vetulonia, Tarquinia, and Bisenzio, less frequent among those from Latium; cf. SUNDWALL, *op.cit.*, *Vetulonia*, Nos. 7, 11, 13, 16, 17, 19, 25, 27, 30, 31, 35–37, *Tarquini*, Nos. 2–7, *Visentinum*, Nos. 1–3, 13, *Albanergerbirge*, Nos. 1,

or secondary cutting along its lower edge on the inside, but is finished off smoothly, thus showing that the urn was really made without a bottom<sup>4</sup>. It can also be seen, when studying the urn from below, that the inside of the roof is blackened as if by a smoking fire.

For the explanation of these facts we have to rely on what may be inferred from the facts themselves, since no information is available as to the grave in which the urn was found. In my opinion, the only possible explanation is the following one. Just as the lid of Italic Iron Age ash urns of ordinary shape was sometimes made in the form of a hut roof<sup>5</sup>, symbolizing that the

urn was the house of the dead, so here, exceptionally, the whole hut urn was made, bottomless, to be used as a cover over a pit in the living rock, containing the burnt remains of a body. These remains were evidently still smouldering when the urn was put in its place. Since the urn is remarkably well preserved, it was probably protected by a stone slab covering the pozzo or perhaps by some stone construction like the small tholos in which was discovered a well-known hut urn from Velletri<sup>6</sup>.

As already stated, the purchasing museum has no information as to the place where the urn was discovered, and there is reason to suppose that the discovery has been purposely kept a complete secret. The urn, however, is clearly shown to come from Etruria by such details as the large and fanciful projections of the ridge-logs, the large round vent-holes, and the fastening of the door-slab by passing the bolting pin through perforations made in the door-frame and in a projection on the inside of the slab, for these features are mostly found, separately or together, in hut urns from Etruria<sup>7</sup>, whereas in the hut urns from Latium, which are earlier than the great majority of those found in Etruria, the projections of the ridge-logs are generally short or non-existent, the vent-holes non-existent or indicated by a curved or triangular hood, and the door-slab usually fastened with a pin passed through two perforated projections on the door-posts and another on the outside of the slab<sup>8</sup>. It is even possible to ascribe the urn to a definite site in Etruria, in view of the fact that, except for its lack of a bottom, its bronze ornaments, and

7, 10, 12, Rom, Nos. 4, 6; GJERSTAD, *op.cit.*, II, Figs. 105:2, 226:1; GIEROW, *op.cit.*, II:1, Figs. 44:2, 61:1, 198:3.

A hut urn discussed by S. M. PUGLISI, in *Bull. Paletn. Ital.*, 8, 1953, pp. 32 ff., and by the present author in *Rend. Pont. Accad. Rom. di Arch.*, 32, 1959-60, pp. 57 f., Fig. 23, is peculiar in having a very high-pitched roof with perforated eaves, a coarsely modelled human figure placed on the roof above the door, and notched ridge-logs reaching the edge of the eaves and terminating above the ridge in almost horizontal projections, with two additional pairs of similar projections placed directly on the ridge; in each projection of the four front pairs is a hole perhaps for some bronze ornament now lost. This urn is of unknown provenance and has been thought to come from Latium; but its pot-shaped body without a socle, its unframed door-opening, and the fastening of its door-slab with bronze rings, instead of the usual bolting pin, suggest that it may have been found at Bisenzio, where hut urns with similar features have been discovered; cf. SUNDWALL, *op.cit.*, pp. 25 ff., Visentium, Nos. 1-13; BRYAN, *op.cit.*, Nos. 57-65, Figs. 17-21 a-b.

<sup>4</sup> I know of no other Italic hut urn made without a bottom. A hut urn from Montecucco in the Museo Gregoriano of the Vatican, described by G. PINZA, *Materiali per la etnologia antica toscano-laziale*, p. 55, Fig. 38, Tav. VI:3; SUNDWALL, *op.cit.*, p. 39, Albanergebirge, No. 8; GIEROW, *op.cit.*, II:1, pp. 348 f., Fig. 208:1, is said to have served as a cover ("soll als Deckel gedient haben") but is, anyhow, provided with a regular bottom.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the list given by BRYAN, *op.cit.*, pp. 193 ff., Nos. 1-15, 20; GJERSTAD, *op.cit.*, II, Figs. 42:2-3, 236:2-3; GIEROW, *op.cit.*, II:1, Figs. 19:2-3, 27:2-3, 33:17-20, 46:35, 58:8, 181:36-37, 194:24, 203:54, 206:27-28. Of especial interest is a jar from Castel Gandolfo with a framed rectangular side opening like the door of a hut urn and a hut-roof lid made in one piece with the vase; cf. GIEROW, *op.cit.*, II:1, Fig. 201:14. Another interesting hybrid form is represented by a number of ossuary lids in the form of a helmet crowned by a small imitation hut roof instead of the usual knob; cf. BRYAN, *op.cit.*, pp. 197 ff., Nos. 16-19, 21-23; VIGHI, *op.cit.*, Tav. 3; MORETTI, *op.cit.*, pp. 26 f., Fig. 16.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. F. BARNABEI, in *Not. scavi*, 1893, pp. 198 ff., Fig. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the hut urns from Vetulonia, Tarquinia, Bisenzio and Vulci already referred to, some of which are also illustrated in BRYAN, *op.cit.*, Figs. 6-7, 11-14, 18-21 a-b, and in addition another hut urn from Vulci reproduced in MORETTI, *op.cit.*, Fig. 20.

<sup>8</sup> This is true of almost every hut urn described in the works of Gjerstad and Gierow quoted above. It also applies to the hut urn from the territory of Rieti published by D. BRUSADIN, in *Bull. Paletn. Ital.*, 65, 1956, pp. 449 ff., Fig. 2.



*Fig. 4. Micro-photograph of the decoration of the hut urn MM 1964:20. Enlargement to ca. 7 times the size.*



*Fig. 5. Hut urn from Vulci in the Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome. Photo Soprintendenza alle Antichità dell' Etruria Meridionale.*



its many perforations, it presents so great a similarity to a hut urn from Vulci in the Museo di Villa Giulia in Rome (Fig. 5)<sup>9</sup> that it may be reasonably supposed to come from the same Etruscan city and even from the same workshop as this other urn.

The Swedish museum is to be congratulated on having been able to acquire—once it had been

brought to light and into the antiquarian market outside Italy—this exceptionally interesting Iron Age hut urn. But at the same time there is every reason to deplore that it has been unearthed by clandestine diggers in a manner that has deprived us of all knowledge of the form and funeral furniture of the grave in which it was once deposited.

<sup>9</sup> VIGHI, *op.cit.*, Tav. 4; BARTOCCINI, *op.cit.*, p. 5, Tav. II, Fig. 1; MORETTI, *op.cit.*, Fig. 22; A. BOËTHIUS, *The Etruscan Centuries in Italy*, in *Etruscan Culture, Land and People*, p. 24, Fig. 21. This hut urn has unperforated eaves, semielliptical end-pieces to the ridge with round vent-holes and perforated edges, a well-preserved geometric decoration probably executed with tin or lead lamellae, and striped ridge-log projections without bronze caps; each of the two ultimate projections at the back is perforated with a round hole near its top. The bottom of the urn projects as a small platform in front of

the door-sill, but there is no socle. The door-slab was fastened, as in the urn of the Stockholm museum, with a pin passed through a hole in the wall behind the right-hand door-post and then through a perforated projection on the inside of the slab, there being no corresponding hole behind the left-hand door-post. The same system of fastening the door-slab is to be observed in the vulcentine hut urn referred to in note 2 (b). Both these urns were discovered clandestinely in the Cavalupo necropolis, "particolarmente presa di mira dai nuovi saccheggiatori" (BARTOCCINI, *loc.cit.*).

# An Italic Iron Age Belt Plate

ARVID ANDRÉN

The bronze plate reproduced in Fig. 1 was presented to the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities in Stockholm by the present author, who had received it from Signor M. Barsanti in Rome, in return for some archaeological publications. The plate (Inv. No. MM 1964:21) consists of a sheet of bronze, perfectly circular (diam., 18.2 cm., thickness, 0.1 cm.) and slightly convex-concave in the middle. The convex side of the plate is decorated with a stamped and incised geometric design. In the middle is a five-pointed star outlined with double rows of stamped dots, around a central motif of incised concentric circles; the spaces between the five points are filled with angles made with a fine-toothed tool. The star is surrounded by three concentric zones, each composed of a zigzag band executed with a triangular stamp and bordered on either side by a band of concentric incised lines; the zones are separated from each other and from the central ornament by concentric rows of stamped dots. The design is further enriched by a number of small knobs made by driving a blunt tool against the undecorated concave side of the plate, five knobs being placed in the angles between the points of the star, and four knobs in each of the concentric zigzag bands.

The plate is perforated by ten round holes placed two by two in the outer zigzag band, four pairs of holes at one side of the plate, with interstices of 2.0, 2.5, and 3.5 cm. between the pairs, and the fifth pair at the opposite side of the plate. At the side perforated by the close-set pairs of holes a piece of the plate has been broken off and reattached in antiquity, probably with wires (now lost) fastened in two other pairs of holes bored through the edge of the plate at the ends of the severed piece, one hole on either side of the break; the fourth hole was in a small fragment now missing.

The form, size and decoration of the plate, and the original set of perforations, denote that we have to do with a piece of armour of a kind known to us through the furniture of early inhumation tombs discovered in the territories once inhabited by the ancient Umbri, Sabini, Picentes, Vestini, Aequi, Marsi, Paeligni, and Samnites; the chief find-places are at Perugia, Bevagna, Norcia, and Chieti, at Rapagnano, Belmonte Piceno, and Numana, in the region of Aquila and in that of Alba Fucense, at Alfedena, and in the Basilicata<sup>1</sup>. Sporadic examples have

<sup>1</sup> Cf. M. GUARDABASSI, in *Not. scavi*, 1880, pp. 20 ff.,

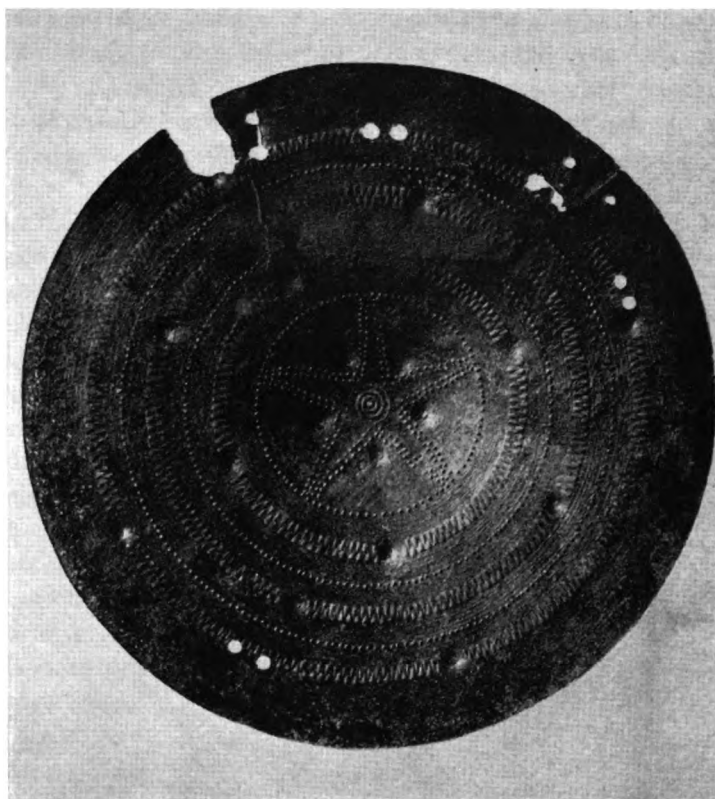


Fig. 1. Bronze plate. MM 1964:21.

also come to light at Palestrina<sup>2</sup>, Capena<sup>3</sup>, Cerveteri<sup>4</sup>, Tolfa-Allumiere<sup>5</sup>, Vetulonia<sup>6</sup>, and Pisa (?)<sup>7</sup>. Three plates, once in the possession of the elder Signor Barsanti in Rome<sup>8</sup>, are so like the one described here that all four of them may be considered to come from the same site, which is, however, unknown.

Among the plates thus discovered, one earlier and one later type may be clearly distinguished. The plates of the earlier, Iron Age, type consist, like our specimen, of a circular bronze sheet worked into a convex-concave shape and decorated with stamped and incised or open-work geometric patterns arranged in concentric zones

Tav. II: 8—10, 17—19; F. RAFFAELLI, in *Not. scavi*, 1881, pp. 164 f., with Fig.; A. DE NINO, in *Not. scavi*, 1885, pp. 658 f.; A. FURTWÄNGLER, in *Arch. Anz.*, 1893, pp. 88 f., No. 14; L. FIGORINI, in *Not. scavi*, 1895, pp. 255 ff., Figs. 5—9; L. MARIANI, Aufidena, in *Mon. Ant.*, 10, 1901, pp. 348 ff., Tav. XIII; I. DALL'Osso, *Guida illustrata del Museo di Ancona* (1915), Figs. on pp. 113, 116, 118, 121, and 138; G. PINZA, *Materiali per la etnologia antica toscano-laziale*, I (1915), pp. 147 ff.; V. DUMITRESCU, *L'età del ferro nel Piceno* (Bucarest 1929), pp. 44 ff., Fig. 6; P. MARCONI, *La cultura orientalizzante nel Piceno*, in *Mon. Ant.*, 35, 1933, pp. 358 ff., Tav. XXII; G. MORETTI, *Il guerriero italico di Castrano* (1936), Tav. VI:1, 2, 5,

6; U. TARCHI, *L'arte etrusco-romana nell'Umbria e nella Sabina* (1936), Tav. CIV.

<sup>2</sup> G. PINZA, *op.cit.*, p. 150, Tav. 3.

<sup>3</sup> R. PARIBENI, *Necropoli del territorio capenate*, in *Mon. Ant.*, 16, 1906, pp. 410 ff., Tav II.

<sup>4</sup> W. HELBIG, *Das homerische Epos aus den Denkmälern erläutert* (2. Aufl., 1887), pp. 319 f., Fig. 122; *L'épopée homérique* (1894), p. 409, Fig. 148.

<sup>5</sup> G. A. COLINI, in *Bull. Paletn. Ital.*, 35, 1910, p. 178, Tav. XIV:4.

<sup>6</sup> I. FALCHI, in *Not. scavi*, 1900, pp. 479 f., Fig. 11.

<sup>7</sup> P. MARCONI, *op.cit.*, pp. 359 ff., Fig. 32.

<sup>8</sup> G. PINZA, *op.cit.*, p. 150, Tav. 4.

around a central geometric motif. These plates are generally, but not always, provided with holes like those seen in our specimen, three, four, or five holes, or pairs of holes, being placed

*Fig. 2. The warrior of Capestrano. Museo Nazionale, Chieti. Photo Anderson.*



along the edge of the disc on one side, and another hole, or pair of holes, on the opposite side. The holes were made to hold nails with large, knob-like heads, partly preserved in some plates; the nails were held in place by having their ends turned into a small loop at the back of the plate. The plates were often found in pairs of one larger and another smaller specimen, the latter decorated like the larger one, but with one single hole or nail in the centre. There are also a few plates in which the zones of geometric ornament include a zone of phantastic animals or other orientalizing designs executed in the same manner as the geometric ornamentation.

In the plates of the later type, ascribable to the period of orientalizing art, animals of the same phantastic shape return as a dominating ornament, enlarged and executed in relief, within a row of knobs ranged along the periphery of the plate. There are also undecorated plates bordered by a similar row of knobs, or by a plain raised edge. All these plates, plain or decorated with reliefs, were generally strengthened by an iron ring and leather covering at the back, and were also provided with ornamental bronze straps fastened to diametrically opposite points of their periphery, uniting one plate to another similar one. The later development of this type of plate is illustrated by two plates from Rapa-gnano, decorated within a raised border with figured scenes in relief representing warriors in combat and executed in a style attesting influence from archaic Greek art of the early fifth century B.C.<sup>9</sup> On the borders of these plates are pairs or triplets of nail-heads, placed not at diametrically opposite points, but at the ends of radii drawn at right angles.

The perforations, nail-heads, and straps regularly appearing on and with the plates make it evident that these plates were not used as phalerae, shield-buckles, or lids for situlae, as

<sup>9</sup> I. DALL'Osso, *op.cit.*, Figs. on pp. 113 and 116; R. MAC IVER, *The Iron Age in Italy*, Pl. 29.

some earlier scholars thought<sup>10</sup>, but were parts of belts worn—as was clearly shown by a tomb at Alfedena<sup>11</sup>—over the right shoulder, so that one plate covered part of the chest and the other plate, which was sometimes smaller, was at the back of the warrior.

The best illustration of how these belt plates were worn is however given by the famous Warrior of Capestrano (Fig. 2), although some details were not made quite clear by the sculptor who carved this remarkable statue<sup>12</sup>. The two plates, covering parts of the sword-belt, are connected by a broad strap passed over the right shoulder and fastened to either plate with a rectangular piece of metal nailed on to plate and strap. On the front plate, at a point on the periphery opposite to where the shoulder strap is fastened, is a loop from which issues a smaller strap passed under the left arm; at the back of the statue, however, there are two similar straps brought up from under the left arm and seemingly connected with the sword-belt, though one of them at least ought to be attached to a corresponding loop on the back plate. Another strap issues from the edge of the back plate without any visible attachment to it and passes under the right arm but does not reappear on the front of the statue.

In spite of these inconsistencies, the Cape-

strano Warrior confirms what may be deduced from the holes and nail-heads of the actual plates, namely that there were necessarily, in addition to the belt straps carrying the plates, some other strap or straps fastened to the periphery of one plate at various points and then passed round the body to be connected with the other plate, or perhaps with the sword-belt, all in order to keep the plates securely in position, which must have been of vital importance should they really protect the heart. Even so, the two belt plates were of course a very primitive and insufficient means of protecting. An improvement may have been accomplished by simply putting on a second plate belt across the first one and a third plate belt around the waist, so that heart and lungs were covered by two breast plates and the diaphragm above the mitra by the third plate. The two or three plates thus arranged were probably connected permanently, in a second stage of development, at the points where they touched each other, as is suggested by certain tomb and vase paintings<sup>13</sup>. Finally, the three plates were merged into one triangular breast-plate of the Samnitic type known through tomb and vase paintings<sup>14</sup>, bronze statuettes<sup>15</sup>, and several well-preserved examples found in tombs e.g. at Sulmona<sup>16</sup>, Alfedena<sup>17</sup>, Ruvo<sup>18</sup>, and Paestum<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. G. PINZA, *op.cit.*, p. 147 and notes 2–4, p. 148 and notes 3–4. The plate from Cerveteri described by W. HELBIG, *op.cit.*, is said to have preserved at the periphery “Fragmente der umgebenden bronzenen Schildfläche”. The plate, however, presents the regular perforations of three+one hole and was thus apparently made as a belt plate. A row of smaller holes round its periphery and the fragments spoken of by Helbig suggest, however, that it may have been reused as a shield buckle.

<sup>11</sup> L. MARIANI, *op.cit.*, p. 300, Fig. 44; G. PINZA, *op.cit.*, p. 151, Fig. 98; G. MORETTI, *op.cit.*, Tav. V:7.

<sup>12</sup> In addition to the figures and plates of G. Moretti's fundamental publication of the Warrior, already cited, cf. especially A. BOETHIUS, *Livy* 8, 10, 12 and the Warrior Image from Capestrano, in *Eranos*, 54, 1956, pp. 202–210, with a drawing of the Warrior's equipment reproduced in Fig. 2. Cf. also G. CRESSIDI, in *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica*, II, pp. 320 f., with bibliography.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. F. WEEGE, *Oskische Grabmalerei*, in *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Arch. Inst.*, 24, 1909, pp. 99 ff., Fig. 9; A. D. TRENDALL, *Paestan Pottery* (1936), Pls. XXXI b, XXXIII c.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. E. PETERSEN, in *Röm. Mitt.*, 11, 1896, pp. 265 ff., with Fig. on p. 267; F. WEEGE, *op.cit.*, Fig. 13.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. especially the bronze statuette of a Samnite warrior in the Louvre, described by A. DE RIDDER, *Bronzes antiques du Louvre*, No. 124, Fig. 9; P. DUCATI, *L'Italia antica*, Plate facing p. 256; *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica*, IV, p. 266, Fig. 314.

<sup>16</sup> G. MORETTI, *op.cit.*, Fig. 8.

<sup>17</sup> L. MARIANI, *op.cit.*, pp. 358 f., Fig. 78.

<sup>18</sup> E. PETERSEN, in *Röm. Mitt.*, 12, 1897, pp. 112 ff., 123 f., Fig. 1: 6; F. WEEGE, *op.cit.*, Figs. 21–22.

<sup>19</sup> P. C. SESTIERI, in *Not. scavi*, 1957, pp. 174 f., Fig. 3.

# Vaso d' impasto a decorazione graffita con teoria di animali fantastici<sup>1</sup>

ANNA MURA

Il vaso che presento in questo articolo è stato acquistato recentemente da S. M. il Re Gustavo Adolfo di Svezia, presso un antiquario romano, ed è attualmente conservato nel Medelhavsmuseet Stockholm (MM 1964:6). Si tratta di un'olla di piccole dimensioni (alt. m. 0,25; diam. mass. m. 0,254; imboccatura diam. m. 0,152; base diam. m. 0,8), di argilla non depurata, lavorata a tornio e con la superficie ornata a graffito e lucidata a stecca. Il vaso, restaurato da numerosi frammenti e mancante di parti, ha corpo globulare, piccolo piede a listello, collo cilindrico con imboccatura svasata e scanalata all'interno (figg. 1 e 3).

La decorazione graffita, delimitata da due linee parallele, ricopre tutta la superficie del vaso a partire dalla spalla. Su di essa, infatti, è una fila di doppi archetti intrecciati, sul ventre una teoria di animali fantastici gradienti verso destra, formata da due figure feline e due equine (fig. 2a, b). Le figure sono caratterizzate da corpi molto allungati e arcuati, nei quali l'impalcatura delle costole è espressa con un motivo di gruppi di linee oblique e convergenti. I felini hanno fauci spalancate, zampe terminanti con artigli, criniera segnata da un motivo a squame. I cavalli hanno sul petto un motivo a croce uncinata. Tutte le figure presentano sul dorso una protome caprina

e sotto il ventre singole o doppie volute campite da linee verticali, interrotte da un gruppo di linee orizzontali.

Questo vaso si inserisce chiaramente, per la tecnica di esecuzione, per la tipologia, per i caratteri stilistici, in quella produzione di ceramica d'impasto con superficie lucidata a stecca e decorazione graffita con motivi di repertorio "orientalizzante", tipica del territorio capenate<sup>2</sup> nella seconda metà del VII secolo a.C.

Qualche esemplare simile non manca tuttavia nelle contemporanee necropoli del territorio falisco<sup>3</sup>.

Il centro primario del territorio capenate, Capena, è stato localizzato da recenti studi sulla collina di Civitucola, che sorge a breve distanza

<sup>1</sup> Ringrazio vivamente i proff. O. Vessberg e A. Boëthius per avermi affidato la pubblicazione di questo vaso. Un ringraziamento particolare desidero esprimere al prof. M. Pallottino, per i suggerimenti datimi nel corso del mio lavoro.

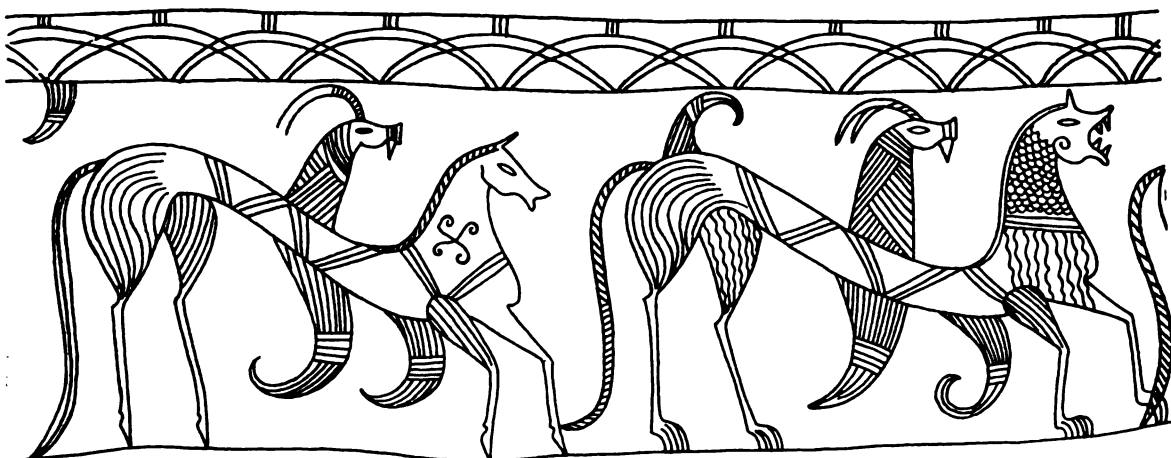
<sup>2</sup> Questo territorio, confinante con i Falisci a N, i Sabini ad E, i Latini a S, gli Etruschi ad O, comprendeva quella parte del moderno Lazio, racchiusa tra lo sbocco del Tevere ad oriente, la via Flaminia ad occidente, il Tevere ad oriente.

<sup>3</sup> Cfr. H. HOLLAND, *The Faliscans in Prehistoric Times*, Pap. Mon. Am. Ac. Rome, V, 1925, p. 83 ss.; F. BARNABEI, *Dei fittili scoperti nella necropoli di Narce*, *MAIinc* IV, 1894, p. 165 ss.



*Fig. 1. Vaso d'impasto del territorio capenate. MM 1964:6.*

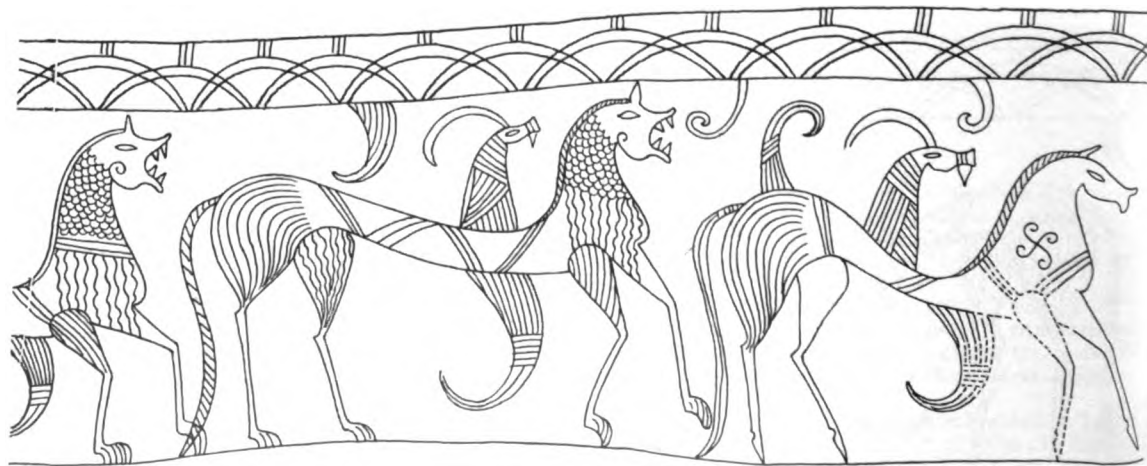
*Fig. 2 a. MM 1964:6. La decorazione. Disegno di B. Millberg.*





*Fig. 3. MM 1964:6.*

*Fig. 2 b. MM 1964:6. La decorazione. Disegno di B. Millberg.*





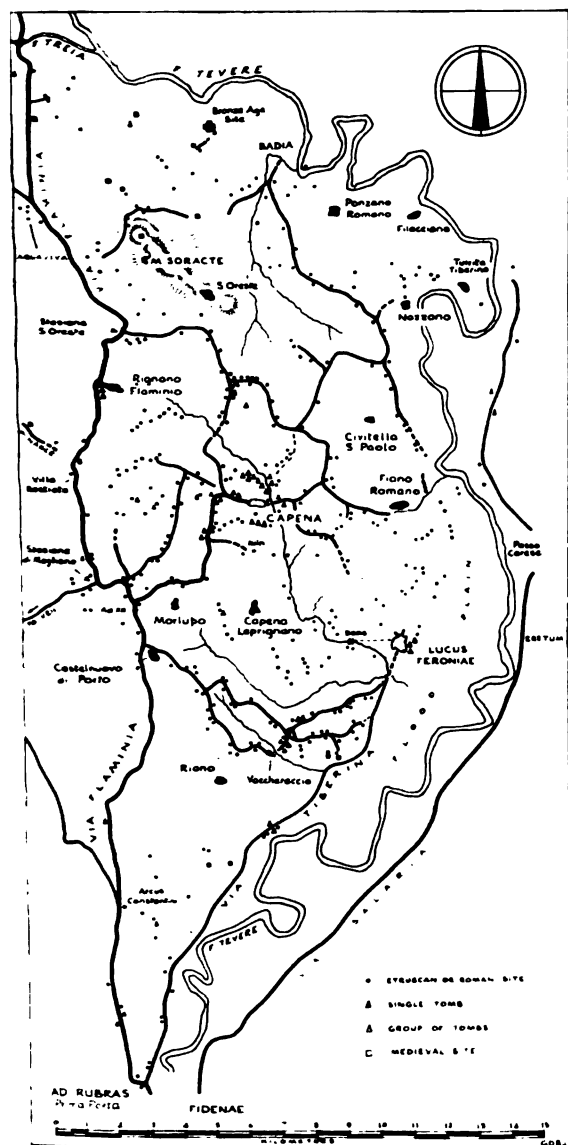


Fig. 4. Da G.D.B. Jones, *BSR XXXI*, Tav. XLIII.

dalla moderna Capena, sulla riva destra del Tevere, al centro della linea che unisce il 33° km. della via Flaminia al 23° della via Tiberina<sup>4</sup> (fig. 4).

<sup>4</sup> Per la identificazione del sito dell'antica Capena, si veda G. MANCINI, *NSc* 1953, p. 18 ss. Per un più completo studio topografico di Capena e del territorio capenate cfr. G. D. B. JONES, *Capena and the Ager Capenas*, *BSR* XXX, 1962, pp. 116–207; XXXI, 1963, pp. 100–158.

Scavi sistematici eseguiti nell'area della città e nelle sue necropoli: "Le Saliere", "Le Macchie", "Monte Cornazzano", "S. Martino", hanno portato alla scoperta di più di cinquecento tombe, di cui pubblicata soltanto una parte<sup>5</sup>. Lo studio dei materiali rinvenuti in queste tombe ci permette di seguire lo sviluppo culturale di questo centro italico dalla prima età del ferro al II secolo a.C.<sup>6</sup> e di aprire uno spiraglio sui suoi rapporti commerciali con i centri finitimi<sup>7</sup>.

La massima espansione e floridezza Capena dovette raggiungere nel corso del VII secolo, quando in Etruria era nel pieno fiore la cultura "orientalizzante"<sup>8</sup>. Nel corso del VII secolo Capena sviluppa, infatti, una produzione artigianale su larga scala di ceramica d'impasto caratterizzata da una decorazione graffita, excisa o dipinta con motivi di repertorio geometrico od orientalizzante. Di produzione capenate sono forse da ritenersi inoltre le numerose placche rettangolari di lamina di bronzo con pallottole riportate, appartenenti a cinture, rinvenute in tombe dello stesso periodo<sup>9</sup>.

La produzione dei vasi d'impasto è caratteriz-

<sup>5</sup> R. PARIBENI, *NSc* 1905, pp. 301–362; Id., *Necropoli del territorio capenate*, *MALinc* XVI, 1906, pp. 277–240; E. STEFANI, *BPI* XXXVIII, 1913, p. 147 ss.; Id., *Capena. Ricerche archeologiche nella contrada "Le Saliere"*, *MALinc* XLIV, 1958, pp. 1–204; G. BENDINELLI, *NSc* 1922, pp. 110–147. Lo studio complessivo dei risultati di queste campagne di scavo e la pubblicazione del materiale inedito, è oggetto di un mio lavoro di prossima pubblicazione cui si rimanda per più ampie notizie. Brevi notizie di carattere generale su Capena e sulla suppellettile proveniente dalle sue necropoli è in A. DELLA SETA, *Il Museo di Villa Giulia*, Roma 1918, pp. 321–355.

<sup>6</sup> A questo periodo si riferisce, infatti, l'iscrizione di un'anfora vinaria col nome di L. Anicio, uno dei consoli del 160 a.C., rinvenuta in una tomba della fase più tarda, cfr. E. STEFANI, *MALinc* cit., p. 177 ss.

<sup>7</sup> Per i rapporti commerciali di Capena con i centri finitimi e per le possibili vie di comunicazione cfr. G. COLONNA, *Placche arcaiche da cintura di produzione capenate*, *AC* X, 1958, pp. 76–78; R. PARIBENI, *MALinc* cit., pp. 488–90.

<sup>8</sup> Sulla cultura "orientalizzante" e sulla sua diffusione in Etruria, si veda M. PALLOTTINO in *EUA* X, 1964, s.v. "Orientalizzante", pp. 223–237.

<sup>9</sup> Per lo studio di queste placche da cintura e per la loro attribuzione a produzione capenate, si rimanda al citato studio di G. COLONNA, p. 69 ss.



*Fig. 5. Museo di Villa Giulia.*



*Fig. 6. Museo di Villa Giulia.*



*Fig. 7. Particolare di kantharos. Museo di Villa Giulia.*

zata dall'introduzione di forme nuove, accanto al lento trasformarsi di forme locali. Il repertorio tipologico comprende: l'olla, il sostegno, il kantharos, l'oinochoe, lo skyphos, i piatti su piede, i calici.

L'attento esame della tipologia delle forme, della tecnica di esecuzione e dei motivi decorativi, ci permette di distinguere questi vasi in due gruppi, che rappresentano due periodi successivi di una stessa produzione. Il gruppo più antico è caratterizzato da una decorazione incisa o dipinta con motivi di repertorio geometrico, il gruppo più recente da una decorazione graffita

o excisa<sup>10</sup> o dipinta, con motivi di repertorio "orientalizzante".

Il repertorio capenate della fase "orientalizzante", alla quale va riferita l'olla in esame comprende: il cavallo, il felino, il grifo, il capride.

Il cavallo ricorre molto spesso su olle e sostegni, in teorie di tre o quattro figure gradienti verso destra (figg. 5 e 6) o in schema araldico di due figure affrontate, separate da un motivo vegetale.

<sup>10</sup> La decorazione graffita era eseguita mediante punta metallica, dopo una prima essiccazione del vaso, e veniva riempita da una pasta bianca colorata in rosso. Nella decorazione excisa si procedeva dapprima a segnare con una punta il contorno della figura e si asportava quindi, a crudo, uno strato d'argilla all'interno di essa.

*Fig. 8. Museo di Villa Giulia.*



*Fig. 9. Museo di Villa Giulia.*



La figura felina è rappresentata gradiente, con fauci spalancate e zampe terminanti con artigli, generalmente alata. Frequente è anche il tipo rappresentato nell'atto di divorare una gamba umana<sup>11</sup>. Il felino compare comunemente in teorie di tre o quattro animali gradienti verso destra su olle, sostegni, coperchi; più raramente lo troviamo, isolato, sui lati dei kantharoi.

La presenza di un'elegante coppa di bronzo sbalzato, decorata da una teoria di felini alati, rinvenuta in una fossa con loculo della prima metà del VII secolo<sup>12</sup> e che ritengo di produzione orientale<sup>13</sup> può indicarci il modo in cui i motivi del repertorio "orientalizzante" sono giunti a Capena e vi sono stati, successivamente, imitati.

Ma più che da qualche raro prodotto di diretta importazione orientale, i motivi del repertorio orientalizzante capenate dovettero derivare dalle imitazioni che di tali prodotti si fecero ben presto nei centri dell'Etruria meridionale costiera.

Gli imbastarditi motivi del repertorio orienta-

lizzante capenate sono, infatti, solo una lontana eco dei loro prototipi orientali; più strette invece sono le analogie con i motivi decorativi dei bronzi e degli avori etruschi.

Osservando l'olla del Medelhavsmuseet, appare chiaro che il figulo che ne curò il graffito interpretò a suo modo i motivi del repertorio orientalizzante, complicando le figure con elementi decorativi che le dissolvono in un puro schema ornamentale. Particolarmente interessante è la protome caprina con cui termina l'ala sul dorso dell'animale. Analogo motivo si ritrova su un kantharos della necropoli di S. Martino<sup>14</sup> (fig. 7).

L'olla presa in esame, simile a molte altre delle necropoli capenati doveva, al pari di queste, poggiare su un alto supporto, pure d'impasto e con decorazione analoga, formato da un'alta base troncoconica a pareti concave e da un catino di forma emisferica, uniti da un elemento globulare di raccordo (figg. 8 e 9).

Completavano la suppellettile delle tombe capenati, riferibili al periodo cui appartiene il vaso suddetto: vasi di bucchero sottile, di argilla figulina italoprotocorinzia e italo-corinzia, in prevalenza aryballoi.

Elementi di datazione per questa produzione di ceramica d'impasto, ci sono offerti da uno studio tipologico e stilistico, convalidato dai pochi dati offerti dalla ceramica d'argilla figulina importata, che inducono a datare questa produzione nella seconda metà del VII secolo a.C.

Entro questi limiti cronologici va posta l'olla del Medelhavsmuseet e la tomba della cui suppellettile faceva parte.

<sup>14</sup> Il vaso si trova, al pari degli altri riprodotti per confronto in questo articolo, nel Museo di Villa Giulia a Roma (inv. n. 29194, t. CXIV).

<sup>11</sup> Per questo motivo, largamente diffuso nella produzione etrusca della ceramica dipinta, nel bucchero, nel bronzo sbalzato e negli avori, cfr. S. FERRI, Tiriolo, NSc 1927, p. 353; J. SZILAGYI, Italo-Corinthia, StEtr XXVI, 1958, p. 266 ss.

<sup>12</sup> La coppa, attualmente al Museo Pigorini in Roma (inv. n. 74446), è stata pubblicata per la prima volta da R. PARIBENI, in MALinc cit., p. 418 ss., tav. I.

<sup>13</sup> Questa coppa, che costituisce un *unicum* nella suppellettile delle tombe capenati, è tra i pezzi più belli della bronzistica orientalizzante in Italia. Più volte studiata e riprodotta, è stata recentemente ripresa in esame da W. LLEWELLYN BROWN, *The Etruscan Lion*, Oxford, 1960, p. 9 ss. Questi non avendola vista direttamente, la dice in pessimo stato di conservazione, eseguita con tecnica non accurata e di probabile fabbricazione etrusca. Un attento studio di questo bronzo, che è in buono stato di conservazione ed eseguito con tecnica accurata, mi ha fatto rilevare la grande affinità che esso presenta col sostegno Barberini (cfr. W. LLEWELLYN BROWN, op. cit., tavv. V b1, b2) a cui deve ritenersi vicina per stile e datazione. Al pari del sostegno, la cui fabbricazione orientale è stata più volte affermata, la ritengo un prodotto di diretta importazione orientale.

# A Horseman from Asia Minor

ÅKE ÅKERSTRÖM

Last year, on two different occasions, there were sold at Sotheby's in London a number of architectural terracottas<sup>1</sup>, comprising sima-tiles, revetment plaques with a flange at the top<sup>2</sup>, both with swastikas or a meander pattern, semicircular palmette antefixes and finally a series of a combined lateral sima—geison revetment, decorated with a horseman and a griffin. One fairly complete horseman tile together with a more fragmentary one were acquired by the Museum of Mediterranean Antiquities, Stockholm. These are the pieces I shall deal with here<sup>3</sup>.

As is well known, the fashion of protecting and decorating a building with terracotta was widely spread in the Greek and Italic world. The invention is to be ascribed to Corinth, whose manufacture of terracotta revetments started in the second half of the 7th century. The idea was taken up in the West in Sicily,

South Italy and Etruria/Latium, in the East in Asia Minor. The manufacture in these districts assumed a very individual character. The 6th century is the most brilliant period of architectural terracotta decoration in Greece itself, in the West and in the East<sup>4</sup>.

Of the types mentioned above, the first three (sima-tiles, revetment plaques with a top flange and the antefixes) have been met with before as coming from Asia Minor, more precisely from the "Phrygian" district. The last-mentioned, the combined sima—geison revetment (with the horseman and griffin) will be reconstructed and examined below. This particular shape is a novelty, but understandable only as coming from the same general district. As far as I can see, all these types form parts of one and the same architectural terracotta decoration.

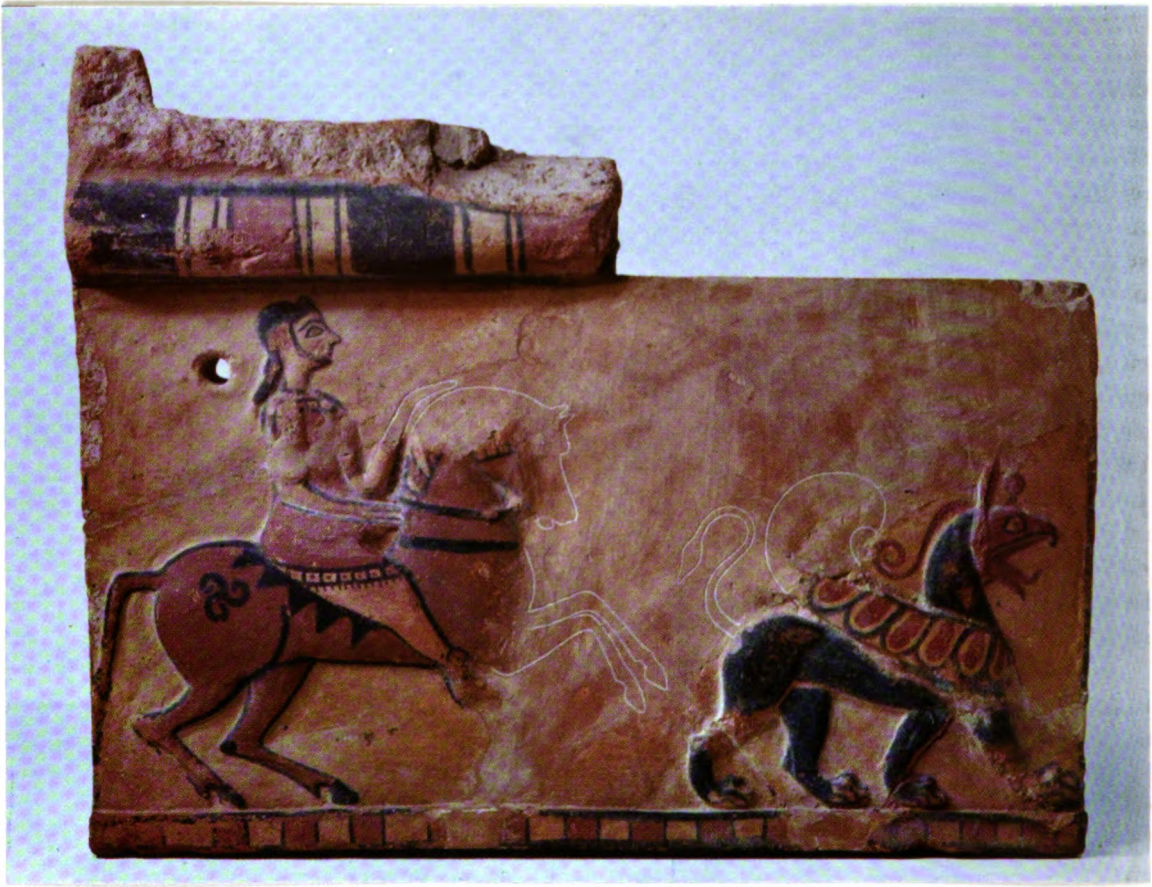
1. Inv. MM 1964:17 (Fig. 1). Clay light brown, grey in the core owing to insufficient firing, with mica and an admixture of chamotte. The surface has been smoothed; it is covered with a rose-coloured slip. Paint in two matt colours, reddish-brown and black. The tile consists of two separate parts joined at right angle, a vertical revetment tile with

<sup>1</sup> Sotheby, sale of 24th Feb. 1964, Cat., lots 50—64, and of 6th July 1964, Cat., lots 45—56. From a private collection in Switzerland.

<sup>2</sup> Sima for the raking cornice or, more probably, for the horizontal geison of the façade cf. Sotheby, sale of 6th July, lot 52. Revetment tile with a flange at the top *op. cit.* lots 48—51. This is what I call "Schenkelplatte" in my monograph *Die architektonischen Terrakotten Kleinasien*, 1965 (s.v. Gordion und Pazarli) and fig. 73:1.

<sup>3</sup> I should like to thank Mr. Bror Millberg of the Museum of Mediterranean Antiquities, Stockholm, and Mr. J.E. Sjöberg for their help with the reconstruction Fig. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. my *Archit. Terrakotten Kleinasien*, 1965.



*Fig. 1. Terracotta tile from Asia Minor. Medelhavsmuseet, MM 1964:17.*

two nail-holes (one of them preserved) and a horizontal part which is a plain sima-tile. Left half of the plaque well preserved. Part of the horizontal sima-tile with the left raised side edge. Below it a torus crowning the figured field. Right half largely restored in plaster. At the bottom a square edging. The figures represented are a horse and horseman, the latter in "tricots", preceded by a winged griffon towards the right. Part of the horse's head and breast, and the forelegs missing. Of the griffin the tail and part of the wing likewise missing. H. 35.3; L. 44.5 cm. Average thickness 3 cm.

2. Inv. MM 1964:18 (Fig. 2). Clay and technique as no. 1. Left half of the vertical tile with horse and horseman. Lower part of the horse's forelegs missing. Only traces of slip and colours left. H. 33; L. 24.5 cm. Thickness as no. 1.

This type of terracotta is interesting. The vertical part with the nail-holes resembles the regular "flange-tile" ("Schenkelplatte"), which is also represented in the present group of terracottas. But in this case the horizontal part is not a plain flange but an eaves tile, which has been made into a primitive sima. For, if we examine it more closely, it becomes clear that the side edge must



have continued also along the front which is now missing (Fig. 3). Consequently, there must have been an outlet for water. Of the spout nothing is preserved, but naturally it had its place in the middle of the tile, where there is, in fact, a break. The spout itself must have been a plain one, just an outlet, certainly like the one we have from Neandria<sup>5</sup>. The latter has been used for our reconstruction (Fig. 4).

A combined sima—geison revetment is in itself no novelty. There are two pretentious specimens from the Mainland, one from Corfu and another from Delphi<sup>6</sup>. Possibly there is also one from Asia Minor, viz. if I am right in my construction of some fragments from Sardis, which are in Princeton<sup>7</sup>. This one is fairly elaborate, too. But the plain, provincial type we have to deal with here, has not come to light earlier. So much for the type.

The horse and horseman occupy the left half, or a little more than half, of the plaque. The horse is rearing as if it were starting a gentle gallop. It has a saddle-cloth, bridle and breast-strap; on the hindquarters a triskelion in paint. The rider holds the reins in his right hand, his left seems to be patting the neck and mane of the horse<sup>8</sup>. He is bearded, has long hair and a forelock. He wears a jacket with short sleeves; round the neck a border, at the lower end a border and fringe. He also wears shoes. The griffin is of heavy, muscular form. On the head of the griffin the usual "knob"; a spiral grows out from behind its ear. The wing is decorated with a cymatium.

Colouring. Black: Outline of horse and rider;

hair and beard of rider; breast-strap, saddle-cloth, hoofs and ornament on the hindquarters of the horse; griffin, except head; horizontal bordering lines of torus and of lower square edging. Red: Jacket, ear, shoes of rider, horse, head of griffin, "leaves" of cymatium on the wing.

Trousers of the rider in the rose of the slip. Alternating red and rose: Horse's mane. Upper torus divided in alternating black, red and rose fields. Lower edging red and rose squares.

Horses and griffins are often used to form an antithetic group in East Greek art. Such horses are known from the Caeretan hydriae (whose painter undoubtedly is East Greek in origin)<sup>9</sup>. Antithetic horses of the same sort also occur on sima-tiles from Sardis<sup>10</sup>. The griffins are also always used for antithetic groups on East Greek lateral simas, e.g. in Sardis, in Lampsakos and on a third piece which I take for North Ionian<sup>11</sup>.

In this case, however, the artist took one horse and one griffin to form a procession. The result is that whereas the horse fills its half of the figured field properly, a large empty space is left above the griffin. The artists of the workshops on the coast would never try that sort of unbalanced composition.

As to the type of horse, I have just referred to those of the Caeretan hydriae and of the sima-tiles from Sardis. They are all from one and the same stable, but they behave differently. The Caeretan ones rear like circus-horses, those from Sardis are also fairly elegant; ours is somewhat heavier. The general character is provincial, but this heavier type could well derive from a South Ionian counterpart or even forerunner of the Caeretan horses or of those from Sardis<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> R. KOLDEWEY, Neandria (51. Berl. Winckelmanns-progr., 1891), 46, fig. 66. The antefixes are here meant to rest on the front edge of the tile. They could also overhang the front and conceal the joint of the tiles. This depends on how the cover tile was attached to the antefix. In our case the antefix was overhanging (Fig. 4).

<sup>6</sup> E.D. VAN BUREN, *Greek fict. rev.*, pl. XIX:62–63 and XXV:88 (the poor photograph does not do any justice to the piece).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. my *Archit. Terrakotten Kleinasien*, fig. 24:1.

<sup>8</sup> For some of these details cf. also Sotheby, sale of 6th July 1964, lots 45–47. Possibly the patting gesture of the left hand is a misunderstanding of the holding of the reins, as represented on "Clazomenian" vases; cf. *CVA Gr. Brit. XIII*, pl. 588:4 (and 6).

<sup>9</sup> *Mon. Piot* 48:2, 1956, pl. VI, and my *Archit. Terrakotten Kleinasien*, fig. 69:2. (The horseman frieze from Larisa, *Larisa II*, 54, fig. 15 differs.)

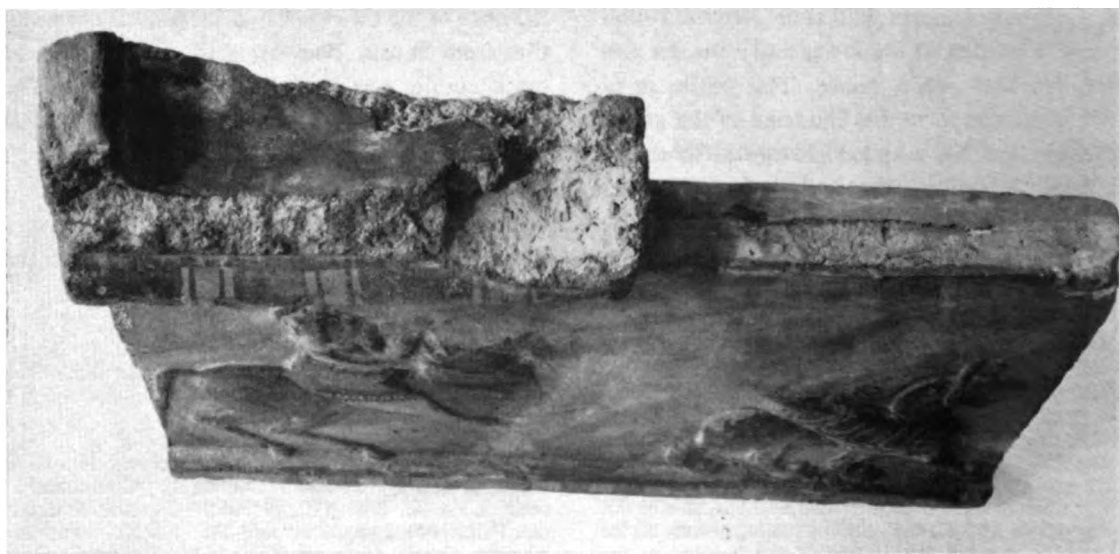
<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.* pl. 40 and figs. 21–22.

<sup>11</sup> *Op. cit.* pl. 42; fig. 3; pl. 16:1.

<sup>12</sup> I should like to add that the saddle-cloth with its scalloped edging is known to us from the "Clazomenian" vases. *CVA Gr. Brit. XIII*, pl. 585:1–2 (cf. R. M. COOK, *Gr. Paint. Pott.*, pl. 32 B) and 593:1. J. K. ANDERSON, *Ancient Greek Horsemanship*, 1961, 79: saddle-cloth with scalloped edging in Ionia. Persian influence has been suggested.



*Fig. 2. Fragment of terracotta tile.  
Medelhavsmuseet, MM 1964:18.*



*Fig. 3. The horseman plaque Fig. 1 taken from above, showing left preserved part of the horizontal plain sima-tile. In the middle traces of the water-spout.*



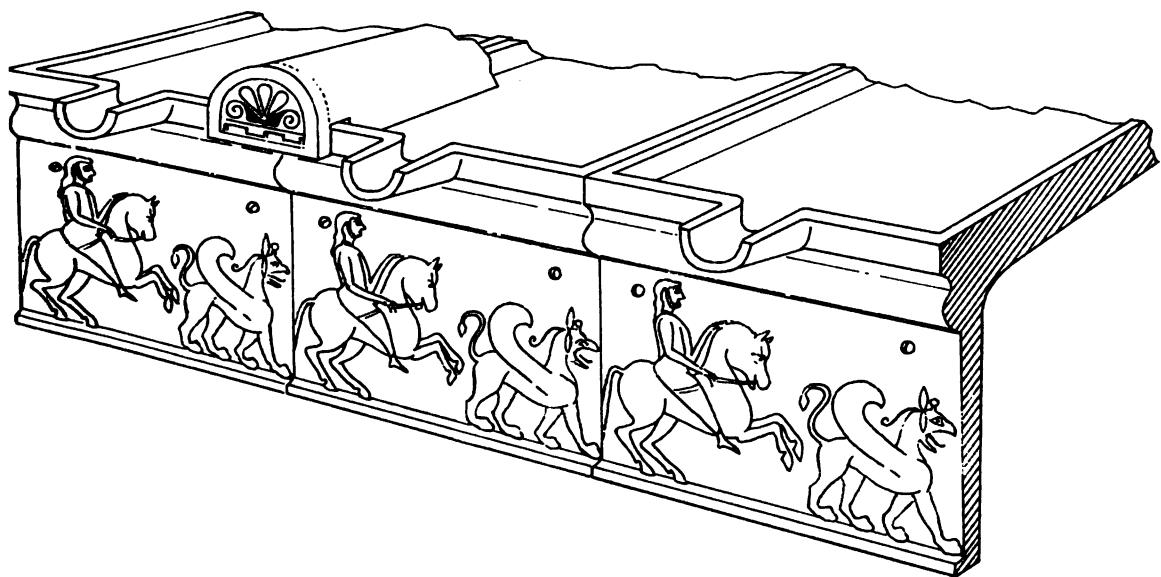


Fig. 4. Reconstruction of the combined lateral sima-geison revetment, with cover-tile and antefix.

What has been said of the horses holds good also for the griffin.

There has always been much travelling on horseback in Anatolia. The fact that we are on an Eastern route is already indicated by the somewhat provincial apparition of the horse and the griffin. Moreover, the horseman's dress is Persian. The only thing missing is the cap. But I suspect the forelock to be Eastern<sup>13</sup>.

Horsemen are generally out for warfare or hunting. Ours has no weapons for fighting and no equipment for hunting. He is just enjoying himself—as it were, setting out for a ride over the plain. That is what makes this decoration, subjectively, so pleasing and so entertaining. We

do not know if the artist, presumably a Greek, wanted to display with his Persian some sort of ethnographic interest. Anyhow, it is interesting to state that he had nothing against depicting one of those Eastern foreigners who were in those days his masters.

The type of tile, the comparisons made above with East Greek horses and griffins and, on the other hand, the Persian character of the horseman indicate that the workshop should be sought somewhere between the Ionian coast and the Phrygian interior.

As to the dating I think it is sufficient to recall comparisons and suggestions made above. Our horseman plaque—and the whole building revetment connected with it—can be dated to the 3rd quarter of the 6th century, not earlier, possibly somewhat later.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. F. SARRE, *Die Kunst des Alten Persien*, 1922, pl. 42. O. M. DALTON, *The Treasure of the Oxus*, 1905, Pl. XIII:48.

# A New Variant of the Helena Myth

OLOF VESSBERG

In 1963, thanks to a generous donation from His Majesty the King, an Etruscan bronze mirror with a very interesting figured scene on the engraved side was purchased in Switzerland<sup>1</sup>, Figs. 1—2.

In the centre of the picture there are two young men, dressed in sleeveless girdled tunics, high-laced sandals and Phrygian caps, and both armed with lance and sword. The man to the right also wears a *chlamys* fastened with a button at his right shoulder. They both grasp with their right hands a windlass and a rope leading down into a well-curb. Out of the mouth of the well-curb a human head peeps forth and this figure grasps the rope with its right hand. In the background of this scene a building is visible. One can see an architrave divided into two *fasciae*, which rests on fluted columns with capitals of Aeolic type. The roof is bordered by semicircular antefixes. A broad profiled fillet to the right of the right-hand column can be supposed to belong to a doorway. Owing to the

slightly perspective drawing one might also consider this detail to belong to the gable of the building.

The representation is flanked by two figures. To the right a man is seated with naked upper body and a mantle draped over his legs. On his curling wavy hair he wears a conical cap, a *pilos*. His left hand is raised in what could be called a discussion gesture (with the thumb against the forefinger forming a ring). He seems to converse with the left flanking figure, which makes a similar gesture with its right hand.

This man wears a Phrygian cap, high-laced sandals and a mantle around his back. A flap of the mantle falls down below his right arm. He is naked otherwise and leans forward over the scene in the middle. His left hand rests on a staff-like object, which is more like a short stick than a lance. The figure softly follows the rounding of the picture-field.

The inscriptions give certain information about what the scene represents. On the well-curb is written  $\text{ἩΛΕΝΕΙ}$ , Helenei, and inscriptions on the frame of the mirror, which appeared more clearly after the restoration, give the names of the two flanking figures. Beside the man to the left is written  $\text{ΖΙΟΥΜΙΤΗ}$ , Ziumithe, Diomedes, and beside the seated man

<sup>1</sup> MM 1963:2. The handle (or the tang) is broken near the base, otherwise the mirror is well preserved. It was, however, rather badly tarnished by oxidation which partly concealed the engraving and the inscriptions. It has been cleaned by Dr. E. B. Blomberg. The dimensions are: Diam. 13.7 cm.; Height, including the broken handle, 19.0 cm.; Thickness of the disk 0.2 cm.



*Fig. 1. Etruscan bronze mirror, MM 1963: 2, Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm.*

to the right  $\exists \Upsilon \lambda \circ \vee$ , Uthste, Odysseus. Thus, the picture seems to show how Helena is windlassed up out of or down into a well in the presence of Diomedes and Odysseus.

The mirror has one more inscription. On the frame immediately above the windlass is written  $\text{ΑΛΘΑΝΑ}$ , Alathna. This is probably the owner's designation. Presumably Alathna is identical with Alethna, the name of a well-known Viterbo family<sup>2</sup>.

The picture-field is framed by a somewhat schematically drawn leaf-wreath, tied around with lined bands in four places, down at the handle, up at the top, and at the sides. Of the handle not more than the hilt is preserved, decorated with a leaf-ornament. The reflecting side of the mirror is framed by a profiled egg-moulding, and the hilt is on this side decorated with a simple leaf-ornament, somewhat blurred by oxidation.

Our mirror brings the hitherto unique motif on a mirror in the Museo Archeologico in Florence<sup>3</sup> one step closer to its solution, Figs. 3–4. For this shows the same scene with only unimportant differences, but it lacks inscriptions. The group is exactly the same and the differences concern only details. Ulysses is here dressed in a short tunic or  $\epsilon\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega\mu\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ , the youths at the windlass lack headgear and Diomedes has a slightly different attitude as he raises his left hand grasping a lance, and keeps his right hand resting on his hip.

Klügmann-Körte thought that the notable, quite unique motif on this mirror recalled the story of the death of Palamedes as described in Dictys Cretensis II, 15. Diomedes and Odysseus, who wanted to kill Palamedes, made

him believe that a treasure had been found in a well and that they wished to share it with him. They enticed him to descend into the well and stoned him there.

The mirror in the Medelhavsmuseet belongs, as the one just mentioned, to a late group of Etruscan mirrors, which have been brought together by J. D. Beazley under the name Group or Class Z<sup>4</sup>. This group is rather heterogeneous, consisting of hundreds of mirrors where, properly, the late dating would seem to be the common element. Reinhard Herbig has picked out from this Class Z of Beazley a group of mirrors which he calls "Die Kranzspiegelgruppe", and as a basis for this grouping he has put the frame-ornaments of the mirrors, "den Stachelkranz"<sup>5</sup>. In other words, these mirrors are of the same type as our mirror in Stockholm dealt with here.

The surrounding wreath on these mirrors is drawn in a very special way, which clearly indicates that they come from the same workshop. The wreath seems thick or compact and each layer has three, in some cases four leaf-tips, strikingly pointed or thorny. The wreath is held together by ribbons or cases drawn with lines in different ways (parallel lines, angles, diagonal checkerings). J. D. Beazley<sup>6</sup> was the first to call attention to these "cases", which he also found on the so-called *bakchoi*, the bundles of twigs which are worn by the participants in Dionysian and Eleusinian cult representations, and which are held together by similar cases. Such "*bakchos* rings" are often represented separately on coins and vases. Beazley interpreted the mirror ornament as a together-bent *bakchos*, which is hard to believe, while Herbig rightly regards it as simply a garland or a wreath.

The early dating of mirrors of this type

<sup>2</sup> M. PALLOTTINO, *Elementi di lingua etrusca*, p. 101; for the tomb of the Alethna family in Civita di Musarna at Viterbo see R. HERBIG, *Die jüngeretruskischen Steinsarkophage*, pp. 75 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Etruskische Spiegel*, herausg. von E. GERHARD (in the following abbreviated to E.S.), Vol. 5, bearbeitet von A. KLÜGMANN und G. KÖRTE, p. 149, Taf. 111. For the photograph of the mirror in Florence (Inv. No. 605) I wish to thank Prof. Giacomo Caputo.

<sup>4</sup> EVP, 1947, pp. 130 ff.; JHS 69, 1949, pp. 1 ff., spec. pp. 16 f. Cf. for this group SYBILLE HAYNES, *Mdl VI* (1953), pp. 29 f.

<sup>5</sup> *St. Etr.* 24, 1955, pp. 183 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Num. Chr.* 1941, pp. 1 ff.



Fig. 2. MM 1963:2. Drawing by B. Millberg.

suggested by Beazley<sup>7</sup>, viz. to the late fourth century or the third century B.C., has deservedly been criticized by Herbig, who places them in the second and the last century B.C.<sup>8</sup> I will briefly call attention to some facts of importance for the dating.

Herbig points to the enormous wave of curls, often executed in a mannered way, which surrounds the faces of the figures, as a late Hellenistic feature and looks for parallels in the

sculpture. He selects a late terracotta sarcophagus from Tuscania<sup>9</sup>, where the same mannered type of hair can be seen on the lid figure, with curls formed into concentric semiellipses. This can be supplemented by several examples of late Hellenistic Etruscan sculpture. I will only mention two, a votive head from Civita Castellana<sup>10</sup> and the well-known group in Volterra with a man and a woman on a lid of a cinerary urn<sup>11</sup>. The woman's hair, combed smooth over

<sup>7</sup> Num. Chr. 1941, p. 7; JHS, 1949, p. 17.

<sup>8</sup> St. Etr. 24, 1955, pp. 194 f. Cf. for the chronology G. A. MANSUELLI, St. Etr. 20, 1949, p. 92, serie uniforme dei "Maestri delle Lase e dei Dioscuri".

<sup>9</sup> G. Q. GIGLIOLI, L'arte etrusca, Tav. 392:1.

<sup>10</sup> GIGLIOLI, L'arte etrusca, Tav. 420:2.

<sup>11</sup> GIGLIOLI, L'arte etrusca, Tav. 414:2; O. VESSBERG, Studien zur Kunstgeschichte der römischen Republik, pp. 242 f., Taf. 88:2.



Fig. 3. Etruscan bronze mirror, Museo Archeologico, Florence.

the crown and surrounded by a wreath of curls, corresponds well with the mirror hair-types, for instance on the above-mentioned mirror in Florence.

This mannered treatment of the curls is also found on coins from the first half of the last century B.C.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> H. A. GRUEBER, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum I*, pp. 343 f.; III, Pl. 40:9 (85–82 B.C.).

The coins, which in their composition can naturally be compared with the bronze mirrors, often have during the period ca. 100–50 B.C. a leaf-wreath surrounding the picture-field in the same way as on the mirrors. Particularly similar is the wreath on the reverse of *Manius Fonteius'* denars from about 85 B.C.<sup>13</sup> I believe this corresponding detail in the composition of the mirrors and of the coins is of great importance for the dating problem.

Finally, it should be noted that if we have justly found an owner's name in the word *Alathna* on the mirror in the Medelhavsmuseet, then we have every reason to connect it with the known Viterbo family of *Alethna*. This family had its time of prosperity during the last two centuries B.C., as its great tomb-structure in *Civita di Musarna* at Viterbo shows<sup>14</sup>.

The idea as to the reliability of the inscriptions which is expressed by the editor of the fifth volume of *Etruskische Spiegel*, G. Körte, that "für die Deutung der Darstellungen von den Inschriften völlig abgesehen werden muss", is quite erroneous. It is more important to say that the inscriptions are often the only help in interpreting the representations on the Etruscan mirrors. In E.S. 44 mirrors are reproduced which can be placed in the "pointed-wreath group". Of these 22 bear inscriptions<sup>15</sup>. Only in one case is the inscription obviously wrong. On the mirror E.S. 5, 87:2 a male figure, equipped with two hunting-spears, has been designated as *Artumes* (*Artemis*)<sup>16</sup>. It is true, as Körte points out, that typical or conventional figures are given different names on different mirrors. This, however, does not mean that the inscriptions

<sup>13</sup> GRUEBER, *Coins of the Roman Republic I*, pp. 322 f.; III, Pl. 38:11–13 (*Manius Fonteius'* denars).

<sup>14</sup> HERBIG, *Die jüngeretruskischen Steinsarkophage*, p. 76.

<sup>15</sup> These are the following: E.S. 1, 59:2 and 3; 2, 235:2; 3, 255B; 3, 255C; 3, 257:1; 3, 260:2; 4, 284:1; 4, 346; 4, 382:1 and 2; 4, 385; 5, 84:2; 5, 85:1 and 2; 5, 87:1 and 2; 5, 88:2; 5, 98:1 and 2; 5, 110; 5, 118.

<sup>16</sup> It must be emphasized that in 1878 this mirror was in the market in Rome and can now hardly be traced. An incorrect drawing is possible.

are incorrect or put there by chance, but is due to the engraver's inability to characterize the persons. He reproduces stereotyped models, and what gives the picture its identification is the inscriptions.

It is of course more difficult to check the connection between inscriptions and picture when the scene only represents a group of figures without action. It is easier when it concerns more dramatic scenes. Among the mirrors just mentioned there are several such

scenes. I will briefly draw attention to some of them in order to illustrate the relation between inscription and picture.

The engraving of the mirror E.S. 4, 284:1 represents the birth of Minerva. In the centre *Tinia* (Jupiter) is enthroned and *Menrfa* (Minerva), fully armed, springs from his head. He is surrounded by *Thalna*, an Etruscan female god or genius, and *Uni* (Juno). The scene is flanked by two armed youths, to the left *Lalan*, certainly the same name as the common *Laran*

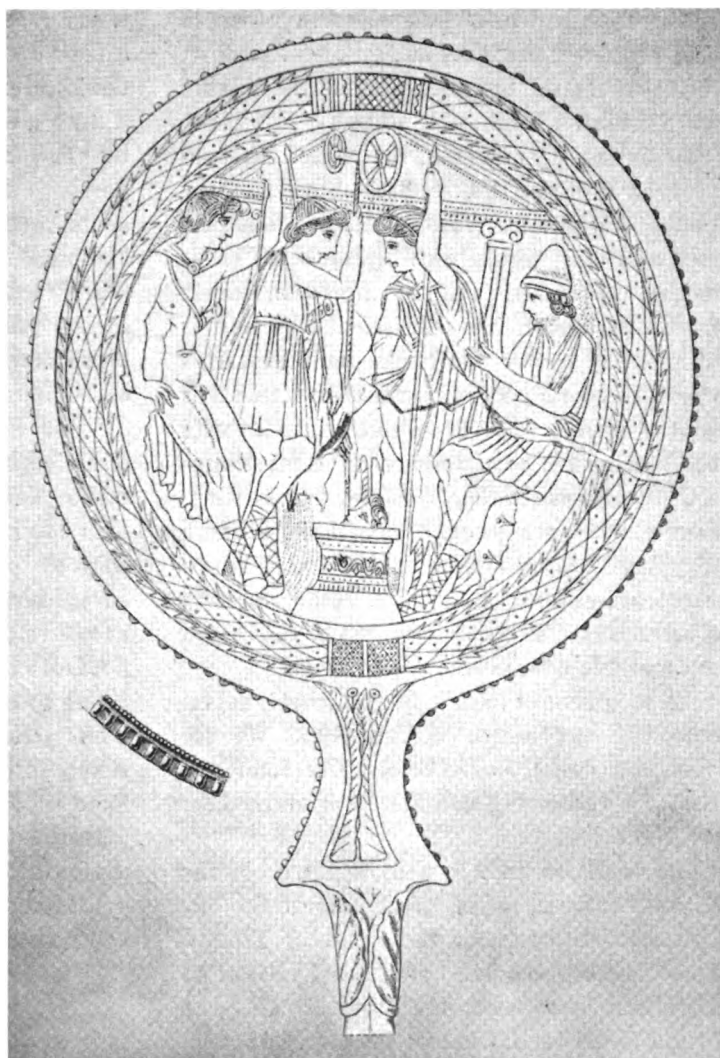


Fig. 4. The mirror in Florence of our Fig. 3 according to the drawing in E. S. 5, 111.

and to the right *Preale*, which has been compared with the Latin proelium. Lalan has been combined with ἀλαλά, war-cry. There are strong reasons to suppose that these two figures are war-demons, which seem to be a natural Etruscan addition to the representation of the birth of the war-goddess.

The well-drawn scene on E.S. 4, 385 cannot be connected with any known tale. It represents *Clutmste* (Klytaimnestra), *Uthste* (Odysseus) and *Menle* (Menelaos) together with *Talmithe* (Palamedes), who sits in a pondering attitude. It has been supposed that the scene shows how Klytaimnestra asks advice and help in Aulis from the wise diviner Palamedes in order to escape Kalchas' prophecy and save her daughter. This is a logical interpretation of the picture which, however, cannot be proved.

An interesting mirror in the Museo Archeologico in Florence, E.S. 5, 88:2 shows how the supplicating *Eiasun* (Jason) clasps round the knee of a curly youth with *thyrsos* staff. He is *Fufuns* (Dionysos) and by his side stands *Aratha* (Ariadne). To the left the picture is delimited by *Castur* and to the right appears a winged boy on a podium, certainly a statue. His name is *Aminth*, which should be connected with the Latin *amor*. The representation seems strange in the tradition relating to Jason, but as Klügmann-Körte have pointed out there exists a story preserved by Dracontius X, 180 ff. which closely agrees with this picture. Jason who was to be sacrificed on the altar of Diana was helped by Amor and Dionysos.

The judgment of Paris is irreproachably represented on the mirror E.S. 5, 98:2. We see *Elachsntre* (Paris), *Turan* (Venus), *Uni* (Juno) and (*Me*)*nrva* (Minerva), and moreover all of them well characterized.

The scene on E.S. 5, 110, a mirror in the British Museum, is of great interest for our argument. It represents the death of Troilos. We see *Achle* (Achilleus) and *Evas* (Aias) at an altar. Achilleus holds the severed head of Troilos in his hand. Close to the dead body and

the fallen horse at his feet is the inscription *Truil(e)*. To the left the picture is delimited by the Etruscan death-goddess *Vanth*, to the right appears a warrior rushing forward. It is *Echsur* (Hektor) who too late hurries to help.—Troilos' death is a subject often represented on Etruscan cinerary urns and also there Achilleus has a companion who on the mirror has been given his name, Aias<sup>17</sup>. This is an addition in the Etruscan representations which has no counterpart on the Greek vases, where Achilleus is alone. The altar is a new feature, too. The Etruscan representation must derive from a source other than epos. Perhaps Sophokles' tragedy Troilos or—what seems more likely—a later dramatic work, possibly by someone of the Latin tragedians.

Such a work one also surmises as background for the picture on the mirror E.S. 5, 118. The mirror is a tomb-find from Vulci and belonged at the time of publication in E.S. to the Museo Torlonia. In the picture appears *Elachsntre* (Paris) seated in the centre. He rests his head on his hand with a sorrowful and irresolute expression. He carries a sword in a baldric and holds his left hand against his shield. To the right is *Priunne* (Priamos) enthroned in Oriental royal dress. He rests his left hand on a knotted stick and makes a gesture with the right. It may be a gesture of discussion or perhaps he is pointing towards the background. At his side stands *Ecapa* (Hekabe) with her face turned to him. *Echsur* (Hektor) flanks the scene to the left. He sits facing Paris and, like him, carries a sword. He looks serious and meditative. *Elinai* (Helena) stands turned towards him and keeps her right hand against her face—she may possibly be putting two fingers on her mouth. Unfortunately, the picture is damaged and indistinct here.

One cannot speak of a real action in this scene, but it does not consist either of a meaning-

<sup>17</sup> E. BRUNN, *I rilievi delle urne etrusche*, 1, Tav. 54:14, 56:18, 62—65.



less ranging of uncharacterized figures. It has a sentiment which connects it with the content of the third book of the Iliad, where Paris through Hektor's reproaches is forced to fight in single combat against Menelaos. The picture does not adhere in detail to the action of the Iliad, but it gives a telling characterization of Paris' irresolution, which is a dominating motif in this book.

Helena with her family circle belong to the most popular motifs in Etruscan art, richly represented not only on the mirrors but also on bronze cistae, cinerary urns and vases<sup>18</sup>. Helena and Paris are often portrayed on the mirrors just as a famous pair of lovers without closer reference to any special action, e.g. on a mirror in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, which represents two loving couples in elegant statuary poses, Achilles and Chryseis (perhaps confused with Briseis) and Helena and Paris<sup>19</sup>. Helena can occur alone being attired by servants in the presence of Turan (Aphrodite). The interpretation of these mirrors is disputed, however<sup>20</sup>. She can occur in her original family circle together with her brothers Kastor and Pollux<sup>21</sup>. But above all the tale of Troy is her setting, in which she is described in a multitude of different relationships, often in scenes which quite diverge from the epos or from the representations in Greek pictorial art and therefore are difficult to interpret or quite incomprehensible. One may distinguish between two main groups of motifs and could entitle them Helena in Sparta and Helena in Troy. To the former group belong representations of Paris' arrival, the persuasion of Helena sometimes in the presence of Turan, and the abduction of Helena. The last-mentioned motif is popular on the cinerary urns. An

example of the second group has already been mentioned with the engraving on the mirror E.S. 5, 118. It is so to speak a quiet genre scene of Helena's life in Troy, where the principal persons are represented. Judging from the published material it seems to be unique. A more common motif, on the other hand, is Menelaos' and Helena's encounter in Troy.

In Homer we find the main outline of the Helena myth. In the Iliad it is related how she followed Paris to Troy and on several occasions during the war she appears in the poem as a principal character. In the Odyssey the action continues in some episodes. She receives Odysseus hospitably as he, disguised as a beggar, visits Troy in order to reconnoitre and she helps him<sup>22</sup>, but on the other hand she tries to help the Trojans by enticing the Greeks in the wooden horse to reveal themselves<sup>23</sup>. Her stay in Egypt during the return to Sparta is touched upon<sup>24</sup>, and in the frame story in the fourth book of the Odyssey she is rehabilitated as a splendid queen in Sparta again.

Thus Menelaos' and Helena's meeting in the Iliu Persis is not described in Homer. The destinies of Helena were further developed by the Cyclic poets and in the later literature, among others by Stesichoros and Herodotos and the Attic tragedians. The rhetorical authors made use of her story and her vicissitudes were parodied in the comedies. She lives in the Alexandrian literature and Theokritos sings of her beauty in his eighteenth Idyll. Also in the Latin literature she is a motif often used.

On a mirror with inscription in the British Museum<sup>25</sup> Menelaos' and Helena's encounter in the Iliu Persis is represented. The same motif is repeated on other mirrors without inscription. Helena has fled to the Palladion, which she embraces pursued by Menelaos with drawn sword. He grasps her by the hair ready to

<sup>18</sup> E.S. 3, pp. 174 ff. and passim; LILLY B. GHALI-KAHIL, *Les Enlèvements et le Retour d'Hélène dans les Textes et les Documents Figurés*, pp. 261 ff.

<sup>19</sup> The Metropolitan Museum of Art, GISELA RICHTER, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, p. 51, Fig. 149; GHALI-KAHIL, o.c., p. 269, Pl. XCIII:1.

<sup>20</sup> GHALI-KAHIL, o.c., pp. 264 f.

<sup>21</sup> E.S. 5, 78.

<sup>22</sup> Od. IV, 240 ff.

<sup>23</sup> Od. IV, 275 ff.

<sup>24</sup> Od. IV, 126.

<sup>25</sup> E.S. 4, 398; GHALI-KAHIL, o.c., p. 270, Pl. 94:1.

strike. He is held back by Thetis, who seizes him by the arm and Aphrodite stands in the background with her eyes fixed on him. To the right of the Athena statue stand Aias and *Phulphsna* who is probably identical with Polyxena.

Though here iconographically influenced by the Cassandra motif the picture corresponds with the many representations on Greek vases showing Menelaos at the destruction of Troy pursuing Helena<sup>26</sup>. In a large group of such vase paintings (and also in the Parthenon metopes) Menelaos is hindered in his undertaking by a god, usually Aphrodite or Eros, and lets his sword fall vanquished by Helena's beauty. According to one statement Helena fled to the temple of Aphrodite<sup>27</sup> and according to another the Greeks intended to stone her<sup>28</sup>. In the rich tradition which was developed in the literature about the events concerning Helena at the fall of Troy—in the greater part preserved by pictorial art—the opinion of the Latin authors differs greatly, as Lilly B. Ghali-Kahil has shown<sup>29</sup>, from the Greek view of Helena. While Helena among the Greeks preserves a divine splendour and is also capable of a certain rehabilitation, the Romans take a more realistic view. In Vergil she appears contemptible and odious to the Trojans as well as to the Greeks<sup>30</sup>. She led the attack of the Greeks with light signals<sup>31</sup> and betrayed her second Trojan hus-

band Deiphobos<sup>32</sup>. She hid herself in Vesta's temple in fear of both Trojans and Greeks<sup>33</sup>. She is drawn in dark colours also by other Roman authors such as Horace<sup>34</sup> and Seneca<sup>35</sup>.

Against this background of literary and iconographic tradition concerning the fate of Helena at the fall of Troy we have to consider the engraving on our mirror. There seems to be no doubt that the motif sphere is Iliu Persis. Odysseus and Diomedes and the men at the windlass who owing to the Phrygian caps seem to be Trojans show it clearly. But we are left in the lurch by both literary and iconographic aids when we try to interpret the picture more closely. There seem to be two ways of interpreting the situation. Odysseus and Diomedes have Helena lowered down into the well in order to hide and protect her from the fury of Menelaos and the Greeks—as thanks for the help she had given. Or they rescue her out of the well into which she had been lowered by the Trojans. Certainly the picture very much differs from the Greek vase paintings and also from the representation on other Etruscan mirrors which are wholly in the Greek tradition. The representation of Helena here has a burlesque and ridiculing character. We have reason to look for the origin of this new variant of the Helena myth in the Attic comedy, although most likely in the Italic theatre, in a tragedy, a comedy or perhaps a mime. The conventional palace background which is constant in the mirrors of the *Kranzspiegelgruppe* indicates that the source of inspiration is the theatrical stage.

<sup>26</sup> See GHALI-KAHIL, *o.c.*, pp. 71 ff.

<sup>27</sup> Schol. Euripid. *Andromache* 628 ff. (*Ibykos*). Cf. Schol. Arist. *Vesp.* 714.

<sup>28</sup> Stesichoros Schol. Eurip. *Orest.* 1287.

<sup>29</sup> *O.c.*, pp. 212 ff.

<sup>30</sup> 'Troiae et patriae communis Erinys', Aen. II, 573.

<sup>31</sup> Aen. VI, 515–519.

<sup>32</sup> Aen. VI, 523–527.

<sup>33</sup> Aen. II, 567–587.

<sup>34</sup> Sat. I, 3, 106–108.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. *Troades*, 866–867, 871–887.

**Photos:**

**S. Hallgren, pp. 36 (Fig. 4), 50.**

**N. Lagergren, pp. 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 20, 27, 32, 33, 39, 43, 44, 52, 55.**



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# Some Reliefs from the Memphite Necropolis

BENGT JULIUS PETERSON

Already in antiquity the tombs of the Memphite necropolis were successively destroyed. Their walls, adorned with reliefs and inscriptions, were, cut into suitable slabs, used as building material, especially in the Coptic monastery of Apa Jeremias nearby; or the limestone slabs disappeared in the villagers' limekilns.

From very remote times Memphis was one of the most important cities of Egypt; at times she was the dominating religious and political centre of the country. During the Empire Memphis was besides Thebes the capital, the residence of several pharaohs and Egypt's main military base. Furthermore she was the traditional centre of the Ptah cult, hence implying that Memphis was the site of spacious temple areas<sup>1</sup>. It is natural to find a fine and flourishing art here, where important men were patrons of art, and where an old tradition of art was still living in connection with the cult of Ptah<sup>2</sup>. But alas, the remains of ancient Memphis are few; the monuments from the Empire of value for the history of art are, apart from scanty architectural remains, mostly walls from tombs, often having been picked out from the ruins of the Apa Jeremias monastery.

During the Empire the main part of the Memphite necropolis was situated near the Teti pyramid extending south down to the monastery. The sites of the individual tombs are mostly unknown. In the early nineteenth century the pillage of this area began. Reliefs and statues were shipped to Europe, where the newly awakened interest in Egyptian art made them desirable for public as well as private collections. A vast number of reliefs have been found during archaeological investigations, many of them having been extracted from the Apa Jeremias monastery, mostly by J.E. QUIBELL<sup>3</sup>. Consequently this archaeological material has been known for a long time. And yet it has not been the subject of a comprehensive study, perhaps owing to the fact that the actual material is now scattered all over the world and is to a large extent unpublished.

In the early nineteenth century reliefs from Memphis found their way to Sweden too. Two fragments in Linköping are known<sup>4</sup>, which were probably acquired about 1815 by the then chaplain to the Swedish Legation in Constantinople, and later dean, S.F. LIDMAN<sup>5</sup>. And to the Memphite material may be added the reliefs and inscriptions published in this

paper. They were most probably brought to Sweden in 1826 – the fact, however, cannot be established – as part of the gift of Egyptian antiquities presented to the then Royal Museum in Stockholm<sup>6</sup> by G. ANASTASI, Consul General in Egypt to the United Kingdoms of Sweden and Norway<sup>7</sup>. Having been transferred in 1866 to the then newly established National Museum the reliefs were in 1928 deposited with the then new Egyptian Museum of Stockholm, since 1954 the Egyptian Department of the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities, MEDELHAVSMUSEET, where they are now kept. There are six limestone fragments (two of them made up of two pieces joined together) with the inventory numbers MM 32011–MM 32016<sup>8</sup>. Some of the slabs are rectangularly cut, indicating that they were once probably used as building material. The slabs are the following:


MM 32011 (NME 38). Limestone slab, 97 × 62 cm., from a wall with reliefs and inscriptions *en creux*<sup>9</sup>. (Fig. 1).

The bottom and the right side have a decorative framework<sup>10</sup>. There are two registers separated by a horizontal line. The lower register shows six men with offerings. Their heads are shaved. They are uniformly dressed in long skirts without pleating or any pattern. They have no sandals. From left to right they are bringing the following offerings: The first man, fragmentarily preserved, is leading a mammal, part of the back and tail of which are visible, and carrying stalks of lotus or papyrus. The second man has a winejar and two sacks, seemingly net-sacks of some kind. The third one is leading a male gazelle and is carrying on his arm a gazelle kid<sup>11</sup>, while the fourth man on his raised hands is holding a tray with various food provisions, from which stalks of lotus are hanging down. The fifth and sixth men are bringing two sacks, stalks of lotus or papyrus and fowls.

The upper register shows the feet of a


person fitted with sandals and dressed in a pleated garment. In front of the person there are seven fragmentary vertical lines of hieroglyphs. Behind the person is one line.

#### Commentary:

The inscriptions are fragments of the concluding part of spell 125 of the Book of the Dead. The lines are counted from the left. Line 1 = E. NAVILLE, *Das ägyptische Totenbuch II*, Berlin 1886, 125 (Schlussrede), 6. Line 2 = E. NAVILLE, *op. cit.* II, 125 (Schlussrede), 6; following the text of Pb, but there without *m3<sup>c</sup> hrw* after the name. Line 3 = E. NAVILLE, *op. cit.* II, 125 (Schlussrede), 7. Line 4 = E. NAVILLE, *op. cit.* II, 125 (Schlussrede), 8. The plural strokes of the preceding word *wr.w* are also preserved. Line 5 = E. NAVILLE, *op. cit.* II, 125 (Schlussrede), 9. Part of the preceding  is preserved.

Line 6 = E. NAVILLE, *op. cit.* II, 125 (Schlussrede), 10. There remain the plural strokes of the preceding word *rmṯ*.

Line 7 = E. NAVILLE, *op. cit.* II, 125 (Schlussrede), 11.

Line 8 = E. NAVILLE, *op. cit.* II, 125 (Schlussrede), 11. The  of the preceding *ḥ* is visible.

#### Translation:

Line 1: . . . I have done [righteousness in Ta-meri].

Line 2: . . . the justified . . .

Line 3: . . . who swallow . . .

Line 4: . . . day [of the great judgement].

Line 5: . . . There is no [my] (false) witness . . .

Line 6: . . . things [with which the gods] are content . . .

Line 7: . . . clothing to the naked one . . .

Line 8: [Come] in peace . . .



Fig. 1. Limestone slab. MM 32011.

MM 32012 (NME 38). Limestone slabs, the upper fragment  $89 \times 37$  cm., the lower  $110 \times 41$  cm., from a wall with reliefs and inscriptions *en creux*. Made up of two fragments joined together<sup>13</sup>. (Fig. 2).

The upper slab is badly damaged; its reliefs and inscriptions are partially obliterated. The lower slab is in good condition despite the poor quality of the limestone. Along the bottom part of the lower fragment is a framework of two bands<sup>13</sup>. There are two registers separated from each other by two horizontal lines.

The scene in the lower register shows five men proceeding with various offerings. The man in the very front, to the left, is a *stm*-

priest, whose rank is shown by the panther skin he is wearing; its paws and tail are clearly visible. In one hand he is holding an incense-jar in the form of a sculptured hand in the end of a handle. With the other hand he has been holding a libation vessel – he is represented pouring water in order to cleanse the offerings in front of him – and the falling jet of water can be seen to the right just above the offerings. These include one head of cattle its legs bound, a fowl and fruits.

Like the other men the *stm*-priest has a shaved head and is wearing, besides his panther skin, like the others a long pleated skirt. All of them are without sandals. The man behind the *stm*-priest is carrying an altar-



Fig. 2. Limestone slabs. MM 32012

table with a high cone-shaped lamp<sup>14</sup> and stalks of papyrus. The third one is leading an *oryx gazella*, while the fourth one in his lifted hand is coming with two platters of incense<sup>15</sup>. The fifth man has an animal, one head of cattle, in a halter and stalks of lotus or papyrus.

Between the second and third man from the left there is an inscription of three vertical lines:



*Translation:* "His beloved servant who follows him."

Between the fourth and fifth men there is

also an inscription of at least two vertical lines. However, there are only faint traces of hieroglyphic signs.

The upper register has an inscription of at least twelve vertical lines. They are now almost completely obliterated. As there are only some few signs readable, I am not giving a translation of the text.

MM 32013 (NME 37). Limestone slab 91 × 55 cm., from a wall with reliefs and inscriptions *en creux*. Made up of two fragments joined together<sup>16</sup>. (Fig. 3).

To the right is a fragmentary relief representing a standing man dressed in an intricately pleated, diaphanous garment of a type fairly common in the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties. A sensitive and skilled work

manship is shown in the execution of body and garment. In front of the man are eight vertical lines of hieroglyphs, behind him is one. The first three lines from the left contain passages of spell 182 of the Book of the Dead, while the other lines have passages of spell 183. The version of spell 182 must have been an abbreviated one; the end of that spell has probably been omitted. As these spells are rare, especially spell 183, they are of a certain interest<sup>17</sup>. The version here of spell 182 differs somewhat from texts earlier published.

*Transcription:*

From the left.

Line 1: . . . [h] ry t3wy shr [dwt] shpr nfrw  
b=h n mrwt=f t3wy wr . . .

Line 2: . . . imntt wr b3w =3 wrwt ndm ib =3  
3wt ib sm3= hrw m n3[irr=f] . . .

Line 3: . . . i3y m iwnw dmd.n n=f ntr nb  
mrwt=f s3 . . .

Line 4: . . . dsr sh3 hry- s=y=f in wsir stm wr  
hrp [hmt] . . .

Line 5: . . . smsw n dhwtw h=ykw(y) m irt.n=f  
nb in.n=f n . . .


Line 6: . . . dsr rdi=f wbn sw hr snbt=k  
shd=f n=k . . .

Line 7: . . . snwy dr=f n=k nsny hnnw . . .

Line 8: . . . =k špt [r] ibw=sn . . .

Line 9: . . . mi wd.n it=k pth t3-tnn . . .

*Commentary:*





Line 1: = BD 182, cf. L. SPELEERS, *Le chapitre CLXXXII du Livre des Morts*, Rec. de Trav. 40, 1923, pp. 86 ff. ]  , add hr-sign before, corresponds to:





“who governs the land”, (Pap. Greenfield).  
shr, in the lacuna after this word insert dwt,  
“evil”. Add r after the swallow (wr) in the  
bottom of the line.




Fig. 3. Limestone slab. MM 32013


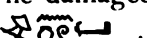
Line 2: = BD 182, cf. L. SPELEERS, op. cit. The uppermost sign to the left is . The group has been . The last sign of the line is  of the group , the beginning of the place-name Naref (cf. H. BONNET, *Reallexikon*, p. 506).

Line 3 = BD 182, cf. L. SPELEERS, op. cit. , an interesting writing of *i3w*, "adoration" because of the  of the root *i3i*. Cf. E. EDEL, *Beiträge zum ägyptischen Lexikon*, ZÄS 79, 1954, pp. 87 f. *sš*, add the ending *tī* of the old perfective.


Line 4 = BD 183, cf. E. NAVILLE, *Todtenbuch I*, pl. CCIX, line 1. Before *dsr* add *t3*. In the lacuna after *st3* add *hr*. *hry-š<sup>c</sup>y=f*, cf. BD 142, e.g. Pap. Turin 142,24. Also in *Amduat*, cf. E. HORNING, *Das Amduat. Die Schrift der verborgenen Raumes II*, (= *Ägyptologische Abhandlungen Bd 7*), Wiesbaden 1963, p. 65 (number 194). *stm*, on this title cf. A. GARDINER, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica I*, Oxford 1947, pp. 39 ff; C. MAYSTRE, *Sur les grands prêtres de Ptah*, JNES 8, 1949, pp. 84 ff. *wr*, after *wr* traces of *hrp hmt*, which together form the title of the high priest of Ptah. On the title cf. A. GARDINER, op. cit. I, pp. 38 f., II, p. 269; C. MAYSTRE, op. cit.

Line 5 = BD 183, cf. E. NAVILLE, op. cit. I, pl. CCIX, line 4-5. In the end of the line traces of an *f* and an *n*.

Line 6 = BD 183, cf. E. NAVILLE, op. cit. I, pl. CCIX, line 8-9. Before *dsr* add *t3*. In the lacuna after *wbn* add the determinative .

Line 7 = BD 183, cf. E. NAVILLE, op. cit. I, pl. CCIX, line 11. After *nšny* the  determinative. The damaged word at the end of the line is .

Line 8 = BD 183, cf. E. NAVILLE, op. cit. I, pl. CCIX, line 12. In the lacuna after *špt* add *r*.

Line 9 = BD 183, cf. E. NAVILLE, op. cit. I, pl. CCIX, line 14-15.  is the determinative and plural strokes of *bi3t*, "iron".

After the name of Ptah traces of the determinative, the sitting god.

#### Translation:

Line 1: . . . the commander of the Two Lands, who drives [evil] away, who brings into being goodness and abundance because of his love to the Two Lands, who is great . . .

Line 2: . . . of the West, great of power, great of the crown (*wrrt*), sweet of heart, great of joy, who is justified in Na-[ref] . . .

Line 3: . . . adoration in Heliopolis. Every god has associated himself with him; his love is extending . . .

Line 4: . . . [the] holy [land]. "He who is on his sand-heap" is exalted by Osiris the *stm*-priest, Greatest of Master Craftsmen . . .

Line 5: . . . train of Thoth. I am rejoicing at all things which he has done. He has brought unto . . .

Line 6: . . . [the] holy [land]. He causes the sun to shine on your breast, he illuminates for you . . .

Line 7: . . . the two Horus brothers. He has destroyed for you disaster and uproar . . .

Line 8: . . . you the anger [from] their hearts . . .

Line 9: . . . [iron] according to the command of your father Ptah-Tatenen . . .

MM 32014 (NME 53). Fragment of a limestone jamb, 77 × 46 cm. Reliefs and inscriptions *en creux*<sup>18</sup>. (Fig. 4).

On the upper part there are four vertical lines of a main inscription, see Fig. 4.

#### Translation:

From the left.

Line 1: . . . Pahamnata, the justified.

Line 2: . . . [Greatest] of Master Craftsmen<sup>19</sup> Pahamnata, the justified.

Line 3: . . . [Greatest] of Master Craftsmen Pahamnata, the justified.

Line 4: . . . [Greatest] of Master Craftsmen Pahamnata, the justified.







Fig. 4. Fragment of a limestone jamb.  
MM 32014


Above the right figure of the two there is a carelessly carved inscription of three vertical lines:



*Commentary:*

The inscriptions of lines 1 and 2 are written as a retrograde inscription. Line 3 is normal. Line 1: The position of *n* is explainable as an inversion of *h3wt n pth* (cf. Wörterbuch 3, 226 [18] and Belegstellen 3, p. 71).

Line 2:  is the semi-hieratic form of . The latter sign often takes the place

of  as a determinative, cf. A. GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 532 (X 4-5). For the name Ptahemhab, cf. H. RANKE, *Personennamen I*, 140:2.

*Translation:*

Line 1: The Master of Ptah's altar.

Line 2: Ptahemhab.

Line 3: the justified.

The two men represented on the lower part of the jamb are dressed in long skirts without pleating. The left one is distinguished by a wig, the right one is fitted with sandals.

The person to the left, very clumsily carved, is represented with both arms raised in an act of adoration. The man to the right is carrying two hand-braziers, filled with incense, and, under his arm, two pieces of lettuce. The head of this person is carefully hewn (Fig. 5). It shows a sensitive modelling,



Fig. 5. Detail from the reliefs on the fragment fig. 4

and it has significant details such as the wrinkled forehead. The upper body, too, is rendered in a realistic way. Uncommon also is the direct side-view of his upper body. The man to the left may be Pahamnata himself, the other man is the less important of the two, a Master of Ptah's altar<sup>20</sup> as stated in the inscription.

MM 32015 (NME 54). Limestone fragment from a wall with inscriptions *en creux*, 76 × 43 cm<sup>21</sup>. (Fig. 6).


The fragment, badly damaged especially in the upper part, contains four vertical lines of an inscription and traces of two more. The four lines have a fragmentarily preserved text.


*Commentary:*


From the right.

Line 1: The sign below the *m* could be part of a *t*.

Line 2: After the fragmentary *s* above, the text could be restored:

 , "*stm*-priest in the House of Ptah". The curved line before *pr* is a damage to the stone. Before *hmt*, restore *hrp*.

Line 3: The first sign, badly damaged, is certainly  , being the end of the title

 "*stm*-priest of the Mansion of Noblemen".

Line 4: Before *hmt*, restore the *hrp*-sign.

*Translation:*

Line 1: . . . his coming out from . . .

Line 2: . . . s[*tm*-priest in] the House of Ptah, Greatest of Master Craftsmen Pahamnata . . .

Line 3: . . . [*stm*-priest of] the Mansion of Noblemen, Greatest of Master Craftsmen Pahamnata . . .

Line 4: . . . his . . . Greatest of Master Craftsmen Pahamnata . . .

MM 32016 (NME 63). Limestone fragment from a wall, 49 × 44 cm<sup>22</sup>. (Fig. 7).



Fig. 6. Limestone fragment. MM 32015

The loose limestone is badly weathered. In the middle of the fragment is a relief *en creux* representing a standing male figure. One hand is raised in adoration, the other is carrying a bundle of lotus- or papyrus-stalks, which is on his shoulder. The man is dressed in a long pleated skirt and is adorned with a neck-collar.

There has been at least one vertical line of hieroglyphs to the right. The only signs preserved are those of the group  $\square \lambda$ , the name of the god Ptah.

Most of the Memphite tomb reliefs from

the Empire are executed in limestone of good quality. During the eighteenth dynasty an independent and elegant technique developed in Memphis – in the finest tombs of very skilled workmanship with reliefs in sunk as well as in low relief. During the nineteenth dynasty this technical skill soon becomes conventional and stereotyped; the sunk reliefs, less difficult to sculpture, dominate. Strictly speaking, there is no material for comparison from other burial fields in Egypt. The Theban necropolis has quite different technical problems with its rock-tombs with walls mostly unsuitable for reliefs. The same problem as in Thebes does also occur in Amarna.

Among the Empire tombs at Memphis the oldest known are those of Ptahmose and Paatenemheb<sup>23</sup> from the time of Amenophis III–Amenophis IV. The artistic climax of the Memphite reliefs is shown by the tomb of the general, and later king, Haremhab, from which a large number of fragments is preserved<sup>24</sup>. This tomb was executed in the end of the Amarna age. The connections with the realism and individuality of the Amarna style



Fig. 7. Limestone fragment. MM 32016

are obvious<sup>25</sup>. Several of the scenes are worked in low relief, but many others in sunk relief. The use of sunk relief has made possible pictures with rapid shading-off and vivid impression and has given contrasting effects<sup>26</sup>. Especially the groups of persons represented in this tomb, besides similar scenes on two relief slabs in Berlin<sup>27</sup>, show a dramatic concentration and an inspired pictorial relationship of the persons and their connections with each other<sup>28</sup>. Not least the representations of the human faces have a greater individuality than in any other tomb reliefs; there is a masterly shading-off technique, which creates the psychological tension.

Particularly in the Amarna tombs the profane scenes are dominant. In the Memphite tomb of Haremheb there are several scenes of private life. Gradually, however, the funerary scenes become more and more frequent, funerary scenes which often correspond to contemporary illustrations in copies of the Book of the Dead. And religious texts mostly accompany these scenes. This development is only partially evident in the fragmentarily preserved Memphite material, but it is apparent if one studies the abundant Theban material.

Simultaneously with the change in the motifs of tomb decorations – soon they are almost always derived from the religious sphere – one can observe an increasing stiffness in form and composition. The style becomes stereotyped and uninspired. This is of course dependent on the repetitive character of the religious motifs<sup>29</sup>. After a transitional period from the Amarna age to the beginning of the long reign of Ramesses II, when a stylistic influence of the Amarna age is still living as a reflex and when the representations still have a life and strength of their own, the stiff and lifeless style in the tomb reliefs begins, a style which is only too significative of the nineteenth dynasty and the following period of the Ramessides.

A similar stylistic development is evident in the contemporary royal art too, such as this can be seen in temple reliefs. After the end of the Amarna age there is an attachment to stylistic ideals which were dominant during the reign of Amenophis III. This backward-looking tendency is best displayed by the lifeless, insensitively polished representations in the temple of Sethos I at Abydos, representations in a sterile and hieratic style. The living royal art of the nineteenth dynasty is exemplified in the big temple reliefs with a profane accent, which with representations of battles and royal sports form an independent genre, sharply contrasting with the increasingly stagnant tomb art.

The Memphite origin of the tomb reliefs here published is indisputable. Two of them (MM 32014 & MM 32015) are inscribed with the name and title of a high priest of Ptah in Memphis, Pahamnata, whose tomb we must suppose to have been built in the Memphite necropolis. Because of the epigraphical similarity between MM 32015 and MM 32013, the latter slab can be assigned to the same tomb; the correctness of such an attribution is partly confirmed by the title preserved on MM 32013, "*stm*-priest, Greatest of Master Craftsmen . . ." Further MM 32011 could perhaps also be assigned to the tomb of Pahamnata because of its epigraphy. But MM 32012 and the unimportant fragment MM 32016 cannot be localized; there can, however, be no doubt of their Memphite origin, especially when they are compared with numerous parallels from that necropolis.

The style and the contents of the reliefs are conventional. The scenes representing offering-carriers and the accompanying religious texts always occur in the tombs. The scenes here published do not diverge from the traditional patterns. In style, on the other hand, they offer some interesting details. The technical execution of the human figures is generally of quite a fairly high quality; the

contours are clean and strong, the persons have a well-balanced carriage. There is, however, no elegance; the technical work is insensitive and routinary. But the artists have taken pains to produce a fine shading-off of the faces. On MM 32011, for instance, they are of a rather sensitive workmanship; they have indeed no individual features, but the work is serious and careful. The head of the Master of Ptah's altar Ptahemheb on MM 32014 has been meticulously hewn, in contrast to the sketchy representation of his body. The face has a realistic expression, portraying the old man with wrinkled forehead. Further also the upper part of his body shows a realistic representation. MM 32013 has a fragmentarily preserved but masterly picture of a human body. The diaphanous garment accentuates the body; the artist's skill is excellent. Details like these, the wellcharacterized faces in MM 32011 and MM 32014 and the sensuous body in MM 32013, are reflections of the artistic freedom and the tendency towards a strong desire to reproduce reality which were prevalent in art during the Amarna age. Still a faint echo from the time of art's liberation from the fetters of the traditional religious dogmas lives on. But the representations here set out are also examples showing how soon that free art broke down because of the changed attitude of the art patrons to the art they were purchasing; again the prescriptive forms became dominant, but details like those pointed out here disclose that the hands of the artists did not move as swiftly as the mutable thoughts of their patrons.

Two of the Stockholm monuments bear the name and title of the high priest Pahamnata, and a third one probably belonged to the tomb of the same person. There are, however, certain difficulties in establishing the date of this tomb, as we know of at least three high priests with this name. It is possible to distinguish some of their monuments:

I: One Pahamnata had probably been in office in the eighteenth dynasty. He belonged to the family of Ptahmose<sup>30</sup>. A statue in Firenze, Inv. No. 1730<sup>31</sup>, of a high priest Ptahmose, mentions his son or descendant, the high priest Pahamnata. Ptahmose lived under Amenophis III and his statue had apparently been made during the reign of that king; its style, especially that of the face, is close to the style of portraits of Amenophis III.

II: Two Pahamnatas lived in the nineteenth dynasty, one in the beginning, one in the end of that dynasty. The datable monuments of them are:


a/ Pahamnata in the beginning of the nineteenth dynasty:

1/A statue published in PSBA 14, 1892, pp. 163 ff<sup>32</sup>, mentions the high priest Pahamnata as father of the wazir Rahotep. This wazir lived in the end of the reign of Merneptah<sup>33</sup>.

2/A stela in the British Museum, no. 183<sup>34</sup>, mentions high priests of Memphis, among them Pahamnata. This stela, as H. KEES has suggested, is a monument of the Rahotep family and must be dated to the time of Ramesses II<sup>35</sup>.

b/ Pahamnata in the end of the nineteenth dynasty:

1/A limestone statue in the Louvre, A 72<sup>36</sup>, represents two seated men. They are the wazir Hori and the high priest Pahamnata. The relation of the two men is unknown. The statue is of Ramesside date as indicated by J. VANDIER<sup>37</sup>. H. KEES wants to date this Hori and thus the representation of this Pahamnata to the end of the nineteenth dynasty or the beginning of the twentieth dynasty<sup>38</sup>. It cannot be disputed on stylistic grounds.

2/A stone pillar from a tomb represents the high priest Pahamnata on its four sides, Firenze no. 2607<sup>39</sup>. This Pahamnata is son of *Mhj* and . I am rather inclined to date this pillar to the end of the nine-

teenth dynasty on stylistic grounds. Also, as H. KEES has pointed out<sup>40</sup>, there is a resemblance to the pillar of the high priest Hori, probably from the beginning of the twentieth dynasty, which was picked out from the Apa Jeremias monastery<sup>41</sup>.

3/A granite stela in Cairo, Ent. 27322<sup>42</sup>, mentions the high priest Pahamnata and four relatives, the connections of which are unknown. This stela has been ascribed to the nineteenth dynasty or later by H. KEES<sup>43</sup>.

III: There are some other monuments, incompletely published, which it has not been possible for me to assign to any one of the three Pahamnata now mentioned. They are:

1/A granite sarcophagus with cover in the British Museum, no. 18<sup>44</sup>. It has belonged to the high priest Pahamnata and is ascribed to the nineteenth dynasty.

2/A wooden coffin in Berlin, no. 33<sup>45</sup>, has belonged to the high priest Pahamnata. H. KEES suggests that this coffin and the London sarcophagus could have belonged to the same burial<sup>46</sup>.

3/ Two fragments of an alabaster palette in Leiden, AAL 157<sup>47</sup>.

In 1950, however, in a structure of Coptic date at the Apa Jeremias monastery, several slabs with reliefs and inscriptions were found, slabs bearing the name of the high priest Pahamnata<sup>48</sup>. Also a limestone statue in a niche of the same man was found<sup>49</sup>. As the slabs are not completely excavated nor published, it has not been possible to compare them with the previously known monuments of the Pahamnatas and to ascribe them to one of the high priests of this name. The statue, however, seems to be rather close to that of Pahamnata in the group statue Louvre A 72. Thus it ought to belong to the end of the nineteenth dynasty. But only after a thorough field investigation it will be possible to establish the date of these new Pahamnata monuments and perhaps to make clear the distribution of those already known.

On stylistic grounds one is inclined to ascribe the Stockholm monuments mentioning Pahamnata – only MM 32014 and MM 32013, the latter of uncertain attribution, are relevant – to the beginning of the nineteenth dynasty. Thus they have to be added to the list under II a above. But the criteria for a definitive dating are too weak and with the material now accessible the definitive ascription of the Stockholm reliefs is impossible. All of them have the stamp of the repetitious art of the nineteenth dynasty, but with their realistic features they fit well into the beginning of that dynasty. Repeated investigations in the Memphite necropolis, publication and comprehensive studies of the now widely scattered Memphite material could in the future lead to more exact datings and ascriptions.

<sup>40</sup>A survey of Memphis and her Antiquities in H. KEES, *Ancient Egypt, A Cultural Topography*, London 1961, pp. 147 ff.

<sup>41</sup>Cf. H. BONNET, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, Berlin 1952, p. 617; cf. also M. SANDMAN-HOLMBERG, *The God Ptah*, Lund 1946, pp. 54 ff.

<sup>42</sup>Cf. especially J.E. QUIBELL, *Excavations at Saqqara (1908–9, 1909–10)*. The Monastery of Apa Jeremias, Cairo 1912.

<sup>43</sup>T. SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, *De egyptiska relieferna i Linköpings stifts- och landsbibliotek, Linköpings Biblioteks Handlingar*, N.S. Band 4:2, 1950, pp. 1–8.

<sup>44</sup>For S.F. Lidman, see B.J. PETERSON, *Swedish Travelers in Egypt during the Period 1700–1850*, *Opuscula Atheniensia* VII 1967, p. 14 ff.

<sup>45</sup>It is not possible to decide which reliefs were a part of the gift. In a letter of 1826 in the archives of the National Museum there is mention of: "fyrrkantiga Kalkstens-Pilstrar af åtskilliga storlekar, föreställande i uphöjdt arbete offerscener, samt dessutom pryddes med hieroglyphiske inhuggningar". In any case, what can be stated is that the reliefs came to Stockholm before 1868, when J.D.C. LIEBLEIN published his "Katalog öfver egyptiska fornlemningar i National-Museum", Stockholm 1868.

<sup>46</sup>On Anastasi and his work for the benefit of Egyptology, cf. W.R. DAWSON, *Anastasi, Sallier, and Harris and their Papyri*, *JEA* 35, 1949, pp. 158 ff.

<sup>47</sup>The earlier inventory numbers of the National Museum are given below as NME.

<sup>48</sup>Mentioned by LIEBLEIN, *op. cit.*, pp. 25 f. The inscriptions have been incompletely reproduced by M. MOGENSEN, *Stèles égyptiennes au Musée National de Stockholm*, Copenhagen 1919, pp. 41 f. Both LIEBLEIN and MOGENSEN thought that this slab belonged to MM 32012. This is however, incorrect.

<sup>10</sup>Cf. J. VANDIER, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne* IV, Paris 1964, pp. 41 ff. There are several parallels in Memphite tombs of the 18th and 19th dynasties, cf. e.g. QUIBELL, *op. cit.*, pl. LXXI-LXXIV.

<sup>11</sup>For gazelles as offerings, cf. H. KEES, *Bemerkungen zum Tieropfer der Ägypter und seiner Symbolik*, Nachrichten von der Akad. d. Wiss. in Göttingen, Philologisch-Hist. Klasse, 1942:2, pp. 72 f.

<sup>12</sup>Mentioned by LIEBLEIN, *op. cit.*, pp. 25 f. The inscriptions have been incompletely reproduced by MOGENSEN, *op. cit.*, pp. 41 f. Both of them thought that this slab belonged to MM 32011. Cf. above note 9.

<sup>13</sup>Cf. above note 10.

<sup>14</sup>Cf. N. DE G. DAVIES, *A Peculiar Form of a New Kingdom Lamp*, JEA 10, 1924, pp. 9 ff.

<sup>15</sup>Cf. *idem*, *Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah* (Mond Excavations at Thebes II), London 1948, pl. XXIV (left) and p. 34.

<sup>16</sup>Mentioned by LIEBLEIN, *op. cit.*, p. 25. The inscriptions have been incompletely reproduced by MOGENSEN, *op. cit.*, pp. 27 f.

<sup>17</sup>One of the above-mentioned reliefs in Linköping also has some passages of spell 182, cf. SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, *op. cit.*, pl. 2.

<sup>18</sup>Mentioned by LIEBLEIN, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

<sup>19</sup>Emending with *wr* before the group *hꜣp hmt*.

<sup>20</sup>A less important official, as can be seen on the Berlin relief 12411, where such an official is depicted, cf. A. ERMAN, *Aus dem Grabe eines Hohenpriesters von Memphis*, ZÄS 33, 1895, p. 19 and pl. I. Judging from that relief, according to the position and attitude of the man, he is not among the higher officials.

<sup>21</sup>Mentioned by LIEBLEIN, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

<sup>22</sup>Mentioned by LIEBLEIN, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

<sup>23</sup>B. PORTER & R. MOSS, *Topographical Bibliography* etc. III, Oxford 1931, p. 191.

<sup>24</sup>*Idem*, *op. cit.*, pp. 195 ff.; for more recent works on the tomb of Haremheb, cf. W. WOLF, *Die Kunst Ägyptens*, Stuttgart 1957, p. 706, note 42.

<sup>25</sup>After the disorganization of the Amarna court its artists were most probably employed in Thebes and Memphis, cf. *idem*, *op. cit.*, p. 535.

<sup>26</sup>Cf. L. CURTIUS, *Die Antike Kunst I, Ägypten und Vorderasien* (= *Handbuch der Kunstwissenschaft*), Berlin-Neubabelsberg 1923, p. 190.

<sup>27</sup>Above all Berlin 12411; PORTER & MOSS, *op. cit.*, III, p. 197; WOLF, *op. cit.*, p. 707, note 48.

<sup>28</sup>Cf. CURTIUS, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

<sup>29</sup>Cf. N. DE G. DAVIES, *Two Ramesside Tombs at Thebes*, New York 1927, p. XVI: "What inspiration could an artist find in gods and demons, temple furniture and rites, and the worshipping figures of his patron's family? Interesting episodes are nearly always the best painted,

and many a dull tomb . . . wakes into beauty and brightness as it touches a dramatic scene. But these get rarer and rarer."

<sup>30</sup>Cf. R. ANTHES, *Die hohen Beamten namens Ptahmose in der 18. Dynastie*, ZÄS, 72, 1936, pp. 60 ff.

<sup>31</sup>*Ibidem*, p. 62. Professor G. CAPUTO has most kindly sent me photographs of this statue and also of the pillar Firenze 2607 mentioned below.

<sup>32</sup>Cf. J.D.C. LIEBLEIN, *Dictionnaire de noms hiéroglyphiques*, Supplement, Leipzig 1892, 2562; W. HELCK, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs* (= *Probleme der Ägyptologie* 3), Leiden-Köln 1958, pp. 319 f., cf. also pp. 453 ff.

<sup>33</sup>Cf. HELCK, *op. cit.*, pp. 318 ff.

<sup>34</sup>BRITISH MUSEUM, *A Guide to the Egyptian Galleries* (Sculpture), London 1909, p. 203; LIEBLEIN, *op. cit.*, Christiania-Leipzig 1871, 997.

<sup>35</sup>H. KEES, *Das Priestertum im ägyptischen Staat vom Neuen Reich bis zur Spätzeit* (= *Probleme der Ägyptologie* 1), Leiden-Köln 1953, p. 103, p. 64, note 4.

<sup>36</sup>LIEBLEIN, *op. cit.*, 2051; J. VANDIER, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne* III, Paris 1958, pp. 482, 494, 496, 534 and *Album de planches* pl. CXLV:6; cf. A. WEIL, *Die Zeziere des Pharaonenreiches*, Strassburg 1908, p. 109 and HELCK, *op. cit.*, p. 328.

<sup>37</sup>VANDIER, *op. cit.*, pp. 482 and 494.

<sup>38</sup>KEES, *op. cit.*, p. 114; so also HELCK, *op. cit.*, p. 329.

<sup>39</sup>Two of its sides are reproduced by A. HERMANN, *Eine ungewöhnliche Gesichtsdarstellung des Neuen Reiches*, ZÄS 75, 1939, pl. VIII a.

<sup>40</sup>KEES, *op. cit.*, p. 114, note 2.

<sup>41</sup>QUIBELL, *op. cit.*, pl. LXX.

<sup>42</sup>G. DARESSY, *Remarques et notes*, Rec. de Trav. 10, 1888, p. 150; cf. HELCK, *op. cit.*, p. 320, note 1. But HELCK erroneously assigns the stela to the Firenze museum.

<sup>43</sup>KEES, *op. cit.*, p. 64: *Nachträge*, Leiden-Köln 1958, p. 11.

<sup>44</sup>BRITISH MUSEUM, *Guide* (Sculpture), p. 182. From the former Anastasi collection. H. RANKE, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen I*, Glückstadt 1935, p. 115:16 refers to this coffin as "Spät".

<sup>45</sup>G. ROEDER, *Ägyptische Inschriften aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin II*, Leipzig 1924, pp. 374 ff.

<sup>46</sup>KEES, *op. cit.*, p. 112, note 1.

<sup>47</sup>C. LEEMANS, *Description raisonné des monumens égyptiens du Musée d'antiquités des Pays Bas*, Leiden 1840, p. 110.

<sup>48</sup>J. LECLANT, *Compte rendu des fouilles et travaux menés en Égypte durant les campagnes 1948-1950*, Orientalia N.S. 19, 1950, p. 492 and pl. LV. For this and some other references I am indebted to Dr ROSALIND MOSS, Oxford.

<sup>49</sup>*Idem*, *op. cit.*, pl. LVI. The statue now in the Cairo museum, Ent. 89046.

# A Red Lustrous Wheel-made Spindle Bottle and its Contents

PAUL ÅSTRÖM

The Swedish physician Johan Hedenborg<sup>1</sup> (1787–1865), who lived in Rhodes for many years, acquired during his travels in Egypt, Cyprus and the Near East many antiquities which he sent to Swedish museums. Some of the objects first found their way to the National Museum and the Royal Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities in Stockholm, but they have recently been transferred to the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities (Medelhavsmuseet) in Stockholm<sup>2</sup>. The collection includes *inter alia* Egyptian pottery and stone vases; Cypriote pots of the Middle and Late Bronze Ages and of the Iron Age<sup>3</sup>; two Corinthian aryballoi and stamped amphora handles, probably from Rhodes; a Mycenaean III A 1 alabastron-shaped vase, possibly from Egypt<sup>4</sup>; a fragmentary Latin inscription with the name of Trajan.

The collection also includes two Red Lustrous Wheel-made spindle-shaped bottles. One of the bottles will be illustrated in the forthcoming volume IV:1C of *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*<sup>5</sup>; the other bottle<sup>6</sup> is of special interest, not least because of its contents, and will therefore be discussed in detail below.

The bottle (see Fig. 1) has a very tall,

narrow, spindle-shaped body, tapering to the base, which is ring-shaped with conical exterior. The neck is high and narrow and tapers upward to a flat, carinated rim. The fairly flat, vertical handle (with sharp edges) is attached to the upper part of the neck and to the shoulder. The centre of the base is slightly raised on the interior and a pot-mark consisting of a cross (Fig. 2) was incised on it before the firing. The neck, handle and body have been vertically knife-trimmed before firing. The light brown clay is homogeneous and extremely finely mixed, containing mica and a few particles of white grit. The red slip is vertically burnished to a very high lustre. The bottle is 39.5 cm. high and its maximum width is 6.5 cm. The vase was broken into several pieces (Fig. 3) but has been mended recently. It contained a black resinous substance (see further below). The provenance of the bottle is unknown.

The bottle belongs to type 1b of Sjöqvist's typology<sup>7</sup>. There are nine examples from Cyprus of about the same shape and size as Hedenborg's bottle<sup>8</sup>. One of these parallels is from Hala Sultan Tekke in Cyprus and has the same type of pot-mark incised on the base before firing<sup>9</sup>. The same pot-mark also occurs





*Fig. 1-3. Red lustrous wheel-made vase. MM SHM 607:172*

*Fig. 1. The restored bottle; Fig. 2. The base with the pot-mark; Fig. 3. Original condition of the bottle.*



on the lowest part of the handle of a lentoid flask from the Bronze Age Sanctuary at Ayios Iakovos<sup>10</sup>. This is a sign in the Cypro-Minoan syllabary<sup>11</sup>, but it is common enough as a pottery mark presumably without a sign-value<sup>12</sup>. It is possible that the pot-marks on the two above-mentioned Red Lustrous Wheel-made vases were made by the same potter or in the same workshop.

It is not yet possible to prove where Red Lustrous Wheel-made Ware was manufactured.<sup>13</sup> The ware is most frequently found in Cyprus with about 350 recorded items, followed by Anatolia and Egypt with about 100 occurrences each, North Syria with about half that number, Palestine with about a dozen specimens and finally by the Aegean area, where Crete and Rhodes have yielded one example each. The specimens found in Palestine and in the Aegean area are undoubtedly imports. It remains for us to discuss the other areas as possible centres of manufacture of this fabric.

It may be significant that Red Lustrous Wheel-made Ware is most frequent in Cyprus, although the intensive archaeological activity in the island may account for the great number. All the known types of the fabric have been found in Cyprus and – what is more important – there are specific shapes which occur only in the island. Bowls, jars, biconical and ovoid jugs and the tankard are known only from Cyprus. The ware is so common at a site such as Hala Sultan Tekke, as surface surveys show<sup>14</sup>, that it is not out of the question that it was manufactured there either by Cypriote or foreign potters. It is also significant that about a dozen of the pot-marks occurring on Red Lustrous Wheel-made Ware are equivalent to signs in the Cypro-Minoan syllabary, while about half a dozen of these also correspond to signs in the Cypro-Minoan variety at Ras Shamra; the remaining pot-marks were probably incised by potters who could not write.

While tall bottles are known in the Middle Cypriote Bronze Age<sup>15</sup>, the lentoid pilgrim flask is probably of Anatolian derivation. The spindle bottle is not so common in Anatolia, while Red Lustrous Wheel-made libation vessels are abundantly represented there<sup>16</sup>. Some of the latter are considered to have been locally made, but a North Syrian origin is proposed for the others. It should be noted that no Late Cypriote pottery has been recorded from central Anatolia and the inference may be that Red Lustrous Wheel-made Ware did not reach Anatolia from Cyprus, at least not directly. The Hittite Red Burnished Ware may be an ancestor of the fabric. An unusual spindle-shaped bottle from Enkomi in Cyprus has an exact counterpart at Tarsus<sup>17</sup>.

Syria is usually claimed to be the home of the Red Lustrous Wheel-made Ware. It is well represented at Alalakh and Ugarit, but Woolley did not believe that it was made at the former site<sup>18</sup>. The Red Burnished Wheel-made Ware of the Middle Bronze Age may be a prototype of it; the broad-shouldered jug with conical body<sup>19</sup> may well be the ancestor of the spindle bottle with broad shoulder.

Red Polished Ware of almost the same quality as Red Lustrous Wheel-made Ware was made in Egypt before the New Kingdom. Stewart's <sup>20</sup> impressions and my own, after having seen the rich repertory of shapes of Red Polished – Red Lustrous Ware in Egypt, were that Red Lustrous Wheel-made Ware as a fabric may have evolved from Egyptian prototypes. Whether it was manufactured there is another question; it was at any rate imitated there<sup>21</sup>. The spindle bottle is probably depicted on Egyptian tomb paintings among foreign, perhaps Syrian, tribute-bearers<sup>22</sup>.

Perhaps we shall have to envisage more than one manufacturing centre for Red Lustrous Wheel-made Ware. Schaeffer has suggested that it was made both in Cyprus and in Syria<sup>23</sup>, Stewart that it was manufactured

at several sites in Western Asia and Egypt<sup>24</sup>. It is an international ware in a period of lively contacts. Egyptian, Hittite, Syrian and Cypriote ingredients formed part of its creation. The sole place in the Late Bronze Age where the mixing of styles and forms from many areas is characteristic and normal, is Cyprus, situated as it is in focus. If there was only one manufacturing centre, this was likely to be in Cyprus, while Syria is another candidate.

Red Lustrous Wheel-made Ware occurs in Cyprus from Late Cypriote IB to IIC or c. 1525–1225 and in Syria it is of about the same date; in Cyprus there are a few later stray occurrences of sherds from Enkomi and Sinda. In Egypt the ware possibly occurs already in the late phase of the Second Intermediate period and it disappears at the end of the fourteenth century<sup>25</sup>. In Anatolia the ware is fashionable from the late fifteenth to the thirteenth century. The broad-shouldered bottle is – as Schaeffer has observed – earlier than the slender type<sup>26</sup>. It is true that the slender type appears almost simultaneously in Late Cypriote IB, but it outlives the broad type. The date for Hedenborg's bottle cannot be precisely given. The Cypriote parallels to it of known contexts date from the end of the fifteenth and the fourteenth century; the lentoid bottle with the same pot-mark comes from the Bronze Age Sanctuary at Ayios Iakovos which is well dated to the first quarter of the fourteenth century B.C.

Hedenborg's spindle bottle is particularly interesting because of its contents (see Fig. 9). Dr. O. Arrhenius suggested in a letter of the 25th October, 1962, that the contents "seemed to be some kind of asphalt or bitumen". Professor Holger Arbman has informed me that Hjalmar Ljung once analyzed the contents, but his report of the results can no longer be found. A new analysis has been made by Margareta Viklund, who suggests that some kind of reducing sugar is present.

Dr. Karl Afzelius suggests that the contents were honey. See Appendix I–II below for further details.

This is not the first Red Lustrous Wheel-made bottle which has its contents preserved. A spindle bottle from Ras Shamra contained a resinous deposit<sup>27</sup>. A broad-shouldered bottle from Deir el Medineh contained a "liquide huileux et visqueux de couleur brune", and other bottles from the same site contained greasy or oily liquids or a substance resembling resin<sup>28</sup>. The contents of a lentoid flask with two handles from Enkomi Tomb 98 were analyzed for me by Dr. O. Arrhenius, who could not find anything but a clayey substance in it; he informed me that clay is sometimes used as fixative for perfume<sup>29</sup>. Red Lustrous Wheel-made pots from Egypt analyzed on Merrillees' initiative contained fat<sup>30</sup>. It is then clear that the contents of these vases were not always the same.

F. von Bissing suggested that Red Lustrous Wheel-made bottles contained oils and resins just as the Mycenaean stirrup jars did<sup>31</sup>. Information about the contents of pottery is so rare that some references may be given here. A stirrup jar from a collection formed in Egypt contained some preparation of coconut oil<sup>32</sup>. The big stirrup jars from the so-called House of the Oil merchant at Mycenae probably contained perfumes and unguents<sup>33</sup>. A Black Lustrous Wheel-made juglet from Balabish contained ointment with a sweet scent<sup>34</sup>. A Base-ring II juglet from Tell el-Amarna contained a dark brown viscous vegetable oil, the identity of which could not be determined<sup>35</sup>. Other Base-ring juglets contained wax and fat and possibly opium<sup>36</sup>. Resin has been found in wine jars and in a Black slip II bowl from Cyprus<sup>37</sup>. A black resinous pitch was smeared on the interior of a (wine?) jar from Kalopsidha to make it impermeable<sup>38</sup>. It would no doubt be a rewarding task for a chemist to undertake a systematic analysis of the contents of ancient vases.

<sup>1</sup>For biographical details see A.W. PERSSON, *Med hacka och med spade*, Stockholm 1934; Svenska män och kvinnor, Biografisk uppslagsbok, 3, Stockholm 1946, pp. 349–350 (biography by S. LINDMAN); *Vår svenska stam på utländsk mark*, Stockholm 1952–1953, I, p. 467; III, pp. 172, 263; T.J. ARNE, *Svenskarna och österlandet*, Stockholm 1952; S. RABE, *Rhodos*, Stockholm 1964. A biography of Johan Hedenborg has been written by Arne Holmberg. On Hedenborg in Egypt see a recent paper by B.J. Petersen in *Opuscula Atheniensia* VII. An effort is now being made to publish Hedenborg's *magnum opus*, a history of Rhodes in several volumes; a description of that manuscript was given by the writer in the newspaper *Sydsvenska Dagbladet*, Malmö, 12 August 1959.

<sup>2</sup>Inv. no. 607. There are ancient coins collected by Hedenborg in the Royal Coin Cabinet and material pertaining to ethnography and natural history is preserved in Stockholm's Riksmuseum. The University of Uppsala, the Royal Library and other institutions also received material from Hedenborg.

<sup>3</sup>White Painted Ware, Base-ring I–II, and a barrel-shaped jug of Black Polished III (V) Ware. Some of the pots, MM SHM 607:184a–e, were said to be from "Atlyenia", Cyprus, which could be an error for Athienou.

<sup>4</sup>To judge by its somewhat dark and oily consistency; organic matter was better preserved in Egypt than elsewhere. Cf. A. FURUMARK, *The Mycenaean Pottery*, Stockholm 1941, type 84, p. 597, with a variant of motif 32 (rock-pattern) on the shoulder and with concentric circles on the base, cf. *ibid.*, p. 405.

<sup>5</sup>As fig. LIV:6. MM SHM 607:5. Height 31 cm., width of body 8.6 cm.

<sup>6</sup>Medelhavsmuseet, inv. no. MM SHM 607:172.

<sup>7</sup>E. SJÖQVIST, *Problems of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age*, Stockholm 1940, p. 53, fig. 13.

<sup>8</sup>Enkomi Tomb 12 nos. 13 and 14; Enkomi Tomb 76 (Cyprus Museum inv. no. A 1414); Katydhata Tomb 5 no. 9; Hala Sultan Tekke Tomb XI (Cyprus Museum inv. no. A 1415); F. BEHN, *Vorhellenistische Altertümer der östlichen Mittelmeerländer*, Mainz 1913, p. 90, no. 715; Art Museum, Princeton, inv. no. 29–79; Art Museum, Seattle, inv. no. 20.15; Archaeological Institute, Turin, inv. no. 8064.

<sup>9</sup>Cyprus Museum, inv. no. A 1415. *Opuscula Atheniensia* V, p. 117.

<sup>10</sup>Unpublished, Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm. From Square E, 0–20. Cf. also J.L. MYRES, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus*, New York 1913, p. 41, no. 378, with a short vertical incision to the left of the cross, perhaps accidental (personal examination). See also C.F.A. SCHAEFFER, *Ugaritica* II, Paris 1949, fig. 96:1c, 1e, for crosses combined with an incised line.

<sup>11</sup>See M. VENTRIS & J. CHADWICK, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, Cambridge 1956, p. 62, fig. 11. The sign also occurs in the script of Cypro-Minoan character found at Ras Shamra, *ibid.* and O. MASSON in C.F.A. SCHAEFFER, *Ugaritica* III, Paris 1956, p. 245, fig. 213.

<sup>12</sup>The Cypriote material is assembled in the writer's Excavations at Kalopsidha and Ayios Iakovos in Cyprus, *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* II, Lund 1966.

<sup>13</sup>For a recent summary of the opinions on the origin of this ware see R.S. MERRILLEES, *Bronze Age Spindle Bottles*

from the Levant, in *Opuscula Atheniensia* IV, pp. 187–197. For further references see *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition* IV:1C.

<sup>14</sup>Cf. *Opuscula Atheniensia* IV, p. 163, no. 90; V, pp. 117, 119, n. 11. There are many fragments of Red Lustrous Wheel-made Ware from this site in Lund and Oxford.

<sup>15</sup>P. ÅSTRÖM, *The Middle Cypriote Bronze Age*, Lund 1957, fig. XIV.

<sup>16</sup>F. FISCHER, *Die hethitische Keramik von Bogazköy*, Berlin 1963; K. BITTEL et alii, *Bogazköy III*, Berlin 1957, pp. 33 ff. Cf. also *American Journal of Archaeology* 51, 1947, p. 155, fig. 3, Pl. XXXVIc for a bottle and a flask in Hittite pottery.

<sup>17</sup>C.F.A. SCHAEFFER, *Enkomi-Alasia I*, Paris 1952, fig. 42:10; H. GOLDMAN, *Tarsus II*, Princeton 1956, fig. 385:1191.

<sup>18</sup>L. WOOLLEY, *Alalakh*, Oxford 1955, pp. 360 f.

<sup>19</sup>C.F.A. SCHAEFFER, *Ugaritica* I, Paris 1939, p. 60, fig. 48.

<sup>20</sup>*American Journal of Archaeology* 64, 1960, p. 291.

<sup>21</sup>See R.S. MERRILLEES, *Cypriote Bronze Age Pottery Found in Egypt, Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* XVIII, Lund 1968.

<sup>22</sup>J. VERCOUTTER, *L'Egypte et le monde égéen pré-hellénique*, Cairo 1956; R.S. MERRILLEES, *op. cit.*

<sup>23</sup>C.F.A. SCHAEFFER, *Ugaritica* III, Paris 1956, p. 234, n. 4.

<sup>24</sup>Cf. above n. 20.

<sup>25</sup>R.S. MERRILLEES, *op. cit.*

<sup>26</sup>C.F.A. SCHAEFFER, *Missions en Chypre*, Paris 1936, p. 73; *Idem*, *Stratigraphie comparée*, London 1948, p. 378. Contra: E. SJÖQVIST, *op. cit.*, p. 103, n. 4.

<sup>27</sup>C.F.A. SCHAEFFER, *Ugaritica* II, p. 228, text to fig. 1h.

<sup>28</sup>For references see R.S. MERRILLEES, *op. cit.*

<sup>29</sup>An analysis by Dr. Arrhenius of clay of oily consistency inside a Mycenaean III A 2 stirrup jar from Dendra Tomb 14, excavated in 1962, gave the same result. – The flask from Enkomi Tomb 98 (Cyprus Museum, Nicosia, inv. no. A 1404) was illustrated by E. GJERSTAD, *Studies on Prehistoric Cyprus*, Uppsala 1926, p. 203, *Red Lustrous* III Ware, 2.

<sup>30</sup>R.S. MERRILLEES, *op. cit.* A Red Lustrous Wheel-made spindle bottle in Toronto is still sealed and contains its original oil, see D.M. ROBINSON et alii, *A Catalogue of the Greek Vases in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology* Toronto, Toronto 1939, pp. 18 f., no. 73.

<sup>31</sup>*Jahrbuch* XIII, 1898, p. 55.

<sup>32</sup>*American Journal of Archaeology* X, 1906, pp. 300–301.

<sup>33</sup>L.P. PALMER, *Mycenaean and Minoans*, London 1961, pp. 108 f., 170.

<sup>34</sup>G.A. WAINWRIGHT, *Balabish*, London 1920, pp. 61, 66, n. 4, 5; *Opuscula Atheniensia* IV, p. 218, n. 1. There is a fat, yellow matter inside a jug of the same fabric from Enkomi Tomb 3, supplement (in Stockholm, not yet analyzed).

<sup>35</sup>A. LUCAS, *Ancient Egyptian Materials & Industries*, 3rd rev. ed., London 1959, p. 380; 4th ed., London 1962, p. 328.

<sup>36</sup>References in R. S. MERRILLEES, *op. cit.*

<sup>37</sup>*Opuscula Atheniensia* IV, pp. 229 f.

<sup>38</sup>See the writer's publication, quoted in note 12, p. 44.

## APPENDIX I

Extract from a report of *Margareta Viklund*, January, 1966.

Chemical analysis by the wet method has been carried out and analyses of a number of inorganic substances have given a negative result.

Combustion tests showed that the substance burned readily with a smokeless or blue flame and was carbonized into a residue of greyish white ash. The sample melted and bubbled during combustion and a smell, not directly characteristic, was observed. This result indicates that it is a question of an organic material, the aliphatic compound and the bubbling possibly being due to the presence of sugar. A distinct reduction effect was noticeable through the decoloration of potassium permanganate. A weak reduction effect could also be noted when copper was reduced in different solutions containing copper (II) sulphate, which could indicate the presence of some kind of reducing sugar. Analyses of other organic compounds have given a negative result.

In both microscopic and macroscopic study certain parts appear to consist of quantities of ball-shaped particles. This observation and the above results lead to the assumption that the contents are some kind of fruit. The small round particles, which are the size of fig-seeds, would then be fruit seeds.

## APPENDIX II

Extract from letter of 23rd February, 1966, from *Dr. Karl Afzelius* to *Dr. O. Vessberg*.

I have let the material stand in cold water for a long time to test its solubility. After some days the water takes on a yellowish colour, but the material appears to be largely insoluble. When boiling it dissolves to some extent, and the liquid acquires a brownish yellow colour and gives off a not easily identifiable smell, which could perhaps be described as oily. The liquid is viscous and deposits on the walls of a pottery bowl a yellowish brown layer which, when dried, is extremely difficult to remove with cold water but on the other hand is very readily soluble in warm water. These observations gave me a sudden idea that it could conceivably be honey, which had dried up and during the long lapse of time and possible variations in climate and weather had hardened stiff and changed in consistency. The chemical analysis has indicated the presence of reducing sugar, and that is just what honey consists of. In examining very many samples of solid material in varying degrees of disintegration and at both weak and stronger magnifications I have not as yet succeeded in finding any solid and clearly defined particles that might be interpreted as seeds or the like, nor any distinct cellular structures, the whole substance appearing to consist in my view of an amorphous mass, which might indicate that it had originally been some substance such as honey for instance, which as it hardened may first be thought to have assumed a crystalline structure that in course of time disappeared. This idea about honey is naturally mere conjecture.

# Uschebtis aus der ägyptischen Spätzeit

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Das Uschebti, unter welchem Namen die kleine, meistens mumienförmige<sup>1</sup>, aus verschiedenem Material hergestellte Figur geht<sup>2</sup>, welche dem Toten als Beigabe mitgegeben wurde, erscheint zum ersten Mal im Mittleren Reich (2133–1786 v. Chr.)<sup>3</sup>. Die Anzahl ist anfangs begrenzt, was auch für das Ende der 2. Zwischenzeit (17. Dynastie [1680 (?)–1580 v. Chr.]) gilt, als es wieder auftaucht, so wie in der 18. Dynastie (1580–1314 v. Chr.). In der letzteren Hälfte der 18. Dynastie werden in einzelnen Fällen dem Toten mehrere Uschebtifiguren mitgegeben, und mit dem Ausgang der Dynastie wird dies zur Regel<sup>4</sup>. Die Anzahl wechselt stark, und häufig sind Hunderte von Figuren in einem und demselben Grab gefunden worden.

Das Uschebti des Mittleren Reichs erscheint ab und an mit Symbolen in den Händen<sup>5</sup>. Die Symbole, die sich auch in der 18. Dynastie halten, überlassen in der zweiten Hälfte der Dynastie ihren Platz Ackerbaugeräten: die Breithaue und die Spitzhacke, entweder allein oder zusammen. Später erhalten die Hauen fast ausnahmslos die Spitzform. Von der 25. Dynastie an (751–656 v. Chr.) ist die eine Spitzhacke durch einen anderen Typ mit kurzer, spitzer Klaue ersetzt worden. Ausser den Hauen werden andere Attribute hinzugefügt: geflochtener

Korb, zwei Krüge mit Tragriemen, Ziegelform, Kübel, und in der 19. Dynastie (1314–1200 v. Chr.) Joch mit Wasserkrügen<sup>6</sup>. Bis auf den Korb verschwinden diese Attribute mit dem Ausgang der 19. Dynastie.

Die Aufschrift ist dem zu Gebote stehenden Raum angepasst. Wenn dieser ungenügend gewesen ist, hat man sich damit begnügt, den Namen des Toten, allein oder mit Titel(n)<sup>7</sup>, nebst im allgemeinen dem Namen der Mutter anzugeben<sup>8</sup>. Soweit Platz vorhanden war, ist das 6. Kapitel des ägyptischen Totenbuchs, entweder im ganzen oder mehr oder weniger stark abgekürzt, wiedergegeben. Auf den Uschebtis kommt der Totenbuchtext in sechs Versionen vor<sup>9</sup>. Die letzte Version, die saitische, welche auf Uschebtis der 26. Dynastie erscheint, lautet<sup>10</sup>:



Vorschrift des Osiris NN, der Selige. Er sagt: „O diese Uschebtis. Wenn Osiris NN, der Selige, aufgezählt wird um alle Arbeiten zu tun, die in der Unterwelt zu tun sind – siehe, Hindernisse sind dort errichtet – als ein Mann bei seinen Pflichten, „Hier bin ich!“ sollt ihr sagen. Wenn ihr aufgezählt werdet zu jeder Zeit (um) dort tätig zu sein, um (das) Feld zu bestellen, um (das) Uferland zu bewässern, um (den) Sand von Westen nach Osten zu transportieren und umgekehrt, „Hier bin ich!“ sollt ihr sagen.“

Wie aus dem Text hervorgeht, wird von dem Uschebti die Verrichtung verschiedener Ackerarbeit im Jenseits gefordert – eine Tätigkeit, welche auch durch seine Geräte unterstrichen wird. Es liegt deswegen nahe, das Uschebti als Dienerfigur (oder Sklave) zu betrachten. Diese Funktion geht auch aus den Aufschriften „Diener der (Frau) *t3-wḥd*“<sup>11</sup> bzw. „O Uschebti, Diener seines Herrn, bei jeder Arbeit, die ausgeführt werden muss in der Unterwelt“<sup>12</sup>, hervor. Die Funktion des Erdarbeiters ist von den Dienerfiguren übernommen, welche bis in das Mittlere Reich häufig, später nur selten auftreten. Die Dienerfiguren stellen u.a. Erdarbeiter dar, und die Ackerbaugeräte der späteren Uschebtis sind auf diese Dienerfunktion zurückzuführen.

Das Uschebti ist aber nicht einzig und allein als Dienerfigur aufzufassen. Es ist auch Stellvertreter des Toten selbst<sup>13</sup>. In seiner Eigenschaft als Substitut ist das Uschebti an Stelle der in den Gräbern des Alten Reichs aufgestellten Statuen getreten. Die Mumienform des Uschebtis ist von dem Osirisglauben, dessen Ansehen im Mittleren Reich immer mehr zunahm, beeinflusst, und der Wunsch, sich dem Gott Osiris, dem Herrscher des Totenreichs, anzugleichen, führt schliesslich dazu, dass der Tote mit dem Gott selbst identifiziert wird<sup>14</sup> – eine Identifizierung, welche in der Aufschrift des Uschebtis durch die Bezeichnung des Toten als „Osiris“ zum

Ausdruck kommt.

Die Arbeit, welche im Jenseits ausgeführt werden muss, ist in der Aufschrift des Uschebtis genau spezifiziert. Der Tote soll, wie im Erdenleben von dem Ackerbauer verlangt wurde, die Felder bestellen, bei niedrigem Wasserstand die Äcker des Uferlands bewässern, und – wie es heisst – „den Sand von Westen nach Osten transportieren und umgekehrt“, mit welcher Phrase wahrscheinlich das Fortschaffen des Wüstensands von den Feldern gemeint ist<sup>15</sup>.

Die im Medelhavsmuseet befindliche Sammlung ägyptischer Uschebtifiguren ist zahlenmässig ziemlich bescheiden. Etwa fünfzig Figuren sind unbeschriftet. Von den beschrifteten – etwa einhundertsechzig – sind gegen sechzig der 18. bis 21. Dynastie (1580–950 v. Chr.) zuzuschreiben, während vierundneunzig der 26. Dynastie (663–525 v. Chr.) oder später zuzuweisen sind<sup>16</sup>.

Die im Folgenden veröffentlichten siebenundzwanzig Figuren sind eine Auswahl der letzten Gruppe. Die Inventarbezeichnungen bedeuten: MM Medelhavsmuseet, NME Nationalmuseum und SHM Statens historiska museum.

# 1. Uschebti des



Inv. Nr. NME 120. (Fig. 1).

Material: Fayence.

Glasur: Hellgrün, mit bräunlichen Verfärbungen.

Grösse: 189 mm.

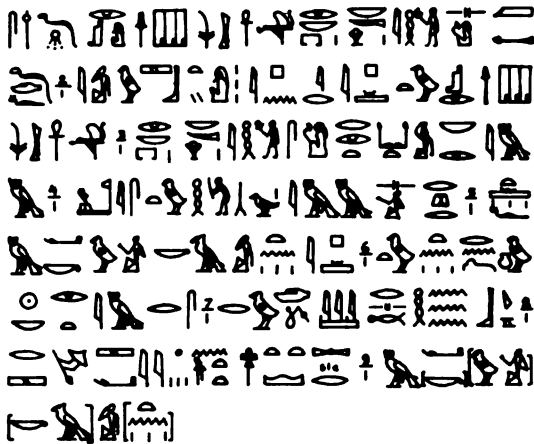
Datierung: 26. Dynastie.

Herkunft: Unbekannt.

Zustand: Fuss fehlt; im übrigen unbeschädigt.

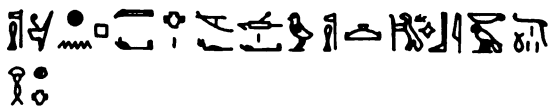
Herstellung: Ausserordentlich gut; sorgfältig eingravierte Hieroglyphen.

Text:

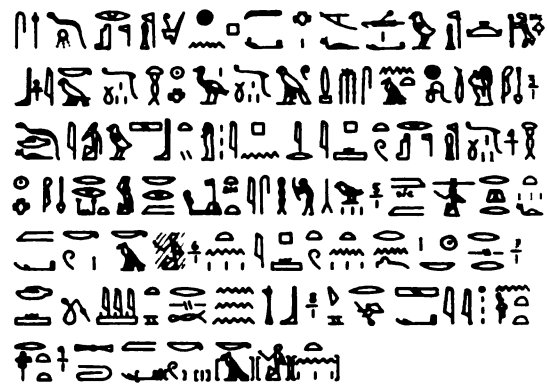


Die Figur ist für eine Person namens *ḥk3-ḥk3*, Sohn der Hausfrau *nb-m3.t(?) - hr-ḥs*, gemacht, die die Titel, „Domänenvorsteher“, „Sprecher des Königs“ führt. Ein zweites Uschebti des *ḥk3-ḥk3* findet sich in der Vatikan-Sammlung<sup>17</sup>. Über den Fundort der Figur liegt keine Auskunft vor. Der Name *ḥk3-ḥk3* [wörtl. „Es lebt (der Gott) Heka“] deutet aber darauf hin, dass der Fundort wahrscheinlich in dem Nekropolengebiet von Memphis, in welchem ein dem Gott Heka (in der Spätzeit als Sohn des Ptah und der Sachmet betrachtet) geweihtes Heiligtum gelegen war, zu suchen ist<sup>18</sup>.

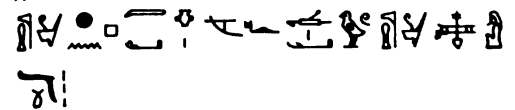
## 2. Uschebti des



Inv. Nr. NME 191 (Fig. 2).  
Material: Fayence.  
Glasure: Blassgrün, mit gelbbraunen Verfärbungen.  
Grösse: 207 mm.  
Datierung: 26. Dynastie.  
Herkunft: Unbekannt.  
Zustand: Fuss fehlt; geringe Beschädigungen an Händen, Gesicht und Hauen.  
Herstellung: Ausserordentlich gut; schlecht eingravierte Hieroglyphen.  
Text:



Der Priester *w3ḥ-ib-r*, Sohn des Vorstehers der Leinen *hr-wd3* und *t3-ḥwtj*, ist von einem der Turiner-Sammlung gehörigen Uschebti (Nr. 2694) bekannt. *w3ḥ-ib-r* nennt sich hier (NME 191) „Priester des *ḥnp-ib-mr=f-w*“<sup>19</sup>, „Priester des *i3.t...bjk*“<sup>20</sup>, „Vorsteher der Leinen“, während das Turiner-Uschebti ihn als „Priester des *ḥnp-ib-mr=f-w*“, „Priester des Nefertum“, „Vorsteher der Leinen“



bezeichnet<sup>21</sup>. Das folgende Uschebti (Nr. 3) scheint auch diesem *w3ḥ-ib-r* zu gehören.

## 3. Uschebti des



Inv. Nr. NME 119. (Fig. 3).

Material: Fayence.

Glasure: Grün, mit bräunlichen Verfärbungen.  
Grösse: 160 mm.

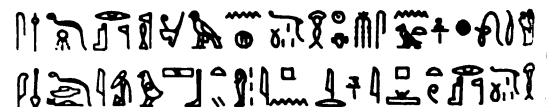
Datierung: 26. Dynastie.

Herkunft: Unbekannt.

Zustand: Fuss fehlt; Bart und rechte Hand etwas beschädigt.

Herstellung: Sehr gut; wenig sorgfältig eingravierte Hieroglyphen.

Text:







*Fig. 1. NME 120*



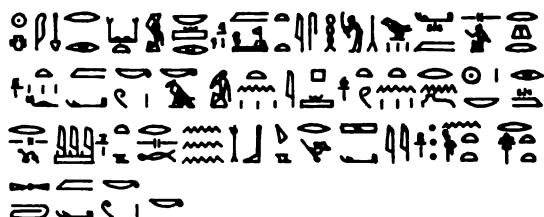
*Fig. 2. NME 191*



*Fig. 3. NME 119*



*Fig. 4. MM 18046*



*w3h-ib-r<sup>c</sup>* (vgl. Nr. 2) führt hier die Titel „Priester des Horus von Nechen“<sup>22</sup>, „Vorsteher der Leinen“. Nur der Name der Mutter *i3-hwtj*, ist angegeben, was auch in dem Text des Turiner-Uschebtis Nr. 2694 der Fall ist.

#### 4. Uschebti des



Inv. Nr. MM 18046. (Fig. 4).

Material: Fayence.

Glasur: Grün, mit graubraunem Flächenbelag.

Grösse: 167 mm.

Datierung: 26. Dynastie.

Herkunft: Unbekannt.

Zustand: Geringfügige Beschädigungen an Bart und Sockel.

Herstellung: Gut; ziemlich sorgfältig eingravierte Hieroglyphen.

Text:



Die Figur ist für einen Mann namens *w3h-ib-r<sup>c</sup>-m-3h.t* [wörtl. „(Der König) *w3h-ib-r<sup>c</sup>* ist im Horizont“], Sohn der Hausfrau *s<sup>c</sup>j*, gemacht. Noch vier Uschebtis dieses *w3h-ib-r<sup>c</sup>-m-3h.t* sind mir bekannt:<sup>23</sup>.

#### 5. Uschebti des



Inv. Nr. MM 10226. (Fig. 5).

Material: Fayence.

Glasur: Blassgrün, mit schwachen bräunlichen Verfärbungen.

Grösse: 195 mm.

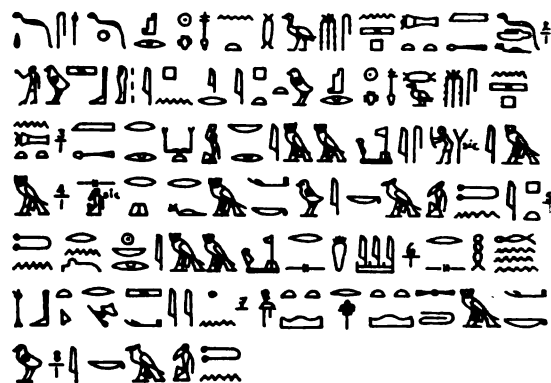
Datierung: 26. Dynastie.

Herkunft: Saqqarah.

Zustand: Unbeschädigt.

Herstellung: Ausserordentlich gut; sorgfältig eingravierte Hieroglyphen.

Text:



Von den Uschebtis des *nfr-ib-r<sup>c</sup>-s3-n.t* [wörtl. „(Der König) *nfr-ib-r<sup>c</sup>* ist ein Sohn der (Göttin) Neit“], geboren von *s3-(n)-h3st.t*, im ganzen 336 St., sind zwei im Besitz des Museums. Das zweite, MM 14983, aus grün glasierter Fayence, misst 185 mm und ist bis auf vorkommende bräunliche Verfärbungen unbeschädigt. Auch diese Figur ist ausserordentlich gut hergestellt und der acht Zeilen umfassende Text ist sorgfältig eingraviert. Die Texte der beiden, in verschiedenen Gussformen hergestellten Uschebtis stimmen bis auf die Präposition *r* „nach“ vor dem Wort *i3bt.t* „Osten“, die auf MM 14983 ausgelassen ist, genau überein. Das Grab des *nfr-ib-r<sup>c</sup>-s3-n.t*, bei der Pyramide des Königs Userkaf gelegen, wurde im Jahr 1929 entdeckt<sup>24</sup>.

#### 6. Uschebti des



Inv. Nr. NME 121. (Fig. 6).

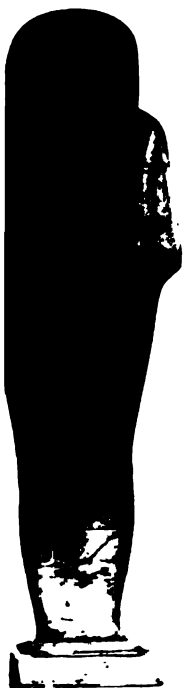


Fig. 5. MM 10226



Fig. 6. NME 121



Fig. 6a. NME 131



Fig. 7. MM 14703



Fig. 8. MM 10210



Fig. 9. NME 171



Material: Fayence.

Glasur: Blaugrün, mit kleineren bräunlichen Verfärbungen.

Grösse: 160 mm.

Datierung: 26. Dynastie.

Herkunft: Unbekannt.

Zustand: Unbeschädigt.

Herstellung: Gut; ziemlich nachlässig eingravierte Hieroglyphen.

Text:



Die Figur ist für den General *psmtk-s3-n.t* [wörtl. „Psametich ist ein Sohn der (Göttin) Neith“], geboren von *n.t-m-h3.t* (wörtl. „Neith ist an der Spitze“), gemacht. Noch ein zweites Uschebti dieses Generals gehört zu der Sammlung (NME 131, Fig. 6a). Auch diese Figur ist bis auf eine Absplitterung an der rechten Hand unbeschädigt. Sie hat dieselbe blaugrüne Glasur, mit nur kleineren Verfärbungen, hauptsächlich an der Rückseite. Sie misst 160 mm und ist etwas breiter als NME 121 und trägt im Gegenteil zu ihm Götterbart, was darauf hindeutet, dass eine andere Gussform verwendet worden ist. Der schlechte wenig genau wiedergegebene Text zeigt ausserdem, dass die Gravierungen von verschiedenen Schreibern ausgeführt worden sind.

Text:



## 7. Uschebti der



Inv. Nr. MM 14703. (Fig. 7).

Material: Fayence.

Glasur: Türkisblau, mit bräunlichen Verfärbungen.

Grösse: 145 mm.

Datierung: 26. Dynastie.

Herkunft: Faijum.

Zustand: Unbeschädigt.

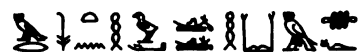
Herstellung: Ausserordentlich gut; ziemlich sorgfältig eingravierte Hieroglyphen.

Text:



Die Figur ist für eine Frau namen *t3-(n.t)-nfr-hr* [wörtl. „Die (Dienerin) de (Gottes) *nfr-hr*“], geboren von *h.t-hr-m3h.t* (wörtl. „Hathor ist im Horizont“), gemacht.

## 8. Uschebti des



Inv. Nr. MM 10210. (Fig. 8).

Material: Fayence.

Glasur: Grün.

Grösse: 185 mm.

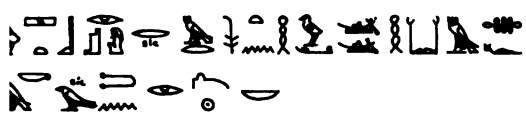
Datierung: 27. Dynastie.

Herkunft: Saqqarah.

Zustand: Unbeschädigt.

Herstellung: Ausserordentlich gut; an dem Rückenpfiler eine Textzeile mit sorgfältig eingravierten Hieroglyphen.

Text:



$\text{h}3\text{-m-s}3=f$  [wörtl. „(Der Gott) Heka ist ein Schutz“], für den die Figur gemacht ist, führt den Titel „Vorsteher der Königlichen Schiffe“. Ausser diesem Exemplar finden sich mehrere in verschiedenen ägyptischen Sammlungen. Das Grab des  $\text{h}k3\text{-m-s}3=f$ , östlich der Unaspyramide gelegen, wurde im Jahr 1903 entdeckt<sup>25</sup>.

10. Uschebti des



Inv. Nr. NME 171. (Fig. 9).

Material: Fayence.

Glasure: Türkisblau.

Grösse: 133 mm.

Datierung: 26. Dynastie.

Herkunft: Unbekannt.

Zustand: Schwere Schäden am Kopf.

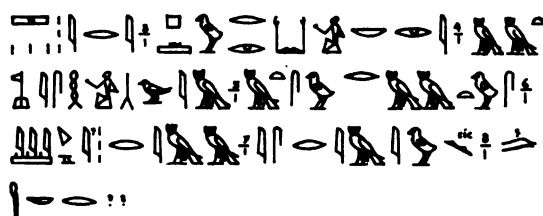
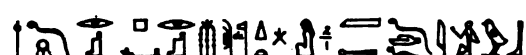
Herstellung: Ziemlich gut; wenig sorgfältig eingravierte Hieroglyphen.

Text:



Die Figur ist für einen Mann namens  $\text{h}3\text{-dj-ws}i\text{r}$ , geboren von  $\text{šp-(n)-sp}d.t$ , gemacht. Ein zweites Exemplar (NME 135, Fig. 9a) ist etwas grösser, 129 mm, blauglasiert und unbeschädigt. Herstellung wie NME 171.

Text:



10. Uschebti des



Inv. Nr. NME 145. (Fig. 10).

Material: Fayence.

Glasure: Blaugrün, mit bräunlichen Verfärbungen.

Grösse: 145 mm.

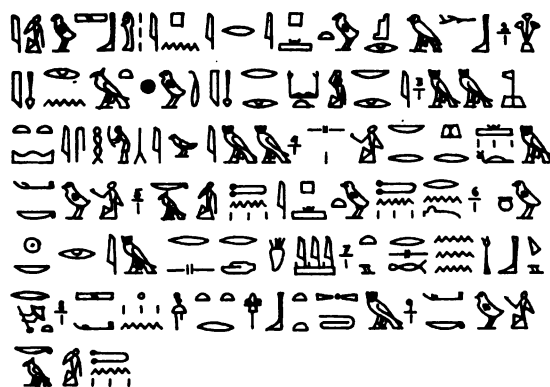
Datierung: 26. Dynastien.

Herkunft: Unbekannt.

Zustand: Unbeschädigt.

Herstellung: Gut; wenig sorgfältig eingravierte Hieroglyphen.

Text:



Die Figur ist für eine Person  $\text{hr-m-šh-bj.t}$  (wörtl. „Horus ist im Chemmis<sup>26</sup>“), geboren von  $\text{t}3\text{-hwtj}$ , gemacht. Eine zweite (NME 151, Fig. 10a) weicht von der obigen insofern ab, als der Text nur acht Zeilen umfasst und das Personalsuffix am Ende der letzten Zeile ausgelassen ist.

11. Uschebti des



Inv. Nr. NME 118. (Fig. 11).



*Fig. 9a. NME 135*



*Fig. 10. NME 145*



*Fig. 10a. NME 151*



*Fig. 11. NME 118*



*Fig. 12. MM 14701*



*Fig. 13. MM 14972*

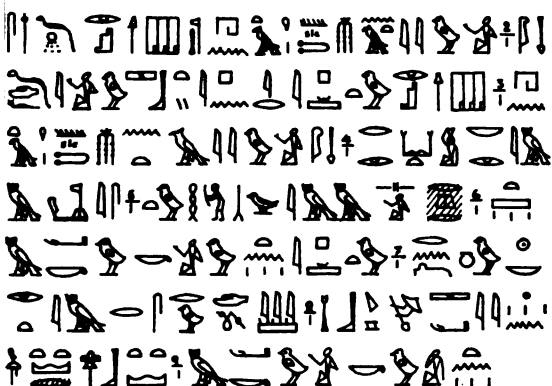
Material: Fayence.  
 Glasur: Blaugrün, mit hellbraunen Belägen,  
 hauptsächlich am Rückenfeiler.  
 Grösse: 200 mm.

Datierung: 26. Dynastie.

Herkunft: Unbekannt.

Zustand: Kleinere Beschädigungen an der linken Hand, am Gesicht und an den Hauen.  
 Herstellung: Ausserordentlich gut; etwas unscharf eingravierte Hieroglyphen.

Text:



Die Figur ist für einen „Domänenvorsteher“ und „Priester“ *hn-3t(j)(?)*, geboren von *t3-jjw*, gemacht.

## 12. Uschebti des



Inv. Nr. MM 14701. (Fig. 12).

Material: Fayence.

Glasur: Gelbgrün.

Grösse: 135 mm.

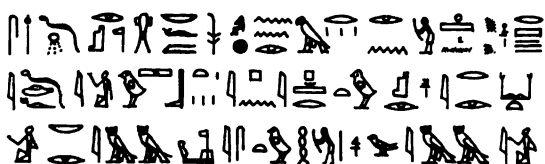
Datierung: 26. Dynastie.

Herkunft: Unbekannt.

Zustand: Unbeschädigt.

Herstellung: Ausserordentlich gut; zum Teil unscharf eingravierte Hieroglyphen.

Text:



Die Figur gehört einer Person namens *ir.t-(n.t)-hr-ir.w* (wörtl. „Das Auge des Horus ist gegen sie gerichtet“), die den Titel *s3 nb=f m (h.t)-nn-ns.w.t* „Der Schutz seines Herrn in Hennensu“ führt<sup>27</sup>. Den Namen der Mutter habe ich nicht deuten können.

## 13. Uschebti des



Inv. Nr. MM 14972. (Fig. 13).

Material: Fayence.

Glasur: Grüngelb.

Grösse: 135 mm.

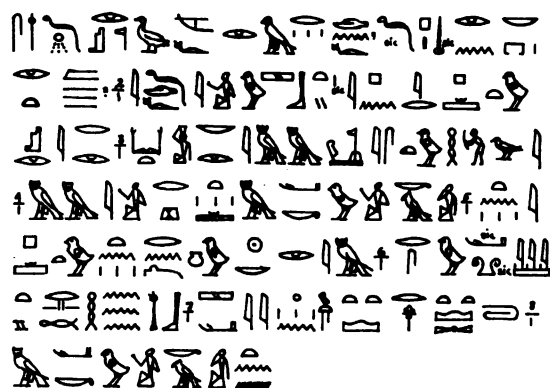
Datierung: 26. Dynastie.

Herkunft: Unbekannt.

Zustand: Unbeschädigt bis auf eine geringe Absplitterung an dem Sockel.

Herstellung: Sehr gut; wenig scharf eingravierte Hieroglyphen.

Text:



Die Figur ist für eine Person namens *ir.t-(n.t)-hr-ir.w*, die *p-wd3* genannt wird<sup>28</sup>, und die den Priestertitel *s3-mr=f*<sup>29</sup> führt, gemacht. Die Lesung des Namens der Mutter, als „Hausfrau“ titulierte, ist mir nicht gelungen.







Fig. 14. NME 169



Fig. 15. NME 158



Fig. 15a. NME 183



Fig. 16. NME 140



Fig. 16a. NME 155



Fig. 17. MM 14699



Fig. 18. NME 166



Fig. 18a. NME 163



Fig. 19. NME 842

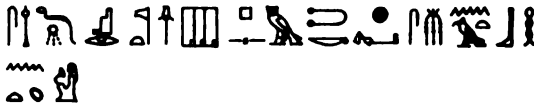


Fig. 19a. NME 173



Fig. 20. NME 161

Glasur: Gelbgrün.  
 Grösse: 114 mm.  
 Datierung: 26. Dynastie.  
 Herkunft: Unbekannt.  
 Zustand: Unbeschädigt.  
 Herstellung: Sehr gut; etwas nachlässig eingravierte Hieroglyphen.  
 Text:

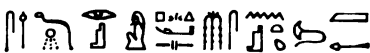


Die Figur ist für den „Gottesvater“ und „Domänenvorsteher“ *psmtk-hwj* [wörtl. „(Der König) Psametich schützt“], geboren von *t3-bhn.t* (?), gemacht. Noch zwei Uschebtis dieses Mannes finden sich in der Sammlung, SHM 6819:797 und NME 163. Das erste, 115 mm hoch ist an der Vorderseite braungelb, an der Rückseite graugelb glasiert. Die Inskription ist dieselbe wie auf NME 166. Das letztere (Fig. 18a), in Kniehöhe gebrochen, misst 177 mm. Die Glasur ist graugrün, an der Rückseite grauweiss. Die Titulatur lautet *g3w3t* „Gottesvater“, „Bekannter des Königs“, „Domänenvorsteher“.

#### 19. Uschebti des



Inv. Nr. NME 842. (Fig. 19).  
 Material: Fayence.  
 Glasur: Blaugrün, mit bräunlichen Verfärbungen.  
 Grösse: 100 mm.  
 Datierung: 26. Dynastie.  
 Herkunft: Unbekannt.  
 Zustand: Unbeschädigt.  
 Herstellung: Gut; ziemlich sorgfältig eingravierte Hieroglyphen.  
 Text:



Die Figur ist für einen Mann namens *p3-dj-sw*, geboren von *3s.t-r3.tj* (wörtl. „Isis freut sich“), gemacht. Eine zweite Figur

(NME 173, Fig. 19a), ist bis auf das Determinativ des Frauennamens, das stark vermindert ist, mit NME 842 genau gleich.

#### 20. Uschebti der



Inv. Nr. NME 161. (Fig. 20).

Material: Fayence.  
 Glasur: Grün, mit bräunlichen Verfärbungen.  
 Grösse: 125 mm.  
 Datierung: 27. Dynastie oder später.  
 Herkunft: Unbekannt.  
 Zustand: Unbeschädigt.  
 Herstellung: Wenig gut; ziemlich nachlässig eingravierte Hieroglyphen.  
 Text:



Die Figur ist für eine Frau namens *t3-w3h-imn*, geboren von *t3-rmt-(n.t)-b3st.t* [wörtl. „Die Frau der (Göttin) Bastet“], gemacht. Die Sammlung enthält noch zwei ähnliche Uschebtis, SHM 6819:796 und NME 126, von denen das erste mit der Figur NME 161 identisch ist. Das zweite misst 122 mm, ist blaugrün glasiert, mit ausgedehnten bräunlichen Verfärbungen. Die Hieroglyphen sind nachlässig eingraviert und an der Vorderseite fehlt das Zeichen *g3w3t*, an der Rückseite die Hieroglyphe *h3t*.

#### 21. Uschebti der



Inv. Nr. NME 162<sup>90</sup>.

Material: Fayence.  
 Glasur: Blaugrün, mit bräunlichen Verfärbungen.  
 Grösse: 127 mm.  
 Datierung: 27. Dynastie oder später.  
 Herkunft: Unbekannt.  
 Zustand: Unbeschädigt.  
 Herstellung: Wenig gut; ziemlich nach-

lässig eingravierte Hieroglyphen.

Text:



Die Figur ist für eine Frau namens *t3-w3h-imn*, geboren von *t3-w3h-b3st.t*, gemacht.

<sup>1</sup>Eine besondere Form ist die im Gewand eines Lebenden hergestellte Figur der 18. Dynastie. Vgl. L. SPELEERS, *Les figurines funéraires égyptiennes*, Bruxelles 1923, Pl. 12, 13, 16–20; F. PETRIE, *Shabtis*, London 1935, Pl. 30.

<sup>2</sup>Die Bedeutung des Wortes Uschebti ist immer noch nicht eindeutig festgelegt worden.

<sup>3</sup>Das Gesicht des Uschebtis, von Perückenköpfen umrahmt, und die Hände der über der Brust verschränkten Arme sind freigelegt. Uschebtis ohne sichtbare Hände kommen im Mittleren Reich auch vor. Die grobgeschnittenen Holzfiguren der 17. Dynastie sind dagegen immer ohne Hände dargestellt. Von der 26. Dynastie an erscheint das Uschebti auf einem niedrigen Sockel mit Rückenfleiler; bei späten Figuren fehlen Rückenfleiler.

<sup>4</sup>Vgl. SPELEERS, a.A., S.4 ff.

<sup>5</sup>Vgl. SPELEERS, a.A., S.22.

<sup>6</sup>Vgl. SPELEERS, a.A., Croquis 5.

<sup>7</sup>Der Titel ist stets vor dem Namen geschrieben.

<sup>8</sup>So Nr. 14 ff.

<sup>9</sup>Vgl. SPELEERS, a.A., S.80.

<sup>10</sup>In Transkription:  $\frac{1}{1} shd wsir NN m3^c-hrw dd=f i$

$wsbtj(.w) ipn ir \frac{2}{1} ip.tw wsir NN m3^c-hrw r ir(.t) k3t(.w)$

$nb(.t.) ir(.t.w) im m \frac{3}{1} hrt-ntr istw hw(.t) im m sr hr.t.w=f$

$\frac{4}{1} m^c k=wi k3=tn ip.tw=tn r nw \frac{5}{1} nb ir(.t.w) im r srd sh$

$r smh(.t) \frac{6}{1} wdb r hn(.t) s^c.w n imnt.t r i3bt.t \frac{7}{1} ts-phr m^c k$

$=wi k3=tn$

<sup>11</sup>Vgl. ZÄS 49, 1911, S.127.

<sup>12</sup>Vgl. ZÄS 42, 1905, S.81.

<sup>13</sup>Vgl. GARDINER in ZÄS 42, S.58, Anm. 1.

<sup>14</sup>Vgl. A. WIEDMANN, *Die Uschebti-Formel Amenophis' III.* (Sphinx 16, 1912, S. 47); vgl. auch W.C. HAYES, *The Scepter of Egypt*, Part 1, New York 1953, S. 26.

<sup>15</sup>Vgl. M.H. VAN VOSS, *De Sjawabti's en het Zandmysterie* (Phoenix 9, 1963, S. 53 ff.).

<sup>16</sup>Nach Ablauf der 30. Dynastie kommt das Uschebti vereinzelt in frühptolemäischer Zeit vor.

<sup>17</sup>Vgl. H. RANKE, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* 1, Glückstadt 1935, S. 66, 5.

<sup>18</sup>Vgl. H. BONNET, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, Berlin 1952, S.302.

<sup>19</sup>Der Name eines stierköpfigen Gottes mit Messer.

<sup>20</sup>Wahrscheinlich eine heilige Stätte, die in Verbindung mit dem Horus-Falken gestanden hat.

<sup>21</sup>Nach freundlicher Mitteilung von Herrn Prof. Silvio Curto.

<sup>22</sup>Nechen (Hierakonpolis), Ort auf der Westseite des Nils im Gebiet des 3. oberägyptischen Gaues; der Gott von Nechen, ursprünglich Nehenj „der von Nechen“, später „Horus von Nechen“ genannt, erschien in Gestalt eines hockenden Falken mit einer Doppelfeder auf dem Kopf (vgl. BONNET, a.A., S. 299 u. S. 307).

<sup>23</sup>PETRIE, a.A., Pl. 23; *Recueil de travaux relatifs etc.* 29, 1907, S.143:5; MARIA MOGENSEN, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques du Musée National de Copenhague*, Copenhague 1918, S.74:1660.

<sup>24</sup>Siehe ASAE 29, 1929, S.68 f.

<sup>25</sup>Siehe ASAE 5, 1904, S.69 ff.; vgl. auch B. PORTER-R.L.B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts etc.* 3, Oxford 1931, S.175.

<sup>26</sup>Der Name einer Insel in der Nähe des Tempels von Buto, auf welcher ein Heiligtum des Horus lag (vgl. BONNET, a.A. s.v. Chembis.).

<sup>27</sup>Herakleopolis magna. Hauptort des 20. oberägyptischen Gaues. Die Lesung des Titels verdanke ich Prof. H. Brunner.

<sup>28</sup>Die Lesung des zweiten Namens verdanke ich Prof. Dr. H. Brunner.

<sup>29</sup>A. ERMAN-H. GRAPOW, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch* 3, S.410:3.

<sup>30</sup>Dieselbe Form wie Fig. 20.

# An Etruscan Terracotta Head

ARVID ANDRÉN

The head reproduced in Figs. 1-4 (MM 1966:3) was purchased in Rome in 1965 and presented to the Museum by H.M. the King. It represents the features of a beardless man with a longish, triangular face characterized by a high, smooth forehead, slightly curved brows, a thin nose, almond-shaped eyes slightly slanting down away from the nose, with thick lids meeting without overlapping at the outer corners, a small mouth with parted lips and drooping corners, and a firm, pointed chin faintly divided, with a stronger depression below the mouth. The hair, growing far down at the nape of the neck and in front of the ears, is rendered like a tight-fitting cap on which the locks are indicated by curved furrows made with a modelling tool. The ears have a simplified form, slightly concave without inner modelling, and outlined by a furrow made with the same tool. In front of each ear is a small hole bored horizontally into the head to a depth of about 0.5 cm.

The head is modelled entirely by hand and is hollow. The clay is light reddish-grey and strongly mixed with mica, black particles of augite, and red grains of pozzolana. The surface is covered all over with a thin, cream-coloured slip which, however, does not con-

ceal the coarseness of the clay. On the hair are traces of brownish-red colouring, on the left ear, traces of red. The neck is broken off obliquely, the break running from above the left shoulder to just below the chin and further up below the right ear and the hair on the right side of the neck. The ridge of the nose is also broken away. For the rest the head is very well preserved, except for some slight damage to the chin and above the forehead to the left, a small cavity above the left temple, where a particle of mica, augite or pozzolana seems to have fallen off, and a similar tiny cavity on the left cheek. The height of the head proper is 10.5 cm., the total height, including the preserved portion of the neck, is 12.0 cm. The clay walls at the break below have a thickness varying between 1.5 and 2.8 cm. There is no vent-hole. The holes in front of the ears were probably made at an early stage of the modelling, to mark the place of the ears, and were left unfilled probably because the head, to judge from its coarse and summary form, was completed rapidly and without great care.

The execution of the head suggests that it

*Fig. 1-4. Etruscan terracotta head. MM 1966:3*







did not belong to a figure intended for architectural decoration or as the effigy of a god, but probably to a small statue made as a votive offering. No information is available as to its provenance, but the head itself presents several traits indicating that we have to do with an Etruscan work of the archaic period. This is clear not so much from the archaic form of the eyelids, which appears in many Etruscan works of much later date,<sup>1</sup> but above all from the form of the face and the coiffure, and also from the quality of the clay. A long face more or less triangular, characterized by a strong, pointed chin sometimes divided, and by a coarse mouth sometimes with drooping corners, seems to be a cast of features developed from early Chiusinian canopic urns, bronze masks, and stone sculptures,<sup>2</sup> to be met with, more or less refined and hellenized, in works such as, for instance, the seated terracotta statuettes from Caere,<sup>3</sup> the sandstone warrior from Chiusi now in Munich,<sup>4</sup> the bronze statuette from Elba in Naples,<sup>5</sup> another bronze statuette from Falterona in Paris,<sup>6</sup> the terracotta heads of Apollo and Hermes from Veii,<sup>7</sup> and some funerary statues from Chiusi.<sup>8</sup> The way of letting the hair hang or grow thickly far down in front of the ears seems to have been a favourite male coiffure in Etruria in the fifth century B.C., to judge from representations such as, for instance, the bronze statuette from Isola di Fano in Florence,<sup>9</sup> the statuette from Falterona just cited and many other bronzes,<sup>10</sup> and several painted male figures in the Tomba degli Auguri,<sup>11</sup> the Tomba dei Leopardi,<sup>12</sup> the Tomba del Triclinio,<sup>13</sup> and the Tomba delle Olimpiadi<sup>14</sup> at Tarquinia. The quality

of the clay, finally, with its strong admixture of mica, augite, and pozzolana, is similar to that of Etrusco-Italic architectural terracottas of the archaic period.<sup>15</sup> The head may thus be reasonably ascribed to the first half of the fifth century B.C.

<sup>1</sup>Cf., for instance, some of the fictile votive heads of the Museo Gregoriano Etrusco recently treated by G. HAFNER, *Röm. Mitt.*, 72, 1965, pp. 41 ff., Taf. 14 ff.; 73/74, 1966/67, pp. 29 ff., Taf. 5 ff.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. P. DUCATI-G.Q. GIGLIOLI, *Arte etrusca* (Roma-Milano 1927), Figs. 29-31, 32 b; G.Q. GIGLIOLI, *L'arte etrusca* (Milano 1935), Pls. LIX:2-3, LX-LXV; L. GOLDSCHIEDER, *Etruscan Sculpture* (Oxford-New York 1941), Fig. 14; M. PALLOTTINO-H. and I. JUCKER, *Etruskische Kunst* (Zürich 1955), Figs. 1, 20, 21; O.W. VON VACANO, *Die Etrusker* (Stuttgart 1955), Pls. 23-30, 41a; G.M.A. HANFMANN, *Etruskische Plastik* (Stuttgart 1956), Pls. 1-2 5.

<sup>3</sup>GIGLIOLI, op. cit., Pl. LXVII:1-2; GOLDSCHIEDER, op. cit., Figs. 24-25; PALLOTTINO-JUCKER, op. cit., Pl. 23; V. VACANO, op. cit., Pls. 32-33; HANFMANN, op. cit., Pl. 10.

<sup>4</sup>GIGLIOLI, op. cit., Pl. LXXV:1; V. VACANO, op. cit., Pl. 39.

<sup>5</sup>GIGLIOLI, op. cit., Pl. LXXXIII; PALLOTTINO-JUCKER, op. cit., Fig. 65; V. VACANO, op. cit., Pl. 71 right.

<sup>6</sup>GIGLIOLI, op. cit., Pl. CXXIII:3.

<sup>7</sup>GIGLIOLI, op. cit., Pl. CXCv; GOLDSCHIEDER, op. cit., Figs. 34-35; HANFMANN, op. cit., Pl. 18 b.

<sup>8</sup>GIGLIOLI, op. cit., Pls. CCXXXI, CCXXXIII; PALLOTTINO-JUCKER, op. cit., Figs. 92-93.

<sup>9</sup>GOLDSCHIEDER, op. cit., Fig. 108.

<sup>10</sup>GIGLIOLI, op. cit., Pls. CXXXIII:2-3, CCXX:9; P.J. RIIS, *Thyrrenika* (Copenhagen 1941), Pl. 17:3; E. HILL RICHARDSON, in *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 21, 1953, pp. 77 ff., Figs. 34-38, 41; PALLOTTINO-JUCKER, op. cit., Figs. 73, 76; HANFMANN, op. cit., Pl. 15.

<sup>11</sup>GIGLIOLI, op. cit., Pl. CIX:1; PALLOTTINO, *La peinture étrusque* (Genève 1952), Pl. on p. 39; H. LEISINGER, *Malerei der Etrusker* (Stuttgart without Year), Figs. 39-40.

<sup>12</sup>GIGLIOLI, op. cit., Pls. CCI, CCIII, CCv:1; PALLOTTINO, op. cit., Figs. on pp. 67-71; LEISINGER, op. cit., Figs. 50-58.

<sup>13</sup>GIGLIOLI, op. cit., Pls. CCv:3, CCvI-CCvII; PALLOTTINO, op. cit., Figs. on pp. 73-78; LEISINGER, op. cit., Figs. 59-73.

<sup>14</sup>R. BARTOCCINI-C.M. LERICI-M. MORETTI, *La Tomba delle Olimpiadi* (Milano 1959), Figs. 12, 13, 16.

<sup>15</sup>A. ANDRÉN, *Architectural Terracottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples* (Lund-Leipzig 1939-40), p. CXXXIII.

# An Etruscan Terracotta Ash Urn

ARVID ANDRÉN

The cinerary urn described here (MM 1966: 1, Fig. 1), like the terracotta head treated on the preceding pages, was bought in Rome in 1965 and presented to the Museum by H.M. the King. It consists of a small, rectangular chest decorated in front with a figured scene in relief and provided with a cover on which is the figure of a reclining young man. The urn is made of well purified clay burnt a light red. It is fairly well preserved, some small pieces only having been knocked off from the body of the reclining figure, at the front corners of the cover, and at the lower left corner of the front of the chest. The dimensions are: total height, 34.5 cm.; length of chest at top, 34 cm., at bottom, 34.2 cm., breadth of same at top, 17.8 cm., at bottom, 15.5 cm., height of same, 21.5 cm.; length of relief at top, 29.6 cm., at bottom, 32 cm., height of relief at right end, 16.7 cm., at left end, 16.7 cm.; length of cover, 36 cm., breadth of same, 19.5 cm.

The relief represents a scene of combat, in which a man, nude except for a piece of clothing wound around his waist, is knocking down a warrior with a primitive plough, while a second warrior to the left is attacking with a sword and a third warrior to the right seems

to protect himself with his right arm from the swinging plough-tail. The warriors have round shields and flying cloaks; the one to the left, in addition, has a crested helmet; the one hit with the plough wears a cuirass with two rows of tabs protecting the thighs, and raises his sword in a vain effort to ward off his aggressor. The relief preserves considerable traces of its original polychromy, showing that the colours were applied on a white coating, the flesh of the figures being painted in pink, the hair and the cuirass in dark purple, the cloaks and the crest of the helmet in red, the shields also in red, with a yellow rim and a circle of dark purple inside the rim, and the background in black. The relief is very blurred, which, since the polychromy is so well preserved, cannot be ascribed to wear, but to its having been made with a very worn mould.

The figure on the lid lies on his left side, his body wrapped in a mantle and his head supported by two pillows. He has youthful features, large ears and hair rendered by long furrows running from the back of the head towards the face. The figure is hollow and modelled with a tool. It presents a more distinct form than the relief but has lost most



Fig. 1. Etruscan cinerary urn. MM 1966:1

of its white coating and all traces of its polychromy, except for some scanty remains of red and yellow preserved in the folds of the mantle, between the pillows, and on the cover. Below the pillows on the right side of the cover is a small vent-hole.

Above the relief is a painted inscription, which was largely covered by a thin layer of calcareous matter but after cleaning in the museum presents the following sequence of red letters clearly legible:

**AZ AN#NAS:13N1A3:AO**

*θa: cainei: canznasa*

There is nothing missing between the last two letters (*sa*) and the preceding letter (*a*), the large spacing being caused by the projection of the crest of the attacking warrior's helmet upon the upper frame of the relief.

The battle scene represented on our urn is repeated on numerous ash urns from Chiusi and Volterra described in H. Brunn-G. Körte,



I rilievi delle urne etrusche, III (Berlin 1916), pp. 5 ff., Pls. VI-VII. Körte regarded the scene as a representation of a national Etruscan myth, refuting the theory of Winckelmann and many later scholars who interpreted it as depicting a mythical episode connected with the battle at Marathon, where the hero Echetlos was said to have appeared in the guise of a peasant, slaying many Persians with a plough, a scene painted by Polygnotos in the Stoa Poikile at Athens (Paus., I.15.3 and I.32.5). Other scholars have suggested a representation of Kadmos.<sup>1</sup>

Among the terracotta ash urns originating from Chiusi, Körte distinguished two variants of this battle scene, one smaller and commoner (A), comprising four persons and appear-

ing in two sizes, and one larger and less common (B), comprising the four persons of variant A and in addition a Fury. A fine specimen of variant B is to be seen on a carefully executed and excellently preserved ash urn in the Museo di Villa Giulia in Rome (Fig.2).<sup>2</sup> In all probability the original composition is represented by variant B, in which the Fury to the left and the warrior to the right are counterparts enclosing the triangular arrangement of the fighting figures in the middle, whereas variant A is probably due to an amputation made in order to adapt the relief to smaller urns.

Such smaller urns, adorned with the incomplete battle scene, were mass produced at Clusium, as is shown not only by the great

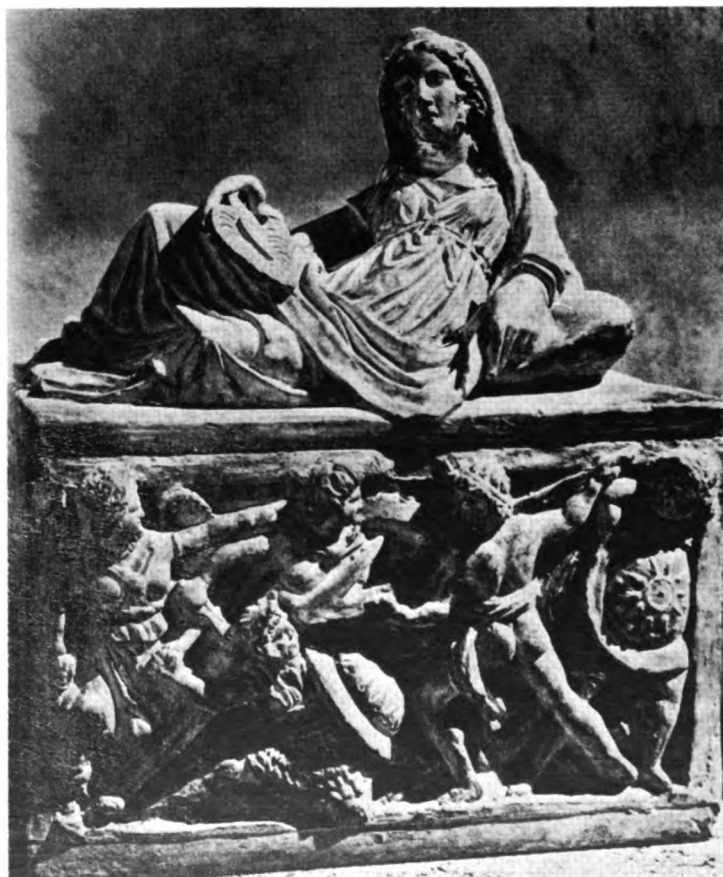


Fig. 2. Museo di Villa Giulia 25162

number of specimens preserved, but also by the different dimensions of the reliefs, owing to the use of moulds made over earlier casts,<sup>3</sup> and by the fact that the relief is often blurred, and, in one cast at least, traversed by an irregular, slightly raised line, showing that the moulds were worn and sometimes cracked.<sup>4</sup> The casts taken from such moulds were generally retouched with a tool before the firing; the dentil adorning the top of the original relief panel was sometimes retained and sometimes cancelled.

For the dating of these ash urns reliance has often been placed on the fact that one of them was found at Chiusi together with other urns and a Roman coin of the first half of the second century B.C.<sup>5</sup> The value of this discovery has, however, been denied by J. Thimme,<sup>6</sup> who emphasizes that "wir wissen weder, wieviel Generationen in den einzelnen Gräbern beigesetzt waren, noch zu welcher Beisetzung die Münze gehörte; so gibt der Münzfund nicht einmal einen terminus post quem." Considering also the fact that this series of urns, to judge from the technical peculiarities described above, was probably manufactured over a considerable length of time, it would be unrealistic to ascribe to a single specimen of the series an exact date in the third or second century B.C.

The inscription  $\theta\alpha : cainei : canznasa$  gives us the regular sequence of praenomen, nomen gentile and nomen uxorium, indicating that the urn contained the ashes of  $\Theta\alpha nia$  (or  $\Theta\alpha na$ ) *Cainei*, wife of *Canzna*, or in Latin: *Thania Cainnia Canusii uxor*.<sup>7</sup> Since the urn is thus evidently that of a woman, it must be concluded that the cover with the reclining male figure originally belonged to another urn. This also explains the fact that the polychromy is fairly well preserved on the chest but almost completely gone from the cover.

The glossy surface of the relief, traces of a lost label once glued on to the left short side of the chest, and the figure 10 written at the

back of chest and cover, suggest that the urn has been preserved for a long time in another collection, or in other collections. This is proved, moreover, by the fact that the inscription of the urn is registered in Lanzi's *Saggio di Lingua Etrusca* of 1789 and in Fabretti's *Corpus Inscriptionum Italicarum* of 1867, and is included in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum*, Vol. I (1893 ff.), as No. 1887, with the comment that it was to be read on an *ossuarium repertum Clusii, olim in museo publico Florentino, nunc videtur perisse*. It would probably be a difficult or impossible task, however, to try to discover at what time in the nineteenth century, and in what manner – sale, exchange, theft? – the lost and now recovered ash urn left the Florentine museum, and where it was afterwards preserved, until it was acquired for the Swedish museum.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. A. COMOTTI, in *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica*, III (Roma 1960), s.v. Echetlos.

<sup>4</sup>A. DELLA SETA, *Museo di Villa Giulia* (Roma 1918), pp. 115 f., No. 25162; G.Q. GIGLIOLI, *L'arte etrusca* (Milano 1935), Pl. CCCXC:3 (with cover from another urn); R. VIGHI, *Il nuovo Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia* (Roma 1955), Pl. 76; R. BARTOCCINI-A. DE AGOSTINO, *Museo di Villa Giulia: Antiquarium e Collezione dei vasi Castellani* (Milano, 1961), pp. 21 f., Tav. XV; *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica*, III, l.c., Fig. 254; *Etruscan Culture, Land and People* (Malmö 1962), Pl. 40, where the urn, however, is wrongly said to be of alabaster and to be preserved in the Museo Archeologico in Florence.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. E. JASTROW, *Abformung und Typenwandlung in der antiken Tonplastik*, in *Opuscula Archaeologica*, II (1941), pp. 1 ff.

<sup>6</sup>Cf., in addition to the works already cited, MORCELLI, *FEA-VISCONTI, La Villa Albani* (Roma 1869), No. 96; W. AMELUNG and E. REISCH, in *Helbig's Führer*, 3rd ed., II (Leipzig 1913) Nos. 1635–37, 1871; L.A. MILANI, *Il R. Museo Archeologico di Firenze* (Firenze 1923), p. 164, Nos. 19–44; DORO LEVI, *Il Museo Civico di Chiusi* (Roma 1935), p. 71; R. NOLL, *Etruskische Denkmäler mit Inschriften in Wien*, in *Studi Etruschi*, 9, 1935, pp. 308 f., Pl. XLIII:1–2; A. ANDRÉN, *Classical Antiquities in the Zorn Collection*, in *Opuscula Archaeologica*, V, 1948, p.81, No. 204, Pl. XXXVII; J. THIMME, *Chiusinische Ascherkisten und Sarkophage der hellenistischen Zeit*, in *Studi Etruschi*, 23, 1954–55, pp. 25 ff., and 25, 1957, pp. 87 ff., Figs. 23 and 28; *Führer durch das Kestner-Museum* (Hannover 1961), p. 37, with Fig.; T. DOHRN, in *Helbig's Führer*, 4th ed., I (Tübingen 1963), Nos. 673 and 794; A. ANDRÉN, *Classical Antiquities of the Villa San Michele*, in *Opuscula Romana*, V, 1965, p. 133, No. 23, Pl. XII; MARIANI, A. DEL CHIARO, *Etruscan Art from West Coast Collections* (Santa Barbara 1967), No. 23, with Fig.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1897, pp. 101 ff.; DORO LEVI, *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1928, p. 77.

<sup>5</sup>J. THIMME, in *Studi Etruschi*, 23, 1954–55, pp. 26 f. and note 4.

<sup>7</sup>For *Cainnia* cf. the bilingual inscription CIE, I 1671: *†-alfni-nuvi cainal* = *C. Alfius A. f. Cainnia natus* and W.

SCHULZE, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen*, p. 81. For *Canzna* = *Canusius* cf. SCHULZE, op. cit., p. 143 and note 3 on the bilingual inscription CIE, I 890: *ar-canzna varnalisa* = *C. Caesius C. f. Varia nat(us)*. For the nomen uxorium cf. G. BUONAMICI, *Epigrafia etrusca* (Firenze 1932), p. 302.

# The Roman She-Wolf on a Terracotta Tablet

HANS FURUHAGEN

The large, cast terracotta tablet, no. MM SHM 4166, of unknown origin, may possibly have come to Stockholm through an art-dealer in Rome. Since the 1860's it belonged to the Museum of National Antiquities (*Historiska Museet*) in Stockholm as a gift donated together with other antiquities by Bernhard von Beskow, who had acquired them in Rome and Pompeii. In 1957 it was transferred to the Museum of Mediterranean Antiquities. The tablet measures, in length: 32 cm., in height: 28.5 cm.; the upper edge is chipped and so is the right hand part of it. Remnants of the painting are distinguishable. The relief depicts a she-wolf suckling two children. The scene is set inside a schematically drawn cave, a tree bending over it. (Fig. 1).

An undamaged replica can be used to reconstruct the picture: it is a so-called Campana relief in Berlin. Here the scene in the cave is viewed by a shepherd standing to the right, a gesture showing his surprise; he is Faustulus finding the children of Mars and Rhea Silvia, the twins Romulus and Remus. (Fig. 2).

This and other Campana tablets with different motifs were found in the ruins of the Baths

of Constantine in Rome, where they had been used to cover a sewer and therefore could hardly any longer have served any decorative purpose. The fact that more than one tablet made from the same mould was found there might indicate that here we have to do with rejected copies that were never used to decorate any building. If so, they could be dated from the beginning of the fourth century, but the original of the mould may be very much older. von Rhoden dates this Campana tablet to the time of Antoninus<sup>1</sup>.

Of course the she-wolf and the twins is no uncommon theme in Roman art, but there exists no composition of the group exactly like the one on this Campana tablet. There are of course signet stones and Republican coins depicting Faustulus finding the she-wolf and the twins, but here the group is quite differently composed<sup>2</sup>. Besides, it is more common to have two shepherds finding the twins with the she-wolf as on the short side of a sarcophagus in the Vatican, for example. Here the representation of the she-wolf, the cave and the shepherds is very much like the representation on the Campana relief. The style on the terracotta tablet however is coarser, but that might be due to the ma-



Fig. 1. *Terracotta tablet with the She-wolf and the twins Romulus and Remus. MM SHM 4166*

trial and the branch of art as such and need not necessarily indicate that the tablet is later than the sarcophagus, which according to Martius dates from about 200 A.D.<sup>3</sup> (Fig. 3). The motif of the coin-types might reproduce the bronze group that stood already in the third century B.C. under the Ficus Ruminalis. This bronze has the twins kneeling under the she-wolf reaching for her teats. This group is also reproduced on later coins and it is this same group that is depicted on

the above-mentioned sarcophagus<sup>4</sup>.)

Already in the late Republican age the motif begins to vary in its details: sometimes she is bending her head to lick the nearest child; the twins face one another or sit back to back or are placed diagonally under the she-wolf<sup>5</sup>. By the early part of the Empire period the motif has moved over from official coins and monuments to the private sphere and is found on seals and sepulchral monuments. There is however among the many



*Fig. 2. "Campana tablets". Berlin. Faustulus finding the twins suckling the She-wolf. Heracles finding Telephus suckling the hind.*

variants of the motif none that has the twins in the same position and placing as on the Campana tablets.

Most popular became the compositions where the twins face one another, the almost heraldic character of the group in this position probably being the reason for its popularity. One may say that it was given official sanction by Hadrian's minting and from this time it is commonly found as an emblem on arms, shields, sepulchral monuments, coins from Rome and on provincial coinages. But also in this heraldic composition the she-wolf may hold her head differently<sup>6</sup>.

The heraldic group with the she-wolf and the twins, sometimes placed in a cave under a tree, was also used on the coins of Antoninus Pius. It is to be noted that nowhere in the literary versions of the tale is it said that the she-wolf and the children were found lying in a cave; Lupercal was a cleft on the slopes of the Palatine Hill where there was a cult place to Faunus. The she-wolf was said to have run there when the shepherds had found the children down by the Ficus Ruminalis in the valley<sup>7</sup>. The cave and the tree have not,

like the background reliefs on Trajan's Column, served as guides to the actual localities; in our case it is a question of lending pastoral colour in a Hellenistic-Augustean way to the old legend. No doubt genre pictures like those on the Augustean wall reliefs from the Palazzo Grimani with sheep and lambs or lioness and cubs respectively in pastoral surroundings with rocks, trees and caves have served as pattern<sup>8</sup>. Other legendary motifs were dealt with in the same way: Aeneas finds the Lavinian sow and her grunters in a cave under a tree in a rocky, pastoral landscape. Heracles finds Telephus suckling a hind<sup>9</sup>. There also exists a Campana tablet, found together with the others in the Baths of Constantine, which shows Heracles finding the hind and Telephus in a cave under a tree – in all a perfect counterpart to the terracotta tablet with the she-wolf and the twins and probably intended to be used as such for adornment purposes. (Fig. 2). The stories that lent motifs to the two Campana reliefs are quite similar; the founder of Rome and the founder of Pergamum were both foundlings who were taken care of by the animals

of the forest. The similarity in motif is underlined by similarities in form, the composition being, *mutatis mutandis*, identical. Faustulus and Hercules have almost the same keeping and are placed on the same spot, the cave and the tree are almost exactly alike on the two reliefs and on both tablets the child is placed in the same position by the animal's hindlegs. As the way of depicting the very common motif of the she-wolf and the twins is quite unique on the Campana tablet, the fact must be that this unique picture was made as pendant to the Telephus relief, not the other way round. There could be no other reason for the manufacturer to give up the codified heraldic group-picture of Anto-

ninian type.

The placing together of Telephos and the Roman twins is not unique. The same constellation can also be found among the relief decorations by pteryges on an armoured statue of Trajan (Fig. 4a-b) and on a grave-altar from the middle of the first century (Fig. 5a-b). Furthermore two series of coins (Fig. 6) with Octacilia, wife of Philip the Arab, on the obverse, were minted in Damascus, and on the reverse of these coins alternated the she-wolf with the twins and the hind with the infant Telephus<sup>10</sup>.

J.W. Salomonsson, starting from the statue of Trajan, has dealt with the combination of motifs on these monuments. His opinion is



Fig. 3. Detail of sarcophagus. Vatican Museum.



that the scenes on the armour decorations have been chosen chiefly because of their formal conformity, but apart from that he is also looking for an internal bond between the motifs. It is obvious that such a bond exists between the motifs on the Trajan statue. The two mirror-turned pendants have been so placed that together with two also mirror-turned eagles they frame Mars Ultor. It is easy to understand the figurative symbolism: the emperor is the new Romulus and the new Hercules, who protected by Mars and the eagle of Jupiter personates *Fatum Imperii*. There were other ways of expressing the Romulus-Hercules symbolism: the reason for choosing the suckling children with the she-wolf and the hind respectively was no doubt the advantage of the small size and the love of counterparts that is so apparent in Roman taste and that can be traced everywhere in Roman art.

The Damascus coins were certainly minted at the time when the city became a Roman colony, the Telephus reverse recalling the fact that the city according to tradition was founded by people from Arcadia<sup>11</sup>.

The fact that the group of the Roman twins has been combined with the group of Telephus on Roman grave-altars is partly due to formal considerations and partly to the common meaning of the groups in such connections. Now, to be correctly understood, this combination of motifs must be examined in a larger context. An animal suckling either her own offspring or a child was already in Archaic times a common motif in sepulchral art. Both the hind with Telephus and the she-wolf with the twins (or with only one child) appear separately in such connexions. Later, during the first century of the Imperial age, the Roman she-wolf in particular became a

*Fig. 4a. Statue of Trajan. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden.*





*Fig. 4b. Detail of the armour decoration of the statue fig. 4a.*

common ornamentation on grave-altars, and it is obvious that we must reckon with the possibility that the she-wolf was one of the standard ornaments of a certain manufacturer. On the altar, Fig. 5a-b, carrying the inscription *DIS MANIBUS SACRUM*, the parallelism is very elaborate; apart from the she-wolf with the twins and the hind with the infant Telephus there are also birds, on one side of the altar feeding their young, on the other side teaching them to fly. This kind of altar is very heavily ornamented and an attempt to interpret the ornaments ends in a confusing mass of symbols too difficult to

interpret. And it might well be overdoing it to try to interpret all the different elements as grave-symbols.

Mostly these altars were built over the graves of slaves and freedmen and the ornamentation with its heavy garlands of flowers and fruit, its little birds, swans, eagles, jugs, ribbons, suckling animals, gorgons and mythical animals is an example of how the art of the Augustean court reached the private sphere. But some of these representations had an old apotropaion character, and that is the reason why they were used on grave-altars. Even the suckling animals may have



Fig. 5a. Grave-altar. Vatican Museum. After Altmann, *Die römische Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit*, Abb. 69.

had such power; as an emblem on swords and shields the Roman she-wolf was used for apotropaion purposes<sup>12</sup>. The fact that the hind with Telephus and the she-wolf with the twins both appear on the same sepulchral monument means nothing more than a doubling of the apotropaic power. But the representations on the Campana tablets are nothing but architectural ornaments, and the motifs on such ornaments were chosen from the best known mythical episodes or from Dionysian scenes. Antithetically placed figures or mirror-turned groups were very often used, so often in fact that they can be said to be the rule in this branch of art.

So it must be vain to try to find a deeper relationship between the Campana relief with the she-wolf and the one with the hind and Telephus. It is quite obvious that in this case the formal conformity has influenced the choice of motifs as it has on other monuments where the same combination of motifs appears and where the meaning of the representations also differs from case to case. The artistic quality of the two Campana tablets is not very high; they are products of industry. But

in spite of that – or perhaps because of it – in these tablets we find, unmingled, some of the basic characteristics of Roman decorative art: the wish to wed the old Roman legendary motifs to the Hellenistic pastoral; and doing so by adopting old designs as well as creating new heraldic compositions. It is a play with well-known designs and shapes, one may say that it is a pictorial counterpart to the alliterations and antitheses of the Latin sentences. It seems as if the way of expressing the idea was very often more important to Roman taste than the idea itself.

<sup>12</sup>H. VON RHODEN-H. WINNEFELDT: *Architektonische römische Tonreliefs der Kaiserzeit*, S. 96 (*Die Antike Terrakotten*, Band IV) Taf. CXXVIII.

<sup>13</sup>Denarius minted by Sex. Pompey Fostlus 124 B.C. SYDENHAM: p. 54, 461; GRÜBER: I, 926; BELLONI: p. 55, 53. A. BOYCE, *Archaeology* 7–1954, p. 12, Fig. 19. Sardonyx at the British Museum, CAT. OF GEMS pl. XIV, 984, 985.

<sup>14</sup>AMELUNG, kat. II, 9, 37 b; RÖM. MITT. 48–1933, p. 20. Abb. 12 (cf. the reliefs on the altar from Ostia, the altar from Arezzo, the so-called Ara Casalis and the marble fountain formerly at the National Museum, Stockholm, now in the collections of antiquities of Gustavus III at the Royal Palace. There are pictures of all four of them in *CAPITOLINUS* XXIV – 1949. Cf. also Sardonyx at the British Museum CAT. OF GEMS pl. XV, 987.

Fig. 5b. One side of the altar fig. 5a





Fig. 6. Reverse of coins, minted in Damascus, with Octaclia, wife of Philip the Arab, on the obverse.

<sup>4</sup>Denarius with the "lupa romana": SYDENHAM: p. 9, 95; GRÜBER II p. 197, 120; BELLONI p. 13, 140; BOYCE p. 12, figs. 17–18.

<sup>5</sup>It is the "heraldic" group with the children facing one another that is depicted on the above-mentioned altars and on the signet stones. On coins see: Hadrianus (BMCE III, 444 and 448), Antoninus Pius (BMCE IV, Pl. 6, 10, Pl. 30, 8, Marcus Aurelius (BMCE IV, Pl. 90, 5).

<sup>6</sup>Many variations of the motif are found on terra sigillata. OSWALD: Index of Figure-Types on Terra Sigillata, 1936, part 11, Pl. XI.1, nos. 848, 848a, 849, 850, 851.

<sup>7</sup>LIV. 1, 5, 2; DION. HAL. 1, 32, 3; 1, 79, 8; VELL. PAT. 1, 15; OVID: FASTI. 11, 411.

<sup>8</sup>The well reliefs from the Palazzo Grimani are now to be found in Vienna, see also SCHÖBER, Wiener Jahrb. 16–1923.

<sup>9</sup>Aeneas finding the sow in a cave: Antoninian marble relief in the British Museum (BRITISH MUSEUM QUARTERLY 2 – 1927/28, p. 84, pl. I.11) and on a medallion minted by Antoninus Pius (GNECCHI 11 p. 20, 99 Tav. 54, 9; COHEN p. 393, 1171).

<sup>10</sup>Armoured statue of Trajan from Utica, now at Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden inv. H 11 B1 (SALOMONSON: Telephus und die römische Zwillinge, Oudheidkundige Medelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden

Nr XXXVIII–1957, p. 15); grave-altar in the Vatican Amelung, Die Skulpturen des Vatikanischen Museums I S 497 nr. 198, Taf. 46; ALTMANN, Die römischen Gräbtäre der Kaiserzeit nr. 43 Abb. 69; SALOMONSON Taf. IV, 1. Coin from Damascus: BMC, Galatia, Cappadocia and Syria Damascus nos. 24–25, Pl. XXXV, 2; SALOMONSON Taf. III, 2.

<sup>11</sup>Stephan. Byz. s.v. SALOMONSON (p. 24, note 38) assumes that Damascus was granted Roman colonial rights under Alexander Severus, basing his opinion in this respect on Benzinger's statements in RE Band 4 (1901). According to A.H.M. JONES in the Oxford Classical Dictionary, Damascus became a Roman colony under Philip the Arab. Jones bases his opinion on WATZINGER-WULZINGER, Damascus (1922).

<sup>12</sup>JUVENALIS, Sat. XI, 100 ff. VERGIL, Aen. VIII, 115. Mounting of a sword at Windonessa: Römische Altertümer in Vindonissa, Zürich 1862, Taf. 1. Mounting of a sword at the British Museum: Strong, Scritti in onore di Bartolomeo Nogara p. 488, Pl. LXXI, 2. Sarcophagus with erotes holding a shield with the emblem: BACHOFEN, Annal 1868, p. 43 nr. 11, Tav. OP, 4 (Marseille, Museum) The shield of Constantine the Great on a silver medallion in Leningrad and Munich resp.: Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte 5/6–1955 p. 151, Taf. XI, 1–2.

# A Roman Togatus

OLOF VESSBERG

Among the sculptures acquired by the Museum during the nineteen sixties a Roman statue of the early Empire is of particular interest.<sup>1</sup> It is a statue of an elderly man in tunica and toga. The material is Italian marble and the height of the statue, with socle, is 204 cm. The man is standing on the left leg and has the right one bent. He has the right arm bent and resting in the folds of the toga; the left arm is directed downwards. The hands are broken off, the left having presumably held a roll.

On his feet he wears *calcei* with a fairly heavy sole and over this a piece apparently of lighter leather covering the forepart of the foot, and a heavier piece covering the top of the foot and the ankles. This seems to consist of two side pieces laced in front and together forming an angular termination in front. They have fold-like markings and thus resemble the shoes with overfolded flap or tongue that are often seen on statues and reliefs from the first two centuries of the Empire.<sup>2</sup> This, however, is clearly a laced shoe and has no visible tongue. Two strokes on the top of the right shoe indicate eyelets<sup>3</sup>.

At the foot of the statue stands the *scrinium*, a cylindrical box with a broad border at top

and bottom. The prototypes were generally made of wood and used for storing book rolls or important documents and records. In toga statues, where the *scrinium* naturally filled an important rôle as a support, it is so common that it can almost be described as a conventional detail. Thus, one can hardly suppose that this attribute is any special indication of the status of the person portrayed, for instance that he may have been a librarian or an official concerned with state or private archives. Its purpose is rather to give a general idea of his importance and background. The toga is of the early Empire type, wide and voluminous and reaching down to the feet. The drapery is worked with great assurance and feeling for effect and gives the statue a strong stamp of Roman dignity and magnificence. The folds sweep upwards in soft and powerful curves which underline the representative character of the work and finally create an impressive framework for the fine head. The head, which has been knocked off but is original, is softly and powerfully modelled, and the face has decided features of portraiture. The forehead is high, the eyes large and prominent under thick eyebrows, the nose straight, the mouth full with pro-

jecting lower lip, the area of the jaw rather powerful. The hair, which fits the skull tightly like a cap, is hardly more than rough-hewn, and only on the tongue jutting towards the forehead, defined by deep inlets at the temples, is it worked in slightly curved tufts. The fine face is stamped with melancholy; it is the picture of an elderly disillusioned man. It is not the severe matter-of-fact type that predominates among the portraits of the last decades of the Republic, but conveys the impression of a man educated in the Hellenistic tradition.

The draping of the toga is only roughly sketched on the back of the statue and the head is not entirely worked out from the marble, but has a support for the neck like Egyptian statues. So the statue did not stand free, but was placed against a wall or most probably in a niche. It is certainly a tomb statue, which presumably adorned the façade of a sepulchral monument.

In trying to determine the date of the statue the first thing to be considered is the type of toga. The toga we see on the earlier Republican monuments from roughly 150-75 B.C. is very scanty and relatively short (*toga exigua*). It is the type of toga worn, for instance, by the famous Arringatore in the Museo Archeologico in Florence<sup>4</sup> or Aurelius Hermia on the fine tombstone in the British Museum<sup>5</sup>. The draping of this toga is not the same as that of our statue. The straight side of the toga – the toga, as we know, is shaped like the segment of a circle – is flung over the left shoulder so that one flap of the toga, *lacinia*, drops a short distance under the left knee. The straight seam continues diagonally across the back, is then drawn under the right arm in a narrow roll of folds slanting over the breast – *velut balteus*, like a sword-belt – to the left shoulder, from which the rest of the stuff falls down the back. The rounded seam forms the lower edge of the toga at the front and leaves the feet and about

half the lower part of the left leg free.

In statues and reliefs from the middle of the last century B.C. – and even earlier – we find however a different arrangement of the toga. It is not draped under the right arm but is also flung, as in our statue, over the right shoulder too, and forms, in the earlier statues, a rather tight sling or *sinus* over the breast, in which the right arm rests entirely enveloped in the toga. This new fashion of toga is undoubtedly an imitation of the rectangular himation of the Greeks, which the Romans called pallium, whose draping is familiar to us from a long series of portrait statues from different times right from the classical statues of Sophocles<sup>6</sup> and Aeschines<sup>7</sup> to later works such as the Youth from Eretria in the National Museum in Athens<sup>8</sup> or a statue from Epidauros in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek<sup>9</sup>, the latter a work from the early Empire, to mention only a few examples. Such a transition to a Greek style of dress is natural during the strong process of Hellenization in the Rome of the last pre-Christian century. Examples of toga statues with this draping of the toga à la himation are: the early sepulchral statue in the Villa Celimontana whose toga greatly resembles a himation<sup>10</sup>, a toga statue very closely related to it in the Museo delle Terme which B.M. Felletti Maj dates to c. 60 B.C.<sup>11</sup>, the togatus of the "Statilia relief" in the Museo Nuovo<sup>12</sup> and the Copenhagen Glyptotek's fine statue, the head of which formerly put on has proved not to belong to the body<sup>13</sup> but which, as a statuary motif, is still an important monument from the last decades of the Republic. Examples of the new draping with the right arm resting in the sinus of the toga (or himation) are also provided in abundance by the Roman tomb reliefs with busts, dating roughly from 75-25 B.C.<sup>14</sup> They also show that the toga became more and more voluminous and consequently more richly folded, and the statues show that it also increased in length.

This Greek toga draping, if we may charac-





*Roman toga statue.*  
*MM 1963:9*



*Roman toga statue. MM 1963:9. Details*

terize it thus, still survives in the early Empire. We find it in a few isolated cases on the Ara Pacis, where otherwise there is a transition to a new type of drapery that is to become the toga of the early Empire.

The straight part is again drawn under the right arm, but the wide voluminous cloth is formed over the right thigh into a pendant *sinus* and a piece of the straight seam is drawn out at waist height over the *balteus* to form a pendant flap, the so-called *umbo*. A famous work, the "Via Labicana" statue of Augustus in the Museo delle Terme<sup>15</sup>, gives a very clear idea of this kind of draping. Our statue belongs to the Greek toga-drapery period, but undoubtedly to its later part by reason of the

length, wealth of stuff and the broad low-hanging lacinia. The Ara Pacis (9 B.C.) is the latest monument clearly determinable chronologically in which this type of toga occurs. But it would be unrealistic to regard the date of the altar as an absolute limit in time for the wearing of this type of toga. However, it certainly did not last long after the turn of the century. A group of four toga statues at Chiusi, earlier discussed by me<sup>16</sup>, comes very close to our statue in composition and toga-drapery. This group belongs to the second half of the last century B.C.

But naturally we would like to determine the date of the statue more exactly. We are very familiar with the style that still pre-



dominates in Roman portraiture at the middle of the century. The portraits we find on the coins, on the tomb reliefs, in statues and busts are objective and lifelike analyses which by detailed observations of skin, flesh and bone structure are intended to create a faithful image and only in a lesser degree aim to present the personality. Here we ought to make a reservation. The grim pictures of aged men which are evidently a favourite motif in the realistic or veristic trend in Late Republican portrait art, naturally give the expression of a special ideal, the severe Romans of earlier times such as Cato the Elder. It was an ideal much cultivated in the literature of the first half of the last century B.C., not only – although rather half-heartedly – by Cicero, but also – and chiefly – by Marcus Varro, who in his satires extolled *cana Veritas* and whose sane wisdom and cynical philosophy of life seem to form the spiritual background to the grim portraits of old men from the middle of the century. Lucretius' realism without any illusions also gives a literary background to this realistic art.

The head of our statue obviously does not belong to this group of portraits. The surface is smoothed out and the portrait is extremely well synthesized. The face has a solid architecture, built up of the tight mouth, the nasolabial wrinkles and the furrows of the cheeks and the forehead. The dissolution of the form which characterizes the portrait art at the middle of the century has given way to a new stringency. This is characteristic of the portraits during the second triumvirate and several of the portraits from this period are stylistically very close to the head of our statue. It may be compared with the head from Nemi in the Museo delle Terme<sup>17</sup>, a very characteristic example of the almost geometrically firm portrait style of the second triumvirate, and also other works from the same time<sup>18</sup>. To this group belongs also the portrait of Caesar in the Vatican, earlier called



*Roman toga statue. MM 1963:9*

Caesar Chiaramonti, now placed in the Braccio Nuovo<sup>19</sup>. The prototype of this Caesar portrait was already created during the second triumvirate, when a "monumentalizing" of the Caesar portraits began. But the portrait in the Vatican has a spiritual profoundness

and a serene character indicating that the type has been retouched during the Augustan period. Our statue shows a similar ideal profoundness and its serene impression reinforces our conviction that in an endeavour to date this work we should go down into the time of Augustus. I think that a dating to the third or second decade B.C. might be most reasonable. Our statue shows very much of the ethical dignity of the "court style" of the Ara Pacis but also, in the features of the portrait, a Hellenistic inheritance of warm humanity and intellectuality.

<sup>1</sup>MM 1963:9. Fig. 1—4. Donation to the Medelhavsmuseet by AB MARABOU through Director HENNING THRONE-HOLST to mark the Jubilee in 1962 of His Majesty King Gustaf VI Adolf. Bought in the USA in 1962. Said to have been found in Southern Etruria.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. e.g. MAGI, *I Rilievi Flavi del Palazzo della Cancelleria* p. 14, Fig. 6.

<sup>3</sup>*calcei* of this type are common on toga statues from the last century B.C., cf. VESSBERG, *Studien zur Kunstgeschichte der römischen Republik* Taf. XXIII, XXVII, XXIX:2—3, LXXXV.

<sup>4</sup>HEKLER, *Die Bildniskunst der Griechen und Römer* 131; GIGLIOLI, *L'arte etrusca* Tav. 369; VESSBERG, *Studien* Taf.

XIX; HANFMANN, *Roman Art* 48.

<sup>5</sup>VESSBERG, *Studien* Taf. XXIV:2, with literature.

<sup>6</sup>ARNDT-BRUCKMANN, *Griechische und römische Porträts* Taf. 113—115; HEKLER, *Bildniskunst* 52.

<sup>7</sup>ARNDT-BRUCKMANN Taf. 116—118; HEKLER, *Bildniskunst* 53.

<sup>8</sup>BRUNN-BRUCKMANN, *Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Skulptur* 519; VESSBERG in *Opuscula Archaeologica* IV pp. 158 f.

<sup>9</sup>FREDERIK POULSEN, *Catalogue of Ancient Sculpture in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* 462, *Tillæg til Billedtavler* pls. VII and VIII.

<sup>10</sup>VESSBERG, *Studien* Taf. XXIII.

<sup>11</sup>Museo Nazionale Romano, *I Ritratti* 42.

<sup>12</sup>MUSTILLI, *Il Museo Mussolini*, pl. 102 n. 9.

<sup>13</sup>FREDERIK POULSEN, *Catalogue* 528; VAGN POULSEN, *Les Portraits Romains* I, 28, pl. XI.

<sup>14</sup>Cf. VESSBERG, *Studien* Taf. XXV—XLV.

<sup>15</sup>Museo Nazionale Romano, *I Ritratti* 97; HEKLER, *Bildniskunst* 172.

<sup>16</sup>VESSBERG, *Studien* pp. 240 f., Taf. LXXXV.

<sup>17</sup>Museo Nazionale Romano, *I Ritratti* 74; VESSBERG, *Studien* p. 233, Taf. LXXVIII; BUSCHOR, *Das hellenistische Bildnis* p. 62.

<sup>18</sup>For instance one of the "great unknown" of the late "Republicans", the so-called Cicero in the Uffizi, with several replicas. HEKLER, *Bildniskunst* 146a; VAGN POULSEN, *Les Portraits Romains* I, 3, Pl. VI—VII; VESSBERG, *Studien* pp. 235 ff. Taf. LXXXI; BUSCHOR, *Das hellenistische Bildnis* pp. 54, 61, Abb. 56.

<sup>19</sup>AMELUNG, *Chiaromonti* 107; VESSBERG, *Studien* p. 235 Taf. LXXX; BUSCHOR, *Das hellenistische Bildnis* pp. 61 f.

This article has been translated from the Swedish by Miss Kathleen Pain, B.A., Fil. kand., London.

***Photos:***

O. Ekberg, pp. 5, 6, 7, 9, 11.

N. Lagergren, pp. 55, 56, 57, and photo on the cover.

M. Sjöblom, pp. 17, 25, 27, 30, 33, 37, 40, 45.





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# Notes on some Cypro-Mycenaean Vases in the Medelhavsmuseet

VASSOS KARAGEORGHIS

Through the generosity of the Director of the Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm<sup>1</sup>, the present writer was able to re-examine some of the Mycenaean vases from Cyprus which are kept in this Museum in spring 1970. No major "discoveries" were made, as in 1957, when an impressive number of Mycenaean vases mainly of the pictorial style were studied and subsequently published<sup>2</sup>, but a few supplementary observations on two Mycenaean vases from the Swedish excavations at Enkomi may not seem superfluous. Both vases come from the extraordinarily rich side-chamber of Enkomi Tomb 18<sup>3</sup>, and have been made up from fragments. (1) *Enkomi Tomb 18 S.46 (Figs. 1-2)*: Sjöqvist<sup>4</sup> describes the decoration of this vase as follows: "A frieze of running bulls between the handles. The bodies of the bulls are decorated with small stars; the shoulders and hind quarters are dotted; from three of the bulls hang wavy ribbons from the horns. Lattice lozenges, chev-

rons and small spirals serve as filling ornament". The figured representation is rendered by a drawing<sup>5</sup> which also shows an obliquely lying human figure in front and below the head of one of the bulls. The long legs of the human figure lie below one of the handles of the vase. The head of the human figure is not represented in the drawing published by Sjöqvist, except three small lines joining at right angles but not connected with the body. The human figure in fact is not headless, and a careful examination of the original will show that the three lines joining at right angles form part of the outline of the head which is of the usual rectangular type as seen on a large number of vases of the Mycenaean pictorial style.<sup>6</sup> It is not clear if he is wearing a conical helmet like some other toreadors on Mycenaean vases. The paint is almost completely obliterated, but its traces are clearly seen, and Mrs. Sjöblom's new detail drawing is a faithful copy of the original. The head looks to the right to the same direction as the bulls. This of course is not a naturalistic posture, if we interpret our composition as a scene from the bull-ring. But as we wrote elsewhere, the 13th century vase-painter of bull-ring scenes is no longer inspired from the actual bull-ring or from the major art of fresco

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Dr. O. Vessberg who facilitated in every way my study in the Medelhavsmuseet, to Miss Gisela Walberg for her valuable assistance during my stay in the Museum, and Mrs. Margareta Sjöblom for the preparation of drawings and photographs of the vases which are described here.

<sup>2</sup> See V. Karageorghis, "Supplementary Notes on the Mycenaean Vases from the Swedish Tombs at Enkomi." *Op. Ath.* III (1960) 135ff.

<sup>3</sup> See *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition I*, 547ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 556.

<sup>5</sup> Sjöqvist, *Problems of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age*, fig. 21, 2.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. A. Furumark, *The Mycenaean Pottery, Analysis and Classification*, fig. 25, c, i, l, m.

painting but represents a scene he has heard about but which he probably never actually saw<sup>7</sup>. A toreador in front of the bull should face the animal, ready to grasp its horns for the jump.

There is one more bull-ring scene on a bell crater from Cyprus, in the G. G. Pierides Collection, where the toreador is in an oblique position behind the bull, obviously represented just after he has heapt to the ground.<sup>8</sup>

Our vase belongs chronologically to the ripe period of Cypro-Mycenaean pictorial style. The main characteristics of this style are: (a) the abandonment of rich floral ornaments against the background of the pictorial composition (here only lozenges are scattered in the field), (b) the elaborate decoration of the outlined bodies of animals (mainly of bulls) with small motifs recalling tapestry and weaving, (c) a renewed interest in the human figure as part of pictorial compositions. This style may be dated to the first half of the 13th century.

Bull-ring scenes appear also on two fragments of Mycenaean vases from the Greek Mainland.<sup>9</sup> The toreadors on both these fragments wear conical helmets, like the one on the Pierides vase from Cyprus; it is, however, unlikely that the conical helmet formed part of a toreador's attire<sup>10</sup>.

(2) *Enkomi Tomb 18 S.48 (Figs. 3–5)*: The decoration of this vase has been described by Sjöqvist as follows: "A panel pattern of squares, filled with U-shaped ornament framed by

vertical, fringed lines. Below the handles are conventionalized designs of small horses or bulls..." This vase was illustrated in a group photograph<sup>12</sup>, but only the front view is showing; the pictorial motifs below the handles have never been illustrated. The paint is very worn off, hence the hesitation for their identification. A close examination, however, and Mrs. Sjöblom's drawings show beyond doubt that here we have two bull figures with prominent horns. One of these bulls (Fig. 4, left) is drawn according to the tendencies of the ripe Cypro-Mycenaean pictorial style: the animal's body is drawn in outline, and is filled with small arrows<sup>13</sup>. The second bull is smaller and rather awkwardly drawn. The paint is very faint and the outlined figure is not filled with any motifs.

The space below the handles of Mycenaean IIIB bell craters is usually not decorated with pictorial or any other motifs; this is more frequent with amphoroid craters, where small motifs (usually birds, flowers or spirals) appear below the vertical handles<sup>14</sup>.

The above notes on two Mycenaean vases from Enkomi, as mentioned earlier, do not add much new to our knowledge of Mycenaean vase-painting. They are written exactly forty years after the discovery of these vases, as a homage to their discoverers, and an indication of the revival of interest in the Mycenaean pictorial style.

<sup>7</sup> He may have seen such scenes on works of art which could travel such as seals or tapestry weaving. Cf. V. Karageorghis, "Two Mycenaean Bull craters in the G. G. Pierides Collection, Cyprus", *AJA* 60 (1956), 146.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 56, figs. 5a, 5b.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 146 notes 31, 32; Furumark, *op.cit.*, 440.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. H. L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments*, 229f.

<sup>11</sup> *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition I*, 556.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. XC, second row from top, fourth from left.

<sup>13</sup> For a similar rendering of an animal motif within a rectangular panel, see *CVA Cyprus*, pl. 10.6 (a fragmentary bell crater decorated with stags). For bull figures of the same style cf. *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition I*, pl. CXVIII, 10 (a jug decorated with a bull on the shoulder, from Enkomi Tomb 18 S. 5).

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *CVA Cyprus* pl.5, 2.



Fig. 1. *Enkomi. T 18 S. 46.*

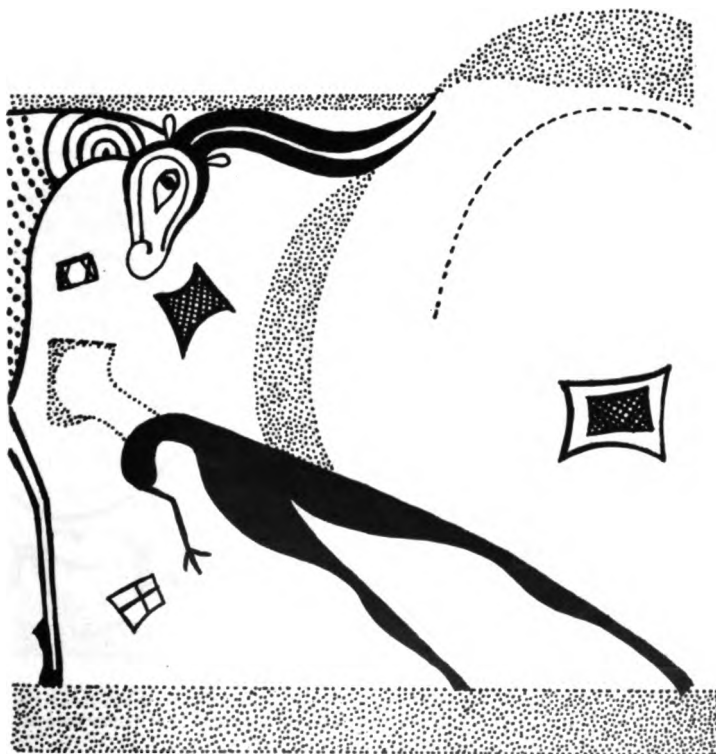
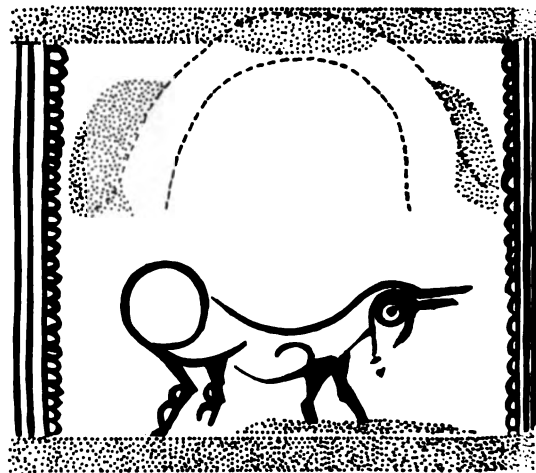
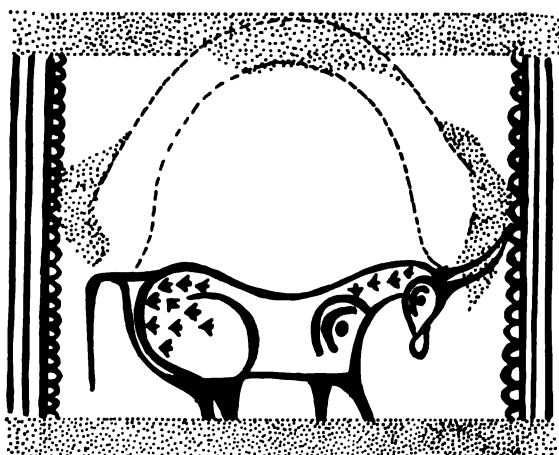


Fig. 2. *Detail of Enkomi. T. 18 S. 46.*



*Fig. 3. Enkomi. T. 18 S. 48.*



*Fig. 4—5. Details of Enkomi. T 18 S. 48.*

# Arms, Armour and Dress of the Terracotta Sculpture from Ajia Irini, Cyprus

SYLVIA TÖRNKVIST

## Introduction

The results of the excavations at Ajia Irini in Cyprus in 1930 were reported by Einar Gjerstad in the Swedish Cyprus Expedition Vol. II, Stockholm 1935<sup>1</sup>. The report covers architecture, stratification and finds, according to the schedule of the whole expedition report. In 1933 Erik Sjöqvist wrote an article called "Die Kultgeschichte eines cyprischen Temenos" on the religious aspects of the place<sup>2</sup>. A synthesis of the finds of the expedition from the Geometric, Archaic and Classical periods was given by professor Gjerstad in 1948 in the SCE IV:2, where the Ajia Irini terracottas from ca. 650–100 B. C. were discussed in relation to other Cypriote and contemporary non-Cypriote sculpture<sup>3</sup>.

The terracotta sculpture group from Ajia Irini is still a unique find: there are ca. 2000 statuettes of varied size and quality, found in a chronologically well defined context and the major part of them in a very good state of preservation. Half of them are now at Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm, and the other half has remained in the Cyprus Museum, Nicosia. A

few figurines are in museums at Lund, Malmö and Uppsala<sup>4</sup>.

In the "Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin no. 3" in 1963 E. Gjerstad described a number of "new" Ajia Irini figurines, put together of fragments during the years after the excavation<sup>5</sup>. Apropos of that Gjerstad suggested to me to take up a study of arms and armour among the figurines<sup>6</sup>. It appeared that the problems of armour were inseparately involved with problems of dress, so I have had to study the equipment on the whole.

<sup>4</sup> See list below p. 55.

<sup>5</sup> The Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities. Stockholm 1963, pp. 3–40.

<sup>6</sup> I want to express my gratitude to professor Gjerstad for this suggestion of his and for the kind interest he has later taken in my study of the terracottas. In 1970 my studies resulted in a cyclostyled dissertation at Lund, of which this article is an abbreviation. Also with the late professor K. Hanell, Dr H. Thylander and the members of the archaeological seminar of Lund there have been valuable discussions over some problems. Further the director of the Department of Antiquities, Nicosia, Dr V. Karageorghis, the former director of Medelhavsmuseet, now professor O. Vessberg, Stockholm, and the present director of Medelhavsmuseet, Dr C.-G. Styrenius, and their staffs have been most generous and helpful by giving access to the not very easily accessible objects. Also for the illustrations (when not prepared by myself) I thank the Cyprus Museum, Medelhavsmuseet and Antikmuseet, Lund. Finally I want to thank Mr and Mrs A. Parker, Chestnut Hill, Mass., who have read and corrected my manuscript, for their generous assistance.

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 642–824, pls. CLXXXVII–CCL.

<sup>2</sup> *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 30. Leipzig/Berlin 1933, pp. 308–359.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 94–211, 339–361, 424 and 456 f.

During the years that have passed after the excavation much has happened in Cypriote and other Mediterranean archaeology which has thrown light upon formerly dark points. Going through the material I have also met some incongruities between the objects and the catalogue of the SCE, inevitable in such an immense number of finds<sup>7</sup>.

This study takes little or no interest in the dating of the statues<sup>8</sup>. The intentions are to discuss what can be learnt from the statuettes about the equipment and further which way the sculptors have shown various details with more or less success owing to difficulties and advantages due to the terracotta material.

<sup>7</sup> Those who might in future take a special interest in the Ajia Irini sculpture will have to visit the museums of Nicosia and Stockholm where they are advised to consult my thesis for some corrections.

<sup>8</sup> See below p. 54.

## ARMOUR AND DRESS.

Cypriote dress has not been subject of any thorough examination or general survey. In "Homer and the Monuments" H. L. Lorimer describes "Dress in Cyprus", beginning with the schematically drawn garments on Mycenaean chariot-vases from Cyprus<sup>1</sup>. Of later periods she mainly counts fibulas in tombs, e. g. of Amathus, but she does not take any interest in sculptured or painted representations of dress.

The way of dressing among our figurines cannot be taken as representative for civilians of archaic Cyprus, since, as will be discussed below, a large number of them are apparently armoured with some kind of jerkin. They are, however, not naked but dressed in chitons or tunics and in some cases also mantles.<sup>2</sup>

Mantles are draped in different ways. One way is to drape the mantle simply over the breast and both shoulders with the ends falling

down back (e. g. nos. 1141, SCE II pl. CCXII, 6–7 or 1796 and 2079+2105, SCE II pl. CCXIII, 6 and 7). This is obviously done without any use of fibulas or pins. Another way is draping the mantle only over one shoulder (e. g. no. 1741, SCE II pl. CCXXXVIII, 7–8), probably using pins, in which case the effect obtained is often that of an oblong piece of cloth with its ends sewn together like a bandolier. Upon these themes there are many variations. The mantle of e. g. no. 1824+2139, (Figs. 1–2 and SCE II pl. CCVII, 3) is quite evidently draped over the shoulder and not sewn.

Some of the mantles draped over one shoulder may be compared to Assyrian predecessors. Mary G. Houston describes some Assyrian drapery very thoroughly<sup>3</sup> and one will find that many mantles appear in a more decorative than functional way. Among our mantles there are also some ones which would be impossible to imitate without making folds or seams, which are at least not visible on the statues now, e. g. no. 2072+2075 (SCE II pl. CCXIV). When the mantles appear as with both ends sewn together, what is seen is certainly merely a simplification for a drapery too complicated for the sculptor. However, one end of the very simple bandolier-mantle of no. 1739+2345 (Figs. 3–4) is hanging back free over the left shoulder.

Especially interesting are the mantles of nos. 1044+2495 (SCE II pls. CCV, 2 and CCVI, 2–3), 1028+2077 (Fig. 5 and SCE II pl. CCVIII), and 1727 (SCE II pl. CCXI). The mantle of the first mentioned statue (no. 1044+2495) is according to the SCE II "slung round both shoulders and falling along back of figure; . . . incised with horizontal lines at short intervals." It is unique in form and as regards the parallel incised lines, which may suggest folds of a very large mantle. Probably this garment should be understood as an oblong, rec-

<sup>1</sup> London 1950, pp. 391–394.

<sup>2</sup> Nos. 1763+1845 (SCE II pl. CXCVIII), 1490 and 1470 (SCE II pl. CCI) are perhaps naked on upper part of body.

<sup>3</sup> M. G. Houston, *Ancient Egyptian, Mesopotamian & Persian Costume and Decoration*. 2nd ed. repr. London 1964, pp. 132–148.





**Figs. 1—2. No. 1824+2139. Profile and back.**  
Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.



**Figs. 3—4. No. 1739+2345. Front and profile.**  
Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.

angular piece of cloth, even if realism is far from obtained by the straight lower border. The incised lines of course may be purely decorative rather than indicating folds. This way of draping the mantle over both shoulders can be seen also on sculptures from other places in Cyprus<sup>4</sup>.

The mantle of no. 1028+2077 is one of the most puzzling garments of our statues. It is slung over both shoulders, but the r. arm is held up over the upper border. It differs from most of the other mantles slung over both shoulders in falling down on the lower part of the figure. Then it "disappears" on r. side bottom. The r. side-flap logically ought to be covered by the mantle but is fully visible. Seen from behind (Fig. 5) it seems as though the mantle turned to the left and finished on the l. side, but on the l. side it reaches down to the middle of the lower part of the statue. Thus,

front and back sides of the statue do not agree. Were it not for the fringed border seen on l. side back, one might have believed that the mantle were draped over both shoulders but with the ends on front side. As it is now, the mantle looks as if provided with three ends. A suggestion about two mantles would not help much. One has to reckon with (now) invisible folds of drapery, for no cutting of a piece of cloth would give an effect like this.

No. 1727 (SCE II pl. CCXI) is according to the catalogue of the SCE II "... dressed in a chiton reaching feet; short sleeves; broad lower border marked by oblique incisions... plain mantle draped over both shoulders and falling down to the waist." Probably the "lower border" is rather to be understood as another garment of a thinner quality with folds. Cf nos. 1824+2139 (SCE II pl. CCVII, 3) and 2072+2075 (SCE II pl. CCXIV)! A comparison to no. 2079+2105 (SCE II pl. CCXIII, 4 and 7)

<sup>4</sup> E. g. SCE III pls. XIV f. and CXI.



Fig. 5. No. 1028 + 2077. Back.  
Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.

or no. 1796 (SCE II pl. CCXIII, 6) will underline the impression that the lower border of the mantle is at the waist, although the colour may induce the eye to see a mantle as a long apron in front. If the mantle finishes at the waist (as it surely does), there must be two chitons and one mantle — a somewhat extensive way of dressing.

Here it might be an occasion to remember Assyrian mantles cut in semicircular form<sup>5</sup>. A combination of two mantles is hardly relevant

<sup>5</sup> M. G. Houston, *op. cit.* fig. 130.

here, but what has been written<sup>6</sup> about folds which must often be imagined in Assyrian representations of costume is likewise true of our statuettes. Cf our no. 1028 + 2077 (SCE II pl. CCVIII) with e. g. the statue of Ashurnasirpal II or the obelisk of Shalmaneser III<sup>7</sup>! Our mantle is simplified.

In Homeric Greece heroes were often dressed in skins of lions, panthers etc. and other people in skins of goats or sheep, a custom which country people preserved long after textiles had become the normal material for dress among the nobles and town people.<sup>8</sup> The mantles of our statues have normally more evenly cut borders than would be probable for skins, and when the borders are painted, cloth is most likely the material to have been used. It is, however, not to be denied that the fringes of no. 1028 + 2077 (SCE II pl. CCVIII) might be a way of indicating a hairy pelt, and in quite another way the incised lines of the mantle of no. 1044 + 2495 (SCE II pls. CCV, 2 and CCVI, 2–3) could indicate fur, although the impression of this garment is rather a piece of starched linen cloth than skin.

About 35 of our statuettes are dressed in now distinguishable mantles. Several more may have been marked out with now disappeared colour. They appear often among the bigger, more impressive statues and are more frequent in per. 5 than in per. 4. Per. 6 cannot be taken into account, being poorly provided with bodies of statues. The growing frequency of mantles seems to be parallel to a growing interest in naturalistic rendering of drapery on the whole.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 144 and 148.

<sup>7</sup> M. Bieber, *Entwicklungsgeschichte der griechischen Tracht*, Berlin 1934, Taf. 5; Y. Yadin, *The Art of War-fare in Biblical Lands in the Light of Archaeological Discovery*, London 1963, p. 395.

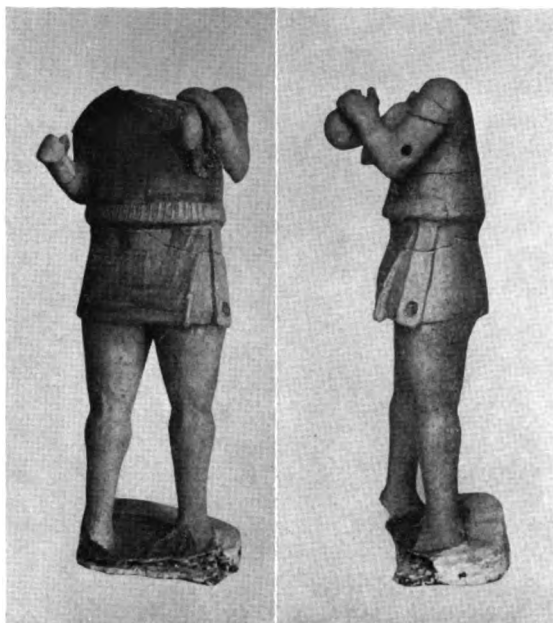
<sup>8</sup> S. Marinatos, *Archaeologia Homerica I A*, Göttingen 1967, S. 14; R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology V*, Leiden 1957 p. 45.

But notice no. 1566 (SCE II pl. CXCIV, 1–2) as early as from per. 4!

Figurines with mantles wear various kinds of helmets or plain bands round the head. No special combinations are discernible. Nor is this the case with weapons. The only statue of bigger size than small idol with shield preserved, no. 1385 + 1530 (SCE II pl. CXCIV, 2) has no mantle. No. 2344 + 2324 (SCE II pl. CXCIX, 5–6), who carries a sword, is according to the catalogue in the SCE II dressed in a mantle which I prefer to call a cuirass (below p. 16). No. 1524 + 2333 + 2346 (SCE II pl. CC, 1–2) has no visible mantle, nor have nos. 1070 + 1072 + 1073 + 1075 (Figs. 6–7), 1084 (Fig. 8), 1276 (BMNE 3, p. 19 Fig. 26) or 2102 (SCE II, pl. CCII), who are all armed with swords. But no. 1739 + 2345 (Figs. 3–4) has a plain but clearly draped mantle and the small idol no. 893 (SCE II pl. CCXXXI, 3), who carries a bow and a quiver, has a plain mantle marked out with paint. From these few examples, however, one cannot draw any conclusions as to combinations of mantles and weapons.

Our mantles are certainly more decorative than functional, often being worn on top of cuirasses: nos. 1071 (SCE II pl. CXCIV, 3 and 6), 1044 + 2495 (SCE II pl. CCV, 2), 1824 + 2139 (SCE II pl. CCVII, 3), and others. One must not wholly overlook the chance that in these latter cases, instead of a jerkin there is only the drapery of the mantle itself, if it is long enough to be wrapped twice around the body or if there are even two smaller ones. Because of the similarity to jerkins worn without mantles I have, however, preferred to see mantles also there.

The sculptors have certainly had various kinds of drapery in their minds when working with the different sculptures, but they do not seem to have used living models. If they did, obviously they did not hesitate to simplify the mantles as well as other details. But before looking upon the drapery of chitons, we are



*Figs. 6–7. No. 1070+1072+1073+1075.  
Front and profile. Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm.*



*Fig. 8. No. 1084. Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.*



Fig. 9. Bronze warrior from Salamis, T. 79.  
Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.

going to discuss cuirasses.

A systematical work about Greek cuirasses appeared in Leipzig in 1919, A. Hagemann, "Griechische Panzerung. I. Der Metallharnisch."<sup>9</sup> During the 50 years that have passed since then, it was not until rather recently that archaeological finds were made and conditions changed so much that the book came out of date. In 1950 Miss Lorimer still maintained the then current opinion that mentionings of metal corslets by Homer must be later interpolations<sup>10</sup>. P. Courbin, who published his find of the Argive geometric corslet in 1957, refers to discussions of such Homeric interpolations as wasted ink<sup>11</sup>, while Miss D. Gray in 1958 instead will change the date of all Homeric fights to an earlier period because of the Argos find.<sup>12</sup> The Dendra find in 1960 finally proved metal plate corslets to have existed already in the Bronze Age<sup>13</sup>. Also an article by N. Yalouris in 1960 confirms this<sup>14</sup>.

A. Snodgrass describes the history of the plate corslet in Europe as "extremely complicated", influences from the Eastern Mediterranean upon central European customs returning home in changed versions<sup>15</sup>, but one may hope that future finds will explain some of the riddles. He also mentions the scale corslet, "long established among Near Eastern peoples"<sup>16</sup>. While seldom appearing among the Greeks it seems natural that it did in Cyprus.

\* Parts II—IV, "Das Lederkoller (einschl. Schuppenpanzers)", "Textile Panzerung," and "Kettenhemd (Eisen)" apparently and unfortunately never appeared.

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 196 f.

<sup>11</sup> "Une tombe géométrique d'Argos". *BCH* 81. 1957, p. 356.

<sup>12</sup> J. L. Myres, *Homer and his Critics*. Ed. by D. Gray. London 1958 p. 182.

<sup>13</sup> E. Vanderpool, "News Letter from Greece." *AJA* 67, 1963, pp. 280 f. pls. 62 f.; G. Daux, "Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1960." *BCH* 85, 1961, pp. 671 ff. figs 1—2. N. M. Verdelis, "Neue Funde von Dendra". *MDAI(A)* 82. 1967 pp. 8—20.

<sup>14</sup> "Mykenische Bronzeschutzwaffen." *MDAI(A)* 75, 1960, pp. 42—67.

<sup>15</sup> *Early Greek Armour and Weapons*. Edinburgh 1964 p. 83.

<sup>16</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 84 ff.

Not only have a number of scales been found<sup>17</sup>, but there are also representations of scale armour on statuettes of stone<sup>18</sup> and bronze<sup>19</sup>. The cuirass of the Cypriote king Kinyras<sup>20</sup> is generally accepted as a kind of scale armour with its differently coloured strips (οἰμοί).

In the Near East scale armour is known from the 15th cent. B. C. through finds at Nuzi in Mesopotamia<sup>21</sup> and from Egypt of the 17th and 18th centuries<sup>22</sup>. A wall painting from a tomb of 15th cent. Egypt shows a bronze coat of nail<sup>23</sup>. Finds and relief pictures of scale armour from Egypt<sup>24</sup> and especially Assyria<sup>25</sup> of later times are abundant, either of corslet type<sup>26</sup> or long garments covering the whole body<sup>27</sup>. No wonder scale armour was used in Cyprus at the time of our terracotta statuettes, considering the political and cultural situation of the Eastern Mediterranean<sup>28</sup>. But since no scales are visible on our figurines, we had better look out also for other materials known from this time.

Except for the Dendra corslet and the fragments from Kallithea mentioned above, Greek cuirasses from the Bronze Age are known to us only from paintings, namely of the Warrior ele and Warrior vase of Mycenae<sup>29</sup>. These latter do not seem to be metal cuirasses, but the



Fig. 10. Reconstruction of bronze warrior from Salamis. Cyprus Mus. Nicosia.

later Geometric-Archaic metal so-called bell-corslet<sup>30</sup> reminds of them in its outline. Another early form of metal corslet, the tubular one, is only known from miniatures<sup>31</sup>.

Corslets of other materials are only known from vase paintings, where it is often hard to say, whether metal or e. g. leather is illustrated. In Geometric art it is not at all distinguishable. When it comes to Proto-Corinthian and Proto-Attic art, the left man of the upper scene to the right of the handle of the Chigi vase<sup>32</sup> seems to wear a cuirass with short sleeves, such as would be uncomfortable in metal, but the man to the right of the flute-player has hardly any sleeves and there is a clearly distinguishable, out-standing lower rim of a metal bell-corslet.

<sup>30</sup> A. Snodgrass, *op. cit.* pp. 73 ff.

<sup>31</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 74.

<sup>32</sup> *Op. cit.* pl. 36; P. E. Arias — M. Hirmer, *Tausend Jahre griechische Vasenkunst*. München 1960, pls. 16 and IV.

<sup>17</sup> *SCE II* pls. V and CL (Amathus), CLXXII (Idalion); *SCE IV:2* fig. 20 (Idalion); A. Westholm, "Cypro-Archaic Splint Armour," *Acta Archaeologica* 1938, pp. 163—173.

<sup>18</sup> *SCE III* p. 366 no. 834 (Mersinaki); still later *SCE III* pp. 495 f. pls. CLXX f.no. 319 (Soli).

<sup>19</sup> Salamis Tomb 79/129 (Figs 9—10), V. Karorghis, "Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1966," *BCH* 91, 1967, p. 339 ff. fig. 142.

<sup>20</sup> *Hom. II.* XI, 19—28.

<sup>21</sup> Y. Yadin, *op. cit.* p. 196.

<sup>22</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 197 and 354.

<sup>23</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 197.

<sup>24</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 192, 196, and 241.

<sup>25</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 388—461 *passim*; cf also R. D. Bar-t, "Further Russian Excavations in Armenia (1949—53)," *Iraq* XXI, 1959, p. 16, fig. 14!

<sup>26</sup> Y. Yadin, *op. cit.* p. 295.

<sup>27</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 400 ff.

<sup>28</sup> *SCE IV:2*, pp. 379 f.

<sup>29</sup> H. L. Lorimer, *op. cit.* pls. II f.; Y. Yadin, *op. cit.* p. 354.

The neck amphora from Melos from ca. 650 B. C. shows a hoplite with bell-corslet and the sleeves of his chiton marked out with paint<sup>33</sup>. On the Euphorbos plate<sup>34</sup> from Rhodes ca. 600 B. C. there is no doubt (metal corslet, no sleeves), but on a dinos of the Louvre ca. 600/590 B. C. there is a more dubious kind of a cuirass<sup>35</sup>.

Leather or linen<sup>36</sup> corslets very similar to that of our no. 1728+1740 (SCE II pl. CXCI, 2-3)<sup>37</sup>, although with horizontal lower borders, are seen on a Siana cup in the Louvre<sup>38</sup>. Exekias, who provides Achilles with a bell-corslet on the London neck-amphora with Achilles and Penthesileia<sup>39</sup>, paints him and Ajax at play on the Vatican amphora<sup>40</sup> in another version of corslet with *pteryges*. Whether these corslets are of metal with relief decoration<sup>41</sup> or maybe embroidered linen or painted leather is not possible to know.

As we do not have any equivalents to that kind of corslet, we had better stop and return to the terracotta figurines. The sleeves of our jerkins point against a metal material. To the objection that perhaps we do not see where the plate corslet ends and the presumptive sleeves of a chiton come forth to view from beneath the cuirass, the answer must be that we can see the shoulder seams, which certainly belong to

one and the same garment, namely the corslet, e. g. on nos. 2106+2103 (SCE II pl. CXC) or 1728+1740 (SCE II pl. CXCI, 2-3)<sup>42</sup>.

After its restoration our no. 1843+1726 (BMNE 3, figs. 21 f.) was described by E. Gjerstad<sup>43</sup> as wearing a leather corslet with a neck collar. In connection with this, Professor Gjerstad mentioned that some of the other statuettes, e. g. nos. 1728+1740 and 2106+2103 also had leather corslets, although that had not been especially pointed out in the report of the SCE II. There they were described as wearing chitons or tunics only. However, A. Westholm refers<sup>44</sup> to nos. 1070 etc. (Figs. 6-7) and 1189 (Figs. 11-12) as wearing "sculptured and painted cuirasses". It seems worth while to re-examine the statuettes as regards what garments they can be supposed to be wearing.

First, of course, one might ask whether a statue that is apparently dressed in a long chiton, really wears one or whether the sculptor just out of laziness or inability preferred to form a cylinder (= a chiton) before sculpturing two free legs appearing under a short tunic. At least one of the sculptors was able to make such legs: there are some 20 examples preserved among the bigger statues. The small idols are all provided with long chitons, that is, their bodies appear as merely wheelmade or handmade cylinders. This is only one among several other examples of simplifications for technical reasons. Cf e. g. the way the sword of no. 2102 (SCE II pl. CCII) seems to pierce through the leather or cloth of the jerkin!

Another reason for doubts about the long chiton is that we are not accustomed to seeing men from the Greek world dressed like that. But we are acquainted with such garments from statuettes from the Near East, especially from

<sup>33</sup> *Op. cit.* pls. 22 f.

<sup>34</sup> *Op. cit.* pl. 27; A. Snodgrass, *op. cit.* pl. 6.

<sup>35</sup> P. E. Arias — M. Hirmer, *op. cit.* pl. 37 bottom.

<sup>36</sup> Cf *Opuscula Romana* VIII, Lund 1969, pp. 81 f.

<sup>37</sup> No. 1728+1740 (SCE II pl. CXCI, 2-3) seems at the first look to be wearing a short tunic (SCE II p. 737), but the ridged seams indicate that the garment is a leather jerkin (BMNE 3, p. 36). Cf no. 1+1618+1619 SCE II pl. CXCI, 1), a very similar statuette, probably made by the same sculptor, but the jerkin and the tunic beneath are clearly sculptured as two different garments. If the "longer jerkin" of no. 1728+1740 has not been painted once to show two different garments, this is the only example of such a cuirass type, covering also the abdominal parts of the body.

<sup>38</sup> P. E. Arias — M. Hirmer, *op. cit.* pl. 48.

<sup>39</sup> *Op. cit.* pls. 64 and XVIII.

<sup>40</sup> *Op. cit.* pls. 62 and XVII.

<sup>41</sup> Cf the "Crowe corslet", *Olympia* IV pl. LIX; BCH 7, 1883 pls. I-III!

<sup>42</sup> No. 1509 (SCE II pl. CCVII, 1-2) is dressed in a long garment with a marking of borders and seams as if indicating a material stiffer than normal for a chiton. A long variant of a leather or linen corslet?

<sup>43</sup> BMNE 3, 1963, pp. 35 f.

<sup>44</sup> *Acta Archaeologica* IX, 1938, p. 163, n. 1.



*Figs. 11—12. No. 1189. Front and profile. Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.*



*13. Painted terracotta bust from Aphani. Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.*



*Figs. 14—15. Painted terracotta bust from Kazaphani. Front and back. Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.*

Assyrian reliefs. The archers, above all, who have no hand free for carrying a shield, are often protected by long garments, often backed with scales. There is no sign of scales, however, on the smooth surface of our terracotta figurines, either in relief or painted.

If the dress of the statuettes is to be understood as woollen or linen, the stiffness is outstanding; still the designs are such as for the figurines to be able to move in them. How to dress and undress seems to have been a problem, unless we imagine openings not indicated to our eyes. It may be noticed that the chitons do not seem less stiff than the eventual leather or linen corslets.

Our nos. 1070 etc.<sup>45</sup> and 1189 (Figs. 6–7, 11–12) show a certain relationship to some painted terracotta busts from Salamis<sup>46</sup> and Kazaphani (Figs. 13–15)<sup>47</sup> which may be of interest here, showing a scale pattern as a background to floral motifs in the squares of the painted decoration. This pattern, here merely decorative, may reflect the custom of wearing scale armour, but the same pattern appears also on architectural terracottas<sup>48</sup> and vases of the same time. J. A. H. Munro suggested<sup>49</sup> that there were scaled cuirasses worn under embroidered chitons. The idea might be attractive, but still a little adventurous. In Hellenistic sculpture folds of a thicker garment are often shown as

through a thinner one, but the artists of our period were hardly as sophisticated as that. It seems safer only to presume a decorative influence from scaled armour upon a cuirass of another material, and rather a linen one with embroidery than a metal one with relief decoration.

For probably one had better not over-estimate the importance and use of metal cuirasses. Other kinds of corslets have been current at the same time. An explanation of the fact as socially conditioned — metal being more expensive than leather or linen — does not say the whole truth. Homer twice provides his heroes with linen corslets in the catalogue of ships: Aias, Oileus' son<sup>50</sup> and the Trojan Amphius<sup>51</sup> — were they poorer than others? Different materials may have been used under various conditions of temperature, mobility etc. A metal corslet must have been terribly hot to wear in summer, even if padded with cloth<sup>52</sup> or made out of small scales which did not quite exclude air circulation. Theories brought forth about the connections between hoplite tactics and metal armour are not conclusive<sup>53</sup>.

If, like the terracotta busts of Salamis and Kazaphani (Figs. 13–15), our nos. 1070 etc., 1189 (Figs. 6–7, 11–12), and 2344 + 2324 (SCE II pl. CXCIX, 5–6) are wearing linen corslets, why are these so short? The material cannot have been too expensive. An influence from metal corslets? That the figures are warriors wearing some kind of cuirass is upheld by the fact that no. 1070 etc. and no. 2344 + 2324 are armed with swords and no. 1189 has probably held a spear in his right hand. The lower

<sup>45</sup> In the catalogue of the SCE II there is a suggestion about the painted ornaments on the lower part of the tunic as indicating a bag hanging from the girdle. That is not very probable. There are no other bags among the sculptures and such a thing would be likely to appear in relief, if not in round sculpture, not only marked out with paint. For other ornamentations on the abdominal parts of the bodies, cf below pp. 18 ff!

<sup>46</sup> J. A. R. Munro, "Excavations in Cyprus". *JHS* 12, 1891 pp. 150 ff. pl. X; *H. B. Walters*, Catalogue of the Terracottas in the British Museum. London 1903, pp. 17–20, nos. A 107–119, figs. 4–6.

<sup>47</sup> Figs. 13–15; Department of Antiquities, Cyprus, Report 2, 1935, p. 7, pl. II, 3–4.

<sup>48</sup> R. M. Dawkins, The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia. *BSA Suppl. Paper 5*. London 1929, pls. XXII ff.; *H. Payne*, Necrocorinthia. Oxford 1931, pl. 11 bis. no. 156 (from Kameiros).

<sup>49</sup> *JHS* 12, 1891, pp. xliv and 151 ff.

<sup>50</sup> *Hom. II. II*, 529.

<sup>51</sup> *Hom. II. II*, 830.

<sup>52</sup> *H. L. Lorimer*, Homer and the Monuments, p. 211.; *O. Montelius*, La civilisation primitive en Italie. II. Stockholm 1910, pl. 287, 3.; *P. Courbin*, "Une tombe géométrique d'Argos". *BCH* 81, 1957, p. 350, figs. 35 f.

<sup>53</sup> *H. L. Lorimer*, "The Hoplite Phalanx". *BSA* 42, 1947, pp. 76–138; *R. Nierhaus*, "Eine frühgriechische Kampfform". *Jdl* 53, 1938, pp. 90–113; *A. Snodgrass*, *op. cit.* p. 89.

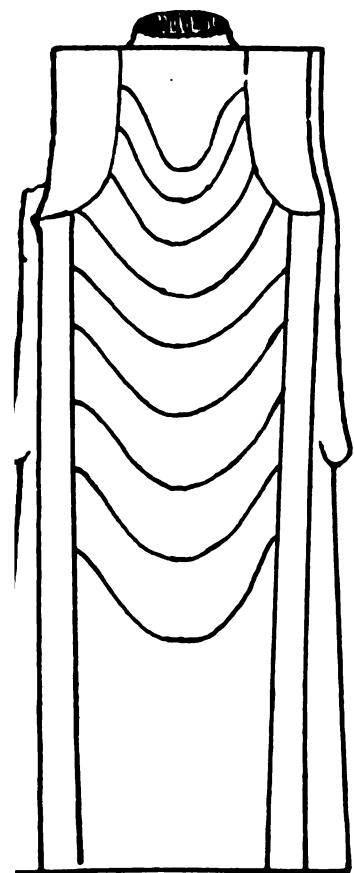


part of no. 2344+2324 is missing. The two other ones wear short tunics slit up at one side. The apparent thickness of these tunics may be explained by the terracotta material of the cultpures, but it might also be suggested that the tunics like the corslets could be leathern or made out of several layers of linen, so as to be protective. The same might be the case with nos. 1385+1530 (SCE II pl. CXCIV, 2) and 524+2333+2346 (SCE II pl. CC, 1-2), though their cuirasses are of a somewhat different type, without the tasseled, lower border.

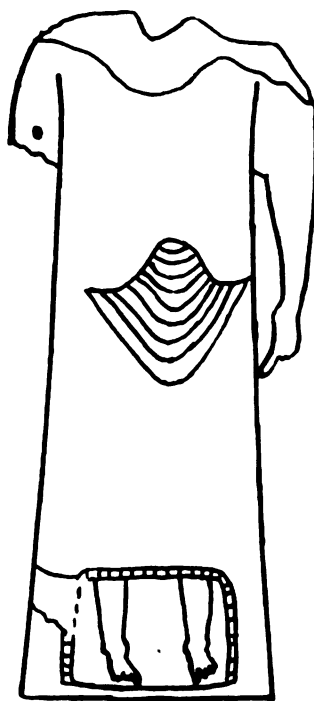
A jerkin of a similar type, also without the tasseled lower border, is seen on no. 1+1618+519 (SCE II pl. CXCI, 1) and from this one the step is not far to no. 1728+1740 (SCE II pl. CXCI, 2-3) who looks like his twin, though their costumes differ a little. No. 1+

1618+1619 has, with no doubt, two garments, the jerkin and a tunic or kilt, while no. 1728+1740 has only one visible, namely a prolonged corslet with a rounded lower border. Here one possibly ought to imagine a jerkin finishing at the waist and a tunic beneath.

Very similar to these statues is no. 2106+2103 (SCE II pl. CXC) and, as regards the corslet, also a number of other statuettes, nos. 1049 etc. (BMNE 3, fig. 28), 1010+1030 (SCE II pl. CCXII, 4-5), 1144 (SCE II pl. CXCVI, 3-4), 1746 (SCE II pl. CXCVIII, 1-3), 1805 (SCE II pl. CCXXXVII, 3), and 1843+1726 (BMNE 3, figs. 21 f.). All these have girdled chitons and side-flaps, except for no. 1843+1726, where the lower part of the figure is missing.



*Fig. 16. No. 1151. Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.*



*Fig. 17. No. 1083. Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.*



Fig. 18. No. 1320. Cyprus  
Museum, Nicosia.

Now there is one problem: to which garment do the side-flaps belong? To the jerkin or the chiton? Gjerstad writes in the *BMNE* 3, p. 15: "The jerkin was provided with side-flaps" and on p. 21 of no. 1049 etc.: "The part of the chiton on the lower part of the body is provided with side-flaps." Still he presumes a girdle for no. 1843: "... no girdle indicated plastically but probably in paint now effaced; below this supposed girdle vertical folds grooved." If the side-flaps belong to the chitons one must understand them as uplifted cloth bulging out over the girdles, while the concentric folds come out as a result of this lifting. If, on the other hand, the side-flaps belong to the corslets<sup>54</sup>,

what will become of the semi-circular lines? We cannot be absolutely sure that they are folds at all. On statues like nos. 1010 + 1030 (*SCE II* pl. CCXII, 4–5), 1044 + 2495 (*SCE II* pl. CCV, 2), 1151 (Fig. 16), 1725 (*SCE II* pl. CCIX, 1), 1746 (*SCE II* pl. CXCIII, 1–3) and 2106 + 2103 (*SCE II* pl. CXC) they appear in so conventionalized forms<sup>55</sup> that one would not recognize folds in the lines, if one did not remember such from other statues like nos. 1016 + 2505 (*SCE II* pl. CCXVII), 1141 (*SCE II* pl. CCXII, 6–7) or 1824 + 2139 (Figs. 1–2 and *SCE II* pl. CCVII, 3). On no. 1016 + 2505 there are also vertical folds, such as will actually appear, if cloth is being lifted up in the way suggested above. And in the case of no. 1141 there are the parallelly drawn folds of the mantle to compare with.

This seems to favour a theory that folds of an intelligible form have become conventionalized into these unnatural, stiff ridges. Most of the folds appear already in per. 4, which is, however, the longest period to which most of the finds belong. The fact that nos. 1016 + 2505 (*SCE II* pl. CCXVII) and 2079 + 2105 (*SCE II* pl. CCXIII, 7) with more "natural" folds belong to per. 5 does not prove the contrary either, for in per. 5 we also find nos. 1010 + 1030 (*SCE II* pl. CCXII, 4–5), 1049 etc. (*BMNE* 3, fig. 28), and 1725 (*SCE I* pl. CCIX, 1) with

<sup>54</sup> The square form of the sideflaps of no. 1016 + 2505 (*SCE II* pl. CCXVII) cannot possibly indicate uplifted cloth. — No. 1037 + 2454 (*SCE II* pl. CCIX, 5) has rounded sideflaps, but the lack of folds on the tunic points towards the belonging of the sideflaps to the jerkin.

<sup>55</sup> Cf also the straight lines on no. 1071 (*SCE II* pl. CXC, 3, 5–6 and *BMNE* 3, 1963, fig. 20); the lines on no. 1083 (fig. 17) are not concentric but parallel, curved lines broken off by or hidden behind vertical edges — of an outer garment? (Cf e. g. *SCE III* pl. XXXVI, I); the overfold of no. 1099 + 2735 (*SCE II* pl. CCXXXIII, 4–5) forms an un-broken, curved line, altogether decorative; on no. 1320 (fig. 18) the lines are curved upside down as compared to all the other statues; on no. 1767 (*SCE II* pl. CCV, 1.) the "rounded sideflaps" are overlapping, but one had better not call them sideflaps at all, for here is rather something like the "hittite" type of a skirt.



Fig. 19. No. 1059.  
Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.

typically conventionalized, semi-circular lines. Nos. 1141 (SCE II pl. CCXII, 6–7), 1566 (SCE II pl. CXCIV, 1–2), and 1824 + 2139 (SCE II pl. CCVII, 3) which seem more “naturally” draped are all of per. 4. From per. 6 there are very few statues with lower part of the body preserved. One is no. 926, now restored with no. 1059 (Fig. 19) as lower part of the body, where the folds are a little clumsy but still conventionalized. Other statues of the period lack folds. So these chronologically established facts do not help here, when we try to find out, if the “natural” folds are older or younger

than the “conventionalized”. They seem rather to be parallel.

If after all the “conventionalized folds” are no folds at all, what else could they be? I would like to suggest an altogether different interpretation: that they are to be understood as a kind of protection for the abdominal part of the body, where the jerkin finished, to facilitate movements of its wearer. Cf the later Greek and Roman *pteryges*, well-known from vase-paintings and Roman sculptured cuirasses! Now, instead of such vertical leather straps, we might here be dealing with something like the Homeric *mitre*, known in metal in the form of rounded little “aprons”. Many examples are known from Crete of the 7th century, especially Axos<sup>56</sup>, and from the Greek mainland<sup>57</sup>, possibly of Greek origin. The so far latest known version (fourth century B. C.) is from Ruec in Thrace<sup>58</sup>, horizontally divided into two pliable parts and provided with rings for suspension. Most of the *mitrai* are decorated with figural motifs within a border marked by an incised line. Our parallel semicircular lines may recall these incised border lines.

It is hardly an attractive theory that the lines might be understood as seams, compared to the ridged seams on the shoulders of some of the statues, e. g. no. 2106 + 2103 (SCE II pl. CXC) or 1746 (SCE II pl. CXCI, 1–3). What sense would it make to sew a lot of leather strips together instead of using a whole piece of leather? Decorative reasons?

The lines may also be only reminiscences of the *mitrai* which had gone out of use and, misunderstood by the sculptors, were changed

<sup>56</sup> D. Levi, “I bronzi di Axos”. *Annuario* 13–14, 1930–31, pp. 59–80, figs. 14–21, 24, 28 pls. XIII–XV.

<sup>57</sup> References in A. Snodgrass, *op. cit.* p. 241 n. 56; H. Brandenburg, *Studien zur Mitra*. Münster 1966, pp. 25–28; H. Bartels, *VIII. Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia*. Berlin 1967, pp. 196–207, 263 f., pls. 100–105.

<sup>58</sup> L. Ogenova, “Les cuirasses de bronze trouvées en Thrace.” *BCH* 85, 1961, pp. 519, 522 f., fig. 14.



Fig. 20. No. 1081. Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.

into folds. However, the "folds" of the chiton of no. 1044 + 2495 (SCE II pl. CCV, 2) are rather different from the folds of the mantle of the same statue.

I will not stress the probability of the theory of *mitrai* too much, but the geographical fact that Crete seems to be the home of the *mitrai* points at least to the probable knowledge of this kind of protection in Cyprus. Anyway, the concentrating of the interest to the abdominal part of the body is remarkable in our terracotta figurines. The unusual circumstance in which a metal piece of armour is known from real finds but not from artistical representations in the Greek world<sup>59</sup> leaves us without help of comparisons. But we also lack such comparisons for the peculiar way of dressing in garments so long as to cover the feet, in spite of the fact that they are held up by girdles. Even for parade uniforms, functional points of view seem remarkably neglected. However, the length of the garments is perhaps just the result of an unwillingness to model the free legs and does not prove anything. In Cyprus, most time of the year a dress covering the whole body is not necessary for climatic reasons. Using them as a protection, like the long Assyrian garments, it would be utterly unpractical to make them as long as to have to girdle them up. The semi-circular lines remain puzzling, whether we understand them as folds or anything else.

In one single case, no. 1081 (Fig. 20), there are ridged folds and side-flaps also on the back. Only the lower part of the figure is preserved. It wears a short tunic, leaving the legs free. Very seldom something is clearly indicated on the back of a statue. In the cases where there are girdled chitons with cloth bulging out over the girdles in front, it will be correct to imagine the backs equal with the fronts. But if there are corslets to protect the bodies as far as possible, there is no reason for them to finish

<sup>59</sup> A. Snodgrass, *op. cit.* p. 89.

at the waist on the back, where movements would not be hindered by a longer jerkin. Or were these heroes too brave to protect their backs?

The existence of some kind of protective corslets of leather or linen on a major part of the bigger statuettes can be taken for granted. However, it happens that such a garment is worn in altogether civilian circumstances, like no. 1049 etc. (BMNE 3, fig. 28), who is apparently going to sacrifice a little buck. The presence of shields and weapons in connection with them is very irregular. Such attributes may sometimes have got lost, but often there have never been any. Thus the main intentions of the sculptors cannot have been to illustrate well-equipped little soldiers but rather worshippers dressed up for a religious ceremony in a shrine of a war-god. It may have been correct to wear "uniforms", and if somebody preferred, only a helmet, serving as a *pars pro toto*.

## HELMETS.

The standard work on Greek helmets is still J. Kukahn's "Der griechische Helm", Marburg 1936. In H. L. Lorimer's "Homer and the Monuments" one chapter is devoted to helmets.<sup>1</sup> Important finds have been made since then, e. g. at Olympia and Argos. A. Snodgrass in his first chapter of "Early Greek Armour and Weapons" gave the latest news available in 1964 and in the "VIII. Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia" there is an important chapter on "Helme" by E. Kunze.<sup>2</sup>

For the Near East there has not appeared any general survey after the chapter on "Helm" in

Bonnet's "Die Waffen der Völker des alten Orients"<sup>3</sup>. Still less is there any monograph on priote helmets, although such are mentioned in their relations to Greek and Near Eastern

ones in the above works and in the SCE IV:2 there is a survey in the chapter on "Foreign Relations"<sup>4</sup>.

The earliest ones are from the Late Bronze age<sup>5</sup>. To the Iron age helmets, parts of helmets, and representations of helmets in art mentioned by Snodgrass, may above all be added the finds of a conical bronze helmet from Kouklia<sup>6</sup> and the bronze figurine of a warrior from a chariot of Salamis Tomb 79 wearing a helmet with a forward-curving crest (Figs. 9–10)<sup>7</sup>.

Representations of helmets in archaic limestone and terracotta sculpture are not few. From Ajia Irini there are even two bronze statuettes, wearing conical, knobbed helmets, nos. 2029 and 1479 (SCE II pl. CCXL, 5 and 6–7). In limestone there are nos. 1095 and 1228 from Ajia Irini (SCE II pl. CCXXXIX) with plain, conical helmets. From other places in Cyprus are limestone and terracotta helmeted heads, now in Nicosia, New York, London, or Stockholm etc.<sup>8</sup>. These and others will be mentioned below, in relation to our figurines.

The major part of our statuettes and idols are wearing helmets of various kinds. In a number of cases it may be discussed, whether there is a cap or a helmet in form of a cap. However, most of the helmets are unmistakable. One type is conical, not seldom with upturned or hanging cheek-pieces. The top may be hollow or closed. Another type has the top bent back, indicating a softer material. Further there is a number of "flat caps" and several of uncertain type, be-

<sup>4</sup> SCE IV: 2, pp. 378 f.

<sup>5</sup> H. W. Catling, Cypriot Bronzework in the Mycenaean World. Oxford 1964, pp. 137 f., pl. 17.

<sup>6</sup> V. Karageorghis, "Chronique des fouilles à Chypre en 1965", BCH 90, 1966, pp. 320 ff., fig. 55; V. Karageorghis, "Nouvelles tombes de guerriers à Palaepaphos." BCH 91, 1967, pp. 234 f., figs. 20 and 24.

<sup>7</sup> V. Karageorghis, "Chronique des fouilles à Chypre en 1966", BCH 91, 1967, p. 340, fig. 142.

<sup>8</sup> Cesnola, Atlas I – II *passim*; J. L. Myres, Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus. New York 1914, nos. 1257 ff., 1282 ff., 1351 f.; SCE IV:2 pls. II, V and X; P. Dikaios, A Guide to the Cyprus Museum, 3rd. ed. Nicosia 1961, pl. XIX, 4.

London 1950, pp. 211–250.

Edinburgh 1964, pp. 3–35; Berlin 1967 pp. 111–

Leipzig 1926, pp. 201–209.

cause of damages to the heads or entire lack of them. A try to give statistical facts about the various types proved to be senseless because of the great uncertainty in too many cases.

No. 1323 (SCE II pl. CCXXXVIII, 3) may represent the type with helmet and head in one piece and straight spike. No. 1191 (SCE II pl. CCXXXVI, 5) is similar but with hollow spike. It is not certain that the holes are intended for inserting anything at all, but they might be there for inserting crest-holders<sup>9</sup>. Sometimes there are rather big openings on top, e. g. on no. 904 (SCE II pl. CCXIII, 8) and 936 (SCE II CCIX, 6), which remind of the bronze statuettes nos. 1479 and 2029 of Ajia Irini (SCE II pl. CCXL).

Anyway, the form of the straight helmets seems to indicate a metal material<sup>10</sup>. There are variants on the theme of straight helmets: e. g. no. 1564 (SCE II pl. CCXXXVII, 5) showing a "modelled" helmet with its top broken but probably having been straight. Other examples are those of nos. 1044 + 2495 and 1767 (SCE II pls. CCV f.). Both of them might be called "conical" and "straight", although their outlines are rather different, the spike of no. 1767 being much slimmer and taller. Both are closed on top. The form of no. 1044 + 2495 is similar to that of the Kouklia helmet<sup>11</sup> or the helmet of a warrior of an orthostat relief from Tell Halaf<sup>12</sup> or even to those of soldiers of Ashurnasirpal at Nimrud<sup>13</sup>. However, the Assyrian types vary: our 1767 is very similar in outline to helmets on warriors of Tiglathpileser III of Nimrud<sup>14</sup>, which are actually also very similar to the bronze helmet of Sarduri, found at Karmir

Blur, decorated with pictures in relief<sup>15</sup>. Our helmets are plain but may of course have been painted. A similar type of top has the Greek "Kegelhelm" from early 7th Cent. Greece<sup>16</sup>.

Some helmets have knobbed tops, e. g. the very tall helmet of no. 1363 (SCE II pl. CCIII 3—4, 7—8), and the rather low one of no. 2169 (SCE II pl. CCXXIII, 1 and BMNE 3, 1963, fig. 31). Low helmets with knobs are common on limestone statuettes of Cyprus<sup>17</sup>. The biggest knob belongs to the helmet of no. 2374 (SCE II pl. CCVII, 6). Cf knobbed helmets of reliefs from Tell Ahmar<sup>18</sup>, Aleppo<sup>19</sup>, and Malatya<sup>20</sup>. Further a weather-god and warrior from Zenjirli<sup>21</sup> and the chimaera of Carchemish<sup>22</sup>.

The material used for knobbed helmets, or at least some of them, will be discussed below (p. 31). Another kind of conical helmet has the top bent back, e. g. nos. 1028 + 2077 (SCE II pl. CCVIII) and 1524 + 2333 + 2346 (SCE II pl. CC), whose tops are only bent at the very end. But a great number of statuettes have their bent tops hanging down back quite a bit, like nos. 1509 (SCE II pl. CCVII, 2) and 1824 + 2139 (Figs. 1—2 and SCE II pl. CCVII, 3). The soft tops must indicate some material softer than metal, probably leather, which must, however,

<sup>15</sup> R. D. Barnett — D. Watson, "Russian Excavations in Armenia." *Iraq* XIV, 1952, p. 139 pls. XXXII f.; R. D. Barnett, "An Assyrian Helmet". *The British Museum Quarterly* XVIII, 1953, pp. 101 f. pls. XXXI f.; W. Nagel, "Ein urartäischer Helm aus dem Argisti-Magazin". *Archiv für Orientforschung* XIX, 1959/60, pp. 144—147 figs. 1—2, 4; E. Kunze, "Ein Bronzehelm aus der Perserbeute". *VII. Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia*. Berlin 1961 pp. 131—133, figs. 72—74; B. B. Piotrovski, "Teichebaini, centre ourartien du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle..." *Le rayonnement des civilisations grecque et romaine sur les cultures péritiques*. Paris 1965, p. 412, pl. 96, 2.

<sup>16</sup> A. Snodgrass, *op. cit.* pls. 5 and 9.

<sup>17</sup> E. g. SCE IV:2, pls. II, V and XIV.

<sup>18</sup> H. Bossert, *Altsyrien*. Tübingen 1951, figs. 442 f.

<sup>19</sup> H. Bossert, *op. cit.* fig. 495.

<sup>20</sup> H. Bossert, *Altanatolien*. Berlin 1942, figs. 769 f.

<sup>21</sup> H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*. London 1958, pl. 160.

<sup>22</sup> H. Frankfort, *op. cit.* pl. 161.

<sup>9</sup> Cf P. Courbin, "Une tombe géométrique d'Argos." *BCH* 81, 1957 p. 359 fig. 43!

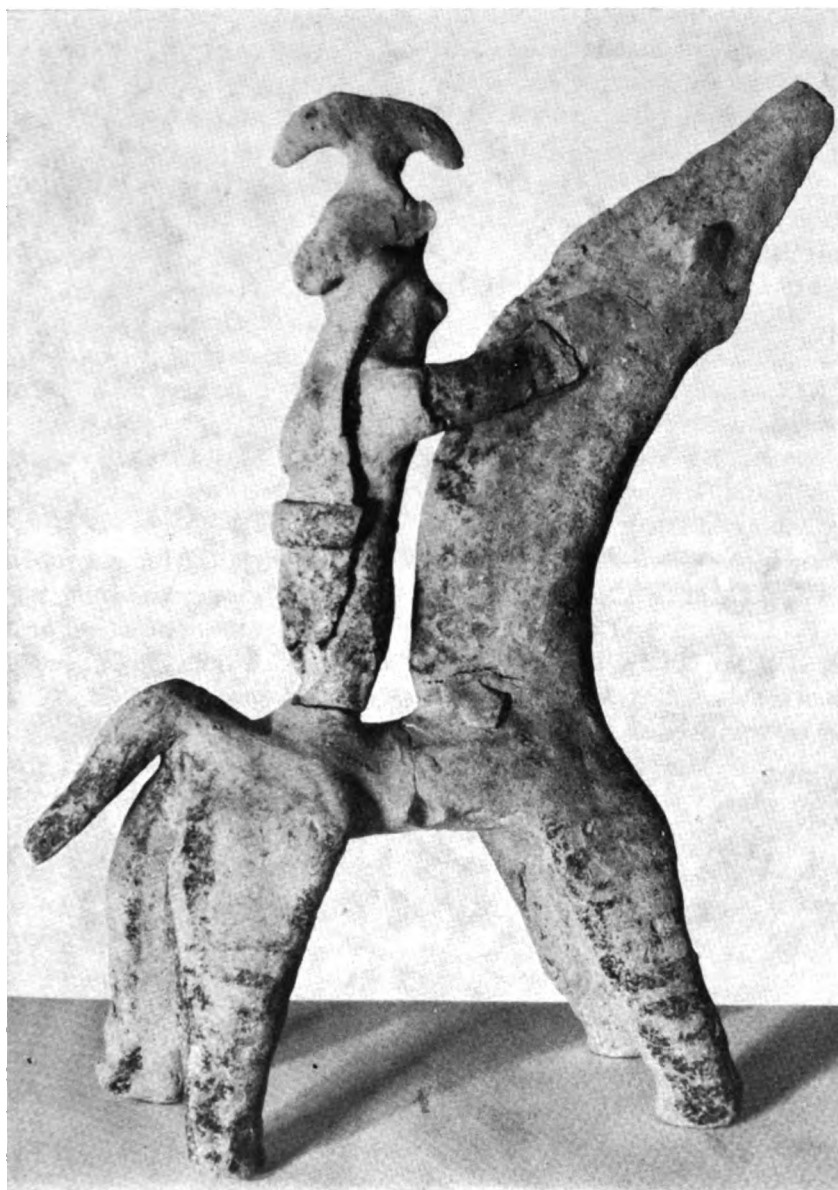
<sup>10</sup> Cf H. W. Catling, *op. cit.* pl. 17!

<sup>11</sup> Above note. 6.

<sup>12</sup> Y. Yadin, *op. cit.* p. 360.

<sup>13</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 390 f.

<sup>14</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 407.



*Fig. 21. Terracotta horse rider. Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.*



**Fig. 22. Terracotta figurines from Kaloriziki. Nos. 51, 52 and 55. Museum of Episkopi, Cyprus.**



**Fig. 23. Terracotta figurines from Kaloriziki. Nos. 52, 53 and 54. Museum of Episkopi, Cyprus.**



be fairly hard in the case of no. 1028 + 2077! For apparent reasons leather helmets are not preserved since antiquity. But there are representations of such, e. g. at Tell Halaf<sup>23</sup>, and also from Ashur<sup>24</sup> and on the boundary-stone of Marduk-Apal-Idina, an extremely long top, like a tail<sup>25</sup>. That is, however, not the common Assyrian type, which is the straight one.

Only one of our figurines has the top bent forwards: no. 1803 (SCE II pl. CCXXX, 9). This is probably no mistake, as would be tempting to presume, for a large number of figurines of similar appearance are known from Kourion<sup>26</sup>. And lately, a bronze soldier from a chariot of Tomb 79, Salamis, has appeared to wear a forward-curving crest (Figs. 9–10) finishing with a “cyclop’s eye” in front<sup>27</sup>. Cf also the “Oriental” examples of Snodgrass and a similar crest from Khorsabad<sup>28</sup>!

In the Cyprus Museum of Nicosia there is an Archaic terracotta horse rider with a stilted crest (Fig. 21)<sup>29</sup>. In the Kourion Museum there is a terracotta figure from Kaloriziki wearing such a one (Figs. 22–23)<sup>30</sup>. Also from Kourion in the Cesnola Collection, New York, are small terracotta horse riders with “close crest passing over the apex from front to rear”<sup>31</sup>.

Our no. 2497 + 2478 (BMNE 3, 1963, fig. 34 a) has a badly damaged helmet, but in the neck are remains of what must have been a ridged crest of a similar type<sup>32</sup>. Cf also helmets pictured on the Amathus bowl<sup>33</sup>!

<sup>23</sup> Y. Yadin, *op. cit.* p. 363.

<sup>24</sup> H. Frankfort, *op. cit.* pl. 73 A.

<sup>25</sup> H. Frankfort, *op. cit.* pl. 120.

<sup>26</sup> Cesnola, *Atlas II* pl. XXX nos. 259–262; J. H. Young — S. H. Young, *Terracotta Figurines from Kourion in Cyprus*. Philadelphia 1955 p. 199 pls. 26 ff. *passim*.

<sup>27</sup> Above note 7.

<sup>28</sup> Snodgrass, *op. cit.* p. 7 fig. 1; Y. Yadin, *op. cit.* p. 420.

<sup>29</sup> P. Dikaios, *op. cit.* p. 203 no. 27.

<sup>30</sup> Figs. 22 f. no. 52 = J. H. Young — S. H. Young, *op. cit.* pl. 61 no. 404.

<sup>31</sup> Cesnola, *Atlas II* pl. LXXII no. 655.

<sup>32</sup> E. Gjerstad, *BMNE* 3, 1963 p. 25.

<sup>33</sup> E. Gjerstad, “Decorated Metal Bowls from Cyprus”. pl. VI. *Opuscula Archaeologica IV*. Lund 1946.

L. Palma di Cesnola describes in his “Atlas” a terracotta head from Dali as provided with a “crest ( $\frac{3}{4}$  inch. wide) shaped like a loop or a handle”<sup>34</sup>. It has a certain similarity to the crest of the Salamis bronze warrior, but it is rather, like on our nos. 1741 (SCE II pl. CCXXXVIII, 7–8) and 1824 + 2139 (Figs. 1–2 and SCE II pl. CCVII, 3) the top of the helmet being bent back.

H. E. Stier traces the origin of the stilted as well as the unstilted crests to the Hittite cultural sphere<sup>35</sup>. Which way they got to Cyprus would be a complicated thing to find out, since the Cypriotes were under influence from various cultures.

Some of the helmets are modelled with a neck-cover: nos. 906 + 928 + 931 (SCE II pl. CCXV, 3–4) and 1010 + 1030 (SCE II pl. CCXII, 1–2) with no doubt, as illustrated by the slightly outwards-turned border. Also no. 1028 + 2077 (SCE II pl. CCVIII) is clear, but when it comes to e. g. nos. 1727 (SCE II pl. CCXI) or 1016 + 2505 (SCE II pl. CCXVII) it seems more likely that what is indicated in the neck is just the hair. Unfortunately the dark paint indicating hair is often effaced. The length of the hair is more or less the same as that of the neck-covers.

Two of our helmets mentioned above, those of our nos. 1509 (SCE II pl. CCVII, 1–2) and 1824 + 2139 (Figs. 1–2 and SCE II pl. CCVII, 3) are provided with upturned cheek-pieces. These are very common components of the helmet, whether upturned or hanging, like e. g. those of nos. 1025 (SCE II pl. CCXXXVIII, 2) or 1804 (SCE II pl. CCXXXVII, 2), the latter a little outturned (indicating metal?). Cheek-pieces are not exclusively found among soft helmets but among the straight ones as well.

On the terracotta statuettes the cheek-pieces

<sup>34</sup> Cesnola, *Atlas II*, pl. XXX no. 256.

<sup>35</sup> H. E. Stier, “Probleme der frühgriechischen Geschichte und Kultur.” *Historia I*, 1950, pp. 214–222.



**Fig. 24. No. 33. Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm.**



**Fig. 25. No. 1389.  
Back of helmet.  
Gustavianum,  
Uppsala.**



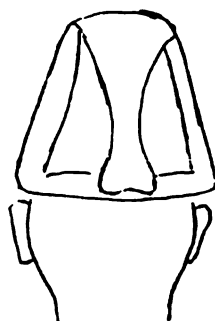
**Fig. 26. No. 1505 a. Back of helmet.  
Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.**



**Fig. 27. No. 1538.  
Back of helmet.  
Medelhavsmuseet,  
Stockholm.**



**Fig. 28. No. 1741.**  
*Back of helmet.*  
 Cyprus Museum,  
 Nicosia.



**Fig. 29. No. 2100.**  
*Back of helmet.*  
 Medelhavsmuseet,  
 Stockholm.



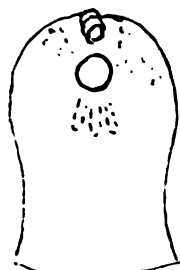
**Fig. 30. No. 2102. Profile and back of helmet.**  
 Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.



**Fig. 31. No. 1071. Back of helmet.**  
 Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm.



**Fig. 32. No. 2071.**  
*Profile of head.*  
 Cyprus Museum,  
 Nicosia.



**Fig. 33. No. 1016+2505.**  
*Back of helmet.*  
 Medelhavsmuseet,  
 Stockholm.

are normally of a simple, oblong form, narrowing towards the straps, but there is one remarkable exception: those of no. 1385 + 1530 (SCE II pl. CXCIV, 2) have a "scalloped" form<sup>36</sup> according to Snodgrass compared to the cheek-pieces of the Late Minoan helmet from Knossos<sup>37</sup> and the Submycenaean one of Tiryns<sup>38</sup>, where the curves, however, are not as distinguished as those on our statuette, which protect a larger part of the cheeks, thus maybe forming an intermediate stage to the later Greek form, where much of the face is protected by the helmets themselves. The helmet of no. 1385 + 1530 is a metal one with tall straight top and a sharply profiled outline. The cheek-pieces of no. 930 (SCE II pl. CCXVIII, 4-5) do not seem to lie outside the helmet itself but rather to be part of it, as if the helmet were sewn like a foot-ball out of several pieces of leather. Since the statue is a late one (of per. 6), the significance of the cheek-pieces may have become forgotten by the sculptor and the incised lines merely decorative. Cf also no. 1010 + 1030 (SCE II pl. CCXII, 1-2)!

The cheek-pieces are of course not to be understood as hanging freely down, when the helmets were used in battle. There ought to have been straps to tie them with. Cf Homer, *Iliad* III, 371! Normally the cheek-pieces do not have any straps indicated, e. g. nos. 1 + 1618 + 1619, 1728 + 1740 (both SCE II pl. CXCI) or 2106 + 2103 (SCE II pl. CXC). The straps simply "disappear" under the bent top. But straps are indicated in a few of the upturned versions: nos. 33 (Fig. 24), 1389 (Fig. 25 and SCE II pl. CXCIX, 4), 1505 (a + b) (Fig. 26

and SCE II pl. CCXXXVIII, 5)<sup>39</sup>, 1509 (SCE II pl. CCVII, 1-2, 4), 1538 (fig. 27), 1562 (SCE II pl. CCXXXVIII, 4, straps not visible), and 2332 + 2360 (not illustrated). The cheek-pieces of no. 1538 have once continued in straps which have fallen off but left dark lines showing how they have crossed each other on the back of the neck.

In the Louvre there is a terracotta head with cheek-pieces properly tied under the chin<sup>40</sup>. No. 1258 of the Cesnola Collection, New York<sup>41</sup>, shows the straps tied together in a knot in front of the top knob, while no. 1257 of the same collection according to Cesnola is "surmounted by a top knot, from which two cords, with tassels in relief, hold the cheek-bands of the head-dress tied up"<sup>42</sup>.

Holes for straps in the cheek-pieces can be seen e. g. on helmets from Olympia<sup>43</sup>. Remains of iron cheek-pieces from Cyprus have been found at Idalion<sup>44</sup>. The bronze ones mentioned in the SCE II<sup>45</sup> have later been reinterpreted as horse blinkers<sup>46</sup>. For straps ending in tassels cf also the faience rhyton of Kition<sup>47</sup> and a vase from Kouklia<sup>48</sup>! Tassels of straps meeting in the neck are found also on the above mentioned colossal limestone head of Golgoi<sup>49</sup>, and on a

<sup>36</sup> There are two almost identical statues numbered 1505, one (a) in Nicosia, identical with the description of the catalogue of the SCE II and the photos (Fig. 26 and SCE II pl. CCXXXVIII, 5), and one (b) in Stockholm, nearly exactly the same but ca. 5 cm smaller.

<sup>40</sup> H. Bossert, *Altsyrien*, fig. 133.

<sup>41</sup> Cesnola, *Atlas I*, pl. XXXV no. 222; J. Myres, *op. cit.* p. 196; SCE IV:2 pl. V (top).

<sup>42</sup> Cesnola, *op. cit.* pl. XXXIX no. 253; J. Myres, *op. cit.* pp. 195 f.; SCE IV:2; pl. II (top).

<sup>43</sup> E. Kunze, "Helme". *VI. Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia*. Berlin 1958, pp. 140 f., figs. 102 f.

<sup>44</sup> Idalion nos. 505 and 1071. SCE II pl. CLXXXVIII. 14-15; SCE IV:2 p. 133, fig. 20:8.

<sup>45</sup> SCE II pl. CLXXVI, 1-4.

<sup>46</sup> SCE IV:2 pp. 147 f., fig. 26.

<sup>47</sup> V. Karageorghis, "Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1962". *BCH* 87, 1963, pp. 368 ff., pl. VIII.

<sup>48</sup> V. Karageorghis, "A propos de quelques représentations de chars sur des vases chypriotes de l'âge du fer". *BCH* 90, 1966 pp. 105 f., fig. 3.

<sup>49</sup> Above note 41.

<sup>36</sup> A. Snodgrass, *op. cit.* p. 4.

<sup>37</sup> M. S. F. Hood — P. de Jong, "Late Minoan Warrior-graves from Ayios Ioannis and the New Hospital Site at Knossos." *BSA*, 47, 1952 pp. 256-260, pls. 50-52.

<sup>38</sup> G. Daux, "Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1957". *BCH* 82, 1958, pp. 706 f., fig. 26.

Cypriote terracotta head found at Samos<sup>50</sup>; further, outside Cyprus, on reliefs from the Near East<sup>51</sup>.

Of course our tassels, divided into three parts, although formed out of two meeting bands or straps, must not be regarded too literally: the decorative effect has out-weighted realism also in this sense. Cf the above mentioned nos. 33, 1505 etc.! There is, however, "method in it": when the double straps of no. 1389 (fig. 5) meet in the neck and finish with a tassel of six ends! But the tassel of no. 1741 (fig. 28) is not made out of the straps but is simply formed of the end of the back-bent top. Evidently three ends is the conventionalized form for a tassel at Ajia Irini, no matter how the tassel is composed, but on no. 2100 (fig. 29) there is only an "embryo" of a tassel finishing the top.

The helmet of no. 2102 (fig. 30 and SCE II pl. CCII) is a singular thing, being decorated with such tassels all around except in front, hanging down from the center of the skull. Its form is that of a felt cap, but it is probably of leather. That it is a helmet is very likely, since the man is armed with a good sword.

No. 1727 (SCE II pl. CCXI and CCXV, 1) wears a helmet with soft, tasselled top and two "floors" of tassels from straps hanging down on the outturned insides of the cheek-pieces. The decoration of the insides of the cheek-pieces is in the case of no. 1389 (SCE II pl. CCXIX, 4) limited to a painted square pattern, but no. 1071 (fig. 31 and SCE II pl. CCXV, 3, —6) is provided with a lot of tassels (of a simpler type) on the outturned cheek-pieces and a long row on the back-bent top. The placing of tassels on the insides of the cheek-pieces shows that the helmet was probably not used with the cheek-pieces down — their decorative effect would then have gone forlorn. A similar

row but only with three "floors" is seen in the middle of the neck of no. 2071 (fig. 32 and SCE II pl. CCXV, 2), where the rest of the helmet is undecorated, so these neck tassels actually, but probably falsely, recall a crest.

Until now we have avoided discussing the surface of the helmets, which is normally plain but sometimes decorated in relief, e. g. with circled, stamped impressions, like the helmets of nos. 906+928+931 (SCE II pl. CCXV, 3—4), 1016+2505 (Fig. 33 and SCE II pl. CCXVI)<sup>52</sup>, 2435 or 2439 (SCE II pl. CCXXII, 4 resp. 1)<sup>53</sup>.

Another type of relief decoration is shown on no. 2374 (SCE II pl. CCVII, 6) which is decorated with "contiguous notchings" and the same can be said of nos. —11(?) (Fig. 34), 1276 (BMNE 3, 1963, fig. 26), "1406" (Fig. 35)<sup>54</sup>, 1417 (Fig. 36 and SCE II pls. CCXXXII, 8), and 1421 (BMNE 3, 1963, fig. 41). The heads of the five last mentioned are moulded in very similar moulds, if not exactly the same one<sup>55</sup>. Of nos. 1276 and 1421 only the four—five front rows of notchings are visible. They are also of a comparatively smaller size than those of nos. —11 (?), "1406", and 1417, which are preserved with seven rows up to the back-bent tops.

This kind of decoration, which cannot possibly mean hair curls — for what would then become of the bent top? a hair tress? — vividly

<sup>52</sup> There is a mistake in the catalogue of the SCE II, which can be corrected by an exchange between nos. 906+928+931 and 1016+2505. No. 906 etc. is badly damaged on top, but on no. 1016+2505 there is a round hole, below which there are signs of having been a tassel with three ends continuing the cork-screw-like top of the helmet. Thus the round hole is not likely to have been "for insertion of spike of another material" but rather a venthole like the many ones on back of the bigger statues.

<sup>53</sup> Cf the head found at Samos, above note 50!

<sup>54</sup> The number of the small idol here called —11 (?) is not legible as regards the first two figures; the catalogue of the SCE II is mistaken in the description of no. 1406, which is a small idol (19.5 cm), very similar to no. 1417, holding an animal and wearing a helmet of the same type with scale-shaped incisions.

<sup>55</sup> Cf E. Gjerstad, *BMNE* 3, 1963, p. 37!

<sup>50</sup> D. Ohly, "Frühe Tonfiguren aus dem Heraion auf Samos. I." *MDAI (A)* 65, 1940, pl. 39 no. 419.

<sup>51</sup> H. Bossert, *Altsyrien*, fig. 886 (Zinjirli); H. Frankfort, *op. cit.* pl. 162 (Zinjirli); cf also H. Bonnet, *op. cit.* pp. 208 f., fig. 103!



*Fig. 34. No. — — 11(?). Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm.*



*Fig. 35. No. "1406". Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm.*



*Fig. 36. No. 1417. Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.*

recalls the Mycenaean boar's tusk helmets<sup>56</sup>, which according to H. L. Lorimer did not survive the Late Helladic III: "it did not even last till its end"<sup>57</sup>. A fairly great number of tusks or representations of tusks helmets are known<sup>58</sup> and the opinion of Miss Lorimer seems to hold true in Greece. But remote Cyprus may have preserved the memory of the boar's tusks in form of helmets decorated with contiguous notchings, although the material they are intended to represent cannot be guessed. They may be metal or bone reinforcements to a leather backing, or they may be purely decorative. But the possibility of an inheritance from Mycenaean times ought not to be overlooked.

However, there are also other comparisons to be made: a terracotta "head of a warrior of advanced Assyrian style" in the British Museum wears a helmet with its top bent back and the helmet is painted with "close spirals, apparently to indicate patterns cut in leather"<sup>59</sup>. Some of the helmeted limestone heads from Cyprus have, according to L. P. di Cesnola a "surface like knitted work"<sup>60</sup>. The combination of this surface with big knobs on top strongly points towards woollen caps with big woollen tassels, but could ancient warriors be credited with wearing such a head-dress on occasions, when their "portraits" were made? Even if woollen caps were not at that time regarded as so commonplace as nowadays, they can hardly have been more protective than now.

In his "Handbook of the Cesnola Collection" J. Myres describes Cypriote Archaic limestone heads wearing a "cap of flexible leather reinforced by an external frame of flat metalwork,

and running up to a peak, sometimes flexible, sometimes replaced by an ornamental knob. The leather panels were sometimes quilted or embroidered, or perhaps even replaced by plaited strapwork like the helmet of Meriones in Homer (*Iliad* X, 263). The metal rim fits closely round the temples, only occasionally exposing a row of small curls over the forehead. On either sides are ear-flaps or cheek-pieces of the same construction, designed to be tied under the chin, but generally raised and secured by their chin-straps on top of the helmet, either in front of the peak or behind it"<sup>61</sup>.

But the helmet of Meriones is clearly described by Homer as a boar's tusk helmet. There may be more reason to refer to the description of Herodotus of the Assyrian helmets: "Ἀσσύριοι δὲ στρατευόμενοι περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι εἶχον χάλκεα τε κράνεα καὶ πεπλεγμένα τρόπον τινὰ βάρβαρον οὐκ εὐαπὴγγητον..." "The Assyrians of the army wore on their heads helmets of twisted bronze made in an outlandish fashion not easy to describe." Even with a certain objection to the translation of Herodotus' words, it is quite apparent that the helmets were "not easy to describe"<sup>62</sup>.

The notched helmets of our no. 2374 (SCE II pl. CCVII, 6) and the smaller, moulded idols are, however, not equivalent to the above described. There must be a reason, even if forgotten, for the pattern of notchings in contiguous rows. That the men are not wearing plain metal or leather helmets like most of the figures is obvious. No. 2374 belongs to per. 4, when the Egyptian influence was not yet as important in Cyprus as later, but the ankh-sign he is holding

<sup>56</sup> *Homer*, II. X, 261–265.

<sup>57</sup> *Homer* and the Monuments p. 213.

<sup>58</sup> H. L. Lorimer, *op. cit.* pp. 212 ff.; A. Xenakikakellariou, "La représentation du casque en dents de sanglier." *BCH* 77, 1953, pp. 46–58, figs. 1–6; St. Alexiou, "The Boar's tusk Helmet." *Antiquity* 28, 1954, pp. 211–213.

<sup>59</sup> H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, British Museum. London 1903, p. 40, A 232, fig. 8.

<sup>60</sup> *Cesnola*, Atlas I pl. LVIII no. 401.

<sup>61</sup> J. Myres, *op. cit.* p. 196.

<sup>62</sup> *Herodotus*, Hist. VII, 63. English translation by A. D. Godley, London 1950. Since it is difficult to find an intelligible translation for πεπλεγμένα, it is tempting to presume a mistake of spelling: the word πεπληγμένα (of πλήσσω instead of πλέκω), "struck", or "hammered", "wrought" gives a rather wide space for the interpretation of a phenomenon that Herodotus found difficult to describe.

is of course an Egyptian inheritance. The sculptor apparently was influenced by various cultures.

Only two Bronze age helmets of Cyprus are known, apart from those represented in ivory carvings from the Enkomi draught box and mirror handles and single vase pictures<sup>63</sup>. Among our statuettes we have not found any exact equivalents to them. But we have found various components of various helmets to compare with similar phenomena of Assyrian (straight tops), Syro-Phoenician (knobbed tops), Hittite (crests and bent tops), and even Greek (cheek-pieces) origins. In their introduction J. H. Young and S. H. Young announce that "there is no such thing as a typical 'Cypriote' figurine"<sup>64</sup>. This seems to hold good for Cypriote helmets too. Even a typical Ajia Irini helmet did not exist!

<sup>63</sup> A. S. Murray — H. B. Walters — A. H. Smith, *Excavations in Cyprus*. London 1900, pls. I—II. Cf also a Levanto-Helladic vase picture, E. Sjöqvist, *Problems of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age*. Stockholm 1940, fig. 20:3.

<sup>64</sup> J. H. Young, — S. H. Young, *op. cit.* p. 1.

## SHIELDS.

With very few exceptions, wherever Cypriote shields are mentioned, they are described as round and single-gripped, and often they are mentioned as a link between Near Eastern round shields and Greek hoplite shields. After G. Lippold's "Griechische Schilde"<sup>1</sup>, apart from single specimens in excavation reports e. g. from Olympia, Greek shields are of course treated by H. L. Lorimer<sup>2</sup> and by A. Snodgrass<sup>3</sup>. "Die Waffen der Völker des alten Orients" by H. Bonnet has a chapter on shields<sup>4</sup>, and what has happened after regarding shields in the Near East has to be picked up

<sup>1</sup> Münchener archäologische Studien dem Andenken Adolf Furtwänglers gewidmet. München 1909, pp. 399—504.

<sup>2</sup> *Homer and the Monuments*, pp. 132—196.

<sup>3</sup> *Early Greek Armour and Weapons*, pp. 37—68.

<sup>4</sup> Pp. 181—201.

out of various excavation reports. In the SCE IV:2 there is a survey over the relations between Cypriote and Near Eastern shields with references to the literature in question<sup>5</sup>.

Thus, in the Near East round shields, flat or bossed, are known from various periods and contexts from the end of the 2nd millenium B. C. and later. Cf e. g. the Medinet Habu relief of the time of Ramses III with shields of the enemies<sup>6</sup>; a relief from Tell Halaf of the 10th cent.<sup>7</sup>; the reliefs from the bronze doors of Balawat, 9th cent.<sup>8</sup>; Carchemish of the 9th cent.<sup>9</sup>; Nimrud and Chorsabad of the 8th cent.<sup>10</sup>. Real metal round shields have been found at the Urartian Karmir Blur<sup>11</sup> and there have also been found shield bosses for wicker shields<sup>12</sup>. Apparently other materials such as leather and wood were used, not only before metal was used for the shield surface, but also at the same time as metal shields. Metal alone would have been not only too expensive but also too heavy for normal use, at least for the bigger shields.

But the oldest remains so far known of a shield from Cyprus itself are not from a round shield after all. They were found at Kaloriziki (Kourion)<sup>13</sup> and later described and reconstructed by H. W. Catling<sup>14</sup> into a form showing resemblance with Aegean types, such as those

<sup>5</sup> SCE IV:2, pp. 376 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Y. Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands*, pp. 340 f.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 360.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 399.

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 368.

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 410 f., 418 ff. and others.

<sup>11</sup> B. B. Piotrovski, "Teichebaini, centre ourartien du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle avant notre ère..." 8<sup>e</sup> Congrès international d'archéologie classique (Paris 1963). *Le rayonnement des civilisations grecque et romaine sur les cultures périphériques*. Paris 1965, p. 412, pl. 96, 3.

<sup>12</sup> R. D. Barnett, "Further Russian Excavations in Armenia (1949—1953)." *Iraq* 21, 1959, p. 8, pl. IIa.

<sup>13</sup> G. H. McFadden, "A Late Cypriote III Tomb from Kourion." *AJA* 58, 1954, p. 140, nos. 30—35. figs. 33—34.

<sup>14</sup> H. W. Catling, *Cypriot Bronzework in the Mycenaean World*, pp. 142 ff., pl. 18 d—e; A. Snodgrass, *op. cit.* pl. 19.

<sup>15</sup> H. L. Lorimer, *op. cit.* pl. III, 1.



of the Mycenaean Warrior vase<sup>15</sup> which fits well in with the end of the late Cypriote period.

From the Cypro-Geometric periods I and III are bronze shield bosses from Amathus and from Idalion of Cypro-Archaic II, all from the Swedish excavations<sup>16</sup>. A reconstructed shield from Idalion of the so-called Herzsprung or lambda type is probably of the 8th cent. according to Snodgrass<sup>17</sup> and of the next century a decorated bronze shield-facing from Amathus<sup>18</sup>. In a Cypro-Geometric I-II tomb at Palaepaphos were found fragments from the central part of a shield<sup>19</sup>. Finally there have recently been finds of a shield and shield fragments in the "royal tombs" of Salamis<sup>20</sup>.

An oval, slightly conical shield is held by the left hand of the "Ingot god" of Enkomi of the 12th cent.<sup>21</sup>.

All the shields carried by our terracotta figurines are round, but the types vary: one is convex (no. 1257, SCE II pl. CCXXXI, 7) without spike, but most of them are slightly convex or flat with a boss and/or spike in the middle. The spikes are of course only slightly indicated as the terracotta material does not allow long, pointed spikes like real bronze spikes. It is, thus, difficult to distinguish between which types are intended to be bossed or spiked, both of them being indicated by rather vaguely rendered little lumps or just the profile of the shield itself: e. g. nos. 991 (SCE II pl. CCXXXI, 8) and 1032 (SCE II pl. CCXXXII, 7). Most of the shields are also undecorated,

obviously because they appear with small idols. However, in the chariot groups nos. 1046 (SCE II pl. CCXXXIV, 6) and 1170 (SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 4) there are small, decorated shields, and the little statue no. 1385 + 1530 (SCE II pl. CXCIV: 2) has a rather flat, bossed shield with "circular and heart-shaped pellets" of a remarkable size, probably representing metal studs. The shield of chariot group no. 1170 has also a symmetrical decoration of pellets radiating from the bossed centre, but the left shield of no. 1046 (the one to the right is plain) has circular studs all over the bulging surface.

Painted radiating decoration is seen on our no. 991 (SCE II pl. CCXXXI, 8) and paint may have disappeared in other cases. A similar radiating pattern is visible e. g. on the shield of an archaic terracotta statuette from Kaloriziki<sup>22</sup>. In the same group are one with a square pattern<sup>23</sup> and others with patterns of more indefinite type, all flat without boss or spike. Cf also a terracotta warrior of the Cyprus Museum<sup>24</sup> and another one in the Louvre<sup>25</sup>! Comparing with the metal shields one would rather expect a concentric pattern and actually such a one is found, but not among our figurines<sup>26</sup>. Relief decoration with battle scenes decorate the shields of the triple Geryon of the 5th cent.<sup>27</sup>.

The size of most shields in our group is about one third of the warrior. Thus the suggested shield of no. 1276 (BMNE 3, 1963, fig. 26) is a rather small one, if it is correct to presume a

<sup>16</sup> A. Snodgrass, *op. cit.* p. 40; with references to the SCE II and SCE IV:2, fig. 23.

<sup>17</sup> SCE IV:2, p. 140, fig. 23:30; A. Snodgrass, *op. cit.* p. 55, pl. 24.

<sup>18</sup> SCE IV:2, p. 140, fig. 23:29; A. Snodgrass, *op. cit.* pp. 56 f., pl. 25.

<sup>19</sup> V. Karageorghis, "Une tombe de guerrier de Palaepaphos." *BCH* 87, 1963, p. 273, figs. 10 f.

<sup>20</sup> V. Karageorghis, "Recent Discoveries at Salamis Cyprus)." *AA* 1966, p. 244; Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis I, Nicosia 1967, p. 36 no. 25, pl. LIV.

<sup>21</sup> V. Karageorghis, "Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1963." *BCH* 88, 1964, pp. 353 f., pl. XVI.

<sup>22</sup> Fig. 23, no. 53; J. H. Young — S. H. Young, *Terracotta Figurines from Kourion in Cyprus*, pl. 61, no. 405.

<sup>23</sup> Fig. 23 no. 54; J. H. Young — S. H. Young, *op. cit.* pl. 61 no. 750.

<sup>24</sup> P. Dikaios, *A Guide to the Cyprus Museum*. 3rd ed. Nicosia 1961, pl. XXX, 7.

<sup>25</sup> H. Th. Bossert, *Alt syrien*. Tübingen 1951, fig. 148.

<sup>26</sup> Cesnola, *Atlas* II, pl. XXXI no. 263; J. Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus*, p. 344 no. 2099.

<sup>27</sup> Cesnola, *Atlas* I, pl. LXXXIII, no. 544; J. Myres, *op. cit.* pp. 204 ff. no. 1292.



Fig. 37. No. 921. Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.

diameter of 8 cm against the height of 35.5 cm of the warrior<sup>28</sup>. But the sizes apparently varied rather much. Cf the shields of chariot groups nos. 1170 and 1998 (SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 4 and 5), and a mere glance will be enough to find a great difference of proportions: the decorated one, needing more space for the pellets, is much larger. The decorated shield of no. 1385 + 1530 (SCE II pl. CXCIV, 2) is comparatively seen a rather small one, but its dimensions are large enough for decoration anyway. Cf also the sizes of the bronze shields from Idalion and Salamis: the diameters are 83 resp. 85 cm!<sup>29</sup>

The flat or nearly flat type is illustrated by e. g. nos. 991 (SCE II pl. CCXXXI, 8) and

<sup>28</sup> E. Gjerstad, *BMNE* 3, 1963, p. 20.

<sup>29</sup> A. Snodgrass, *op. cit.* pls. 24 f.; SCE IV:2, fig. 23:30, V. Karageorghis, *AA* 1966, p. 244.

1385 + 1530 (SCE II pl. CXCIV, 2). A shield with a "tapering" spike is held by no. 1032 (SCE II pl. CCXXXII, 7) and a similar one by the warrior of chariot group no. 1998 (SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 5) who is made in the same mould as no. 1032. The decorated shield of no. 1170 (SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 4) is also provided with a tapering spike. Cf the Amathus shield<sup>30</sup>!

Shield bosses of a type that should probably be compared to the bronze one of Amathus (SCE IV:2, fig. 23:27) are seen on a horse rider no. 921 (fig. 37) and the warriors of chariot groups nos. 1124 (SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 2), 1781 + 798 (SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 3) and 2000 (figs. 38–39 and SCE II pl. CCXXXIV, 5).

The small size and not very careful execution of most of the statues with shields in the chariot groups leave us often in doubt as to how the shields were held: with a single hand-grip or as the hoplite shield with a central *παῖς* and an *ἀντιλαβή* at the rim<sup>31</sup>? The shields of nos. 991 (SCE II pl. CCXXXI, 8) and 1032 (SCE II pl. CCXXXII, 7) are held with single hand-grips<sup>32</sup>, but the one of no. 1257 (SCE II pl. CCXXXI, 7) seems to be of the hoplite type. When not in use, they are carried in a strap over the shoulder, e. g. horse rider no. 921 (fig. 37), like the shield of another Cypriote terracotta horse rider (fig. 40), although the strap is not indicated. Similar is the case with no. 1385 + 1530 (SCE II pl. CXCIV, 2), who would soon have dropped his shield, if there had not been a strap. This shield is the only one where possibly the armband is indicated on the inside of the shield (fig. 41). It is, however, impossible to know, whether we see the continuation of the sword or the armband.

<sup>30</sup> A. Snodgrass, *op. cit.* pl. 25; SCE IV:2, fig. 23:29

<sup>31</sup> A. Snodgrass, *op. cit.* p. 61, pl. 26; cf also *Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia*. Berlin 1956, pls. 16, 20 and 21!

<sup>32</sup> Cf J. H. Young — S. H. Young, *op. cit.* pl. 14 no. 940!



*figs. 38—39. No. 2000. Chariot group, side and back view. Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.*





Fig. 40. Terracotta horse rider.  
Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.

Comparisons with the way of holding swords of no. 1084 (fig. 8), where the sword is held much higher up under the arm, and with no. 2102 (SCE II pl. CCII), where the sword is not at all visible on back, do not help us to any conclusion. Cf also the sword of the bronze warrior of Salamis (figs. 9–10)! The sword of no. 1385 + 1530, if such a one it is, of course is held very narrowly to the inside of the shield, but, on the other hand, if it had not been, it would probably have broken.

The shields of chariot group no. 1046 (SCE II pl. CCXXXIV, 6) hang on the outside of the chariot box, and the one of the warrior in group no. 1781 + 798 (SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 3) is actually standing all by itself beside the man. As for the decorated shield of chariot group no. 1170 (SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 4) it has been moved from the awkward position of the illustration and is now held with a single hand-grip in front of the front warrior by himself.

One warrior of chariot group no. 1782 (not illustrated) is carrying his shield on his back,



Fig. 41. No. 1385 + 1530.  
Back view. Cyprus Museum,  
Nicosia.

a practical way also for a horse rider like one of the Cyprus Museum (fig. 21). The Assyrian way of hanging the shield at the back of the chariot<sup>33</sup> could not very well be imitated in Cyprus, since the chariots are normally open in the rear (cf fig. 39!)

<sup>33</sup> Y. Yadin, *op. cit.* pp. 298 and 386 f.

## DAGGERS AND SWORDS.

Thanks to its copper mines Cyprus was famous for metallurgy already in the Early Bronze Age. The tanged swords and daggers may trace their origin to Cyprus. Later the much-discussed "Naue II" type of swords took over the dominance<sup>1</sup>. Relations of Bronze Age swords in Central and Southern Europe and in the Eastern Mediterranean have been studied from various

<sup>1</sup> H. W. Catling, *Cypriot Bronzework in the Mycenaean World*. Oxford 1964, pp. 110–117.

points of view and different typologies with chronological and geographical classifications have been made e. g. by J. Naue<sup>2</sup>, A. E. Renouchamps<sup>3</sup>, R. Maxwell-Hyslop<sup>4</sup>, H. W. Catling<sup>5</sup> and N. K. Sandars<sup>6</sup> apart from general surveys by H. Bonnet<sup>7</sup>, H. L. Lorimer<sup>8</sup>, and A. Snodgrass<sup>9</sup> who also includes a typological catalogue of late Bronze and Iron age swords. Cypriote finds of Iron age swords and daggers are registered in the SCE IV:2<sup>10</sup> and by A. Snodgrass<sup>11</sup>. Further by O. Masson<sup>12</sup> and V. Karageorghis<sup>13</sup>.

It would seem, thus, as if comparisons with contemporary swords from Cyprus would make a classification of our swords easy. As usual, however, the condition of our terracotta representations is deplorable: in a few cases only there is a little chance of classifying the objects. Most of them are very small, broken, and above all, very vaguely rendered.



Fig. 42. No. 1916. Antikmuseet, Lund.

<sup>2</sup> Die vorrömischen Schwerter aus Kupfer, Bronze und Eisen. München 1903.

<sup>3</sup> "Griechische Dolch- und Schwertformen. Ein Beitrag zur Chronologie der europäischen Bronzezeit." *Oudheidkundige Mededeelingen uit's Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden. Nieuwe reeks VII*, 1926, pp. 10–76.

<sup>4</sup> "Daggers and Swords in Western Asia. A study from prehistoric times to 600 B. C." *Iraq* 8, 1946, pp. 1–65, pls. I–VI.

<sup>5</sup> "Bronze Cut-and-Thrust Swords in the Eastern Mediterranean." *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* for 1956. New Series Vol. XXII, pp. 102–125.

<sup>6</sup> Later Aegean Bronze Swords. *AJA* 67, 1963, pp. 17–153, pls. 21–28.

<sup>7</sup> Die Waffen der Völker des alten Orients. Leipzig 1926 pp. 42–96.

<sup>8</sup> Homer and the Monuments, pp. 261–276.

<sup>9</sup> Early Greek Armour and Weapons, pp. 93–113.

<sup>10</sup> SCE II p. 14, pl. CXLIX (Amathus); pp. 537 and 41 pl. CLXXI (Idalion); SCE IV:2 pp. 130 f., fig. 19.

<sup>11</sup> A. Snodgrass, *op. cit.* pp. 94, 97, and 102 f., figs. f.

<sup>12</sup> "Kypriaka I. Recherches sur les antiquités de 'amassos." *BCH* 88, 1964, p. 228, figs. 16 f.

<sup>13</sup> "Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1964." *BCH* 89, 1965, p. 286, fig. 3; *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis*. Nicosia 1968, pp. 38 and 43, pls. XLV and CXXIX (from Salamis); "Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1965." *BCH* 90, 1966, p. 22, fig. 59; "Nouvelles tombes de guerriers à Palaeophos." *BCH* 91, 1967, pp. 212 and 242, figs. 21, 24 and 25 (from Kouklia).

The weapons of nos. 1070 etc. (Figs. 6–7), 1084 (Fig. 8), 1276 (BMNE 3, 1963, fig. 26), 1385 + 1530 (Fig. 41 and SCE II pl. CXCIV, 2), 1524 + 2333 + 2346 (SCE II pl. CC, 1–2), 1739 + 2345 (Figs. 3–4), 2102 (SCE II pl. CCII), and 2344 + 2324 (SCE II pl. CXCIX, 5–6) are big enough for observations, but out of these not many are very instructive.

In the catalogue of the SCE II they are all called "swords". When they are broken and the ends are missing, there are of course no means of calculating their measures, but some are intact and these are certainly very short swords, if not dirks or daggers. D. H. Gordon has defined these various types according to which system a long sword is 28 inches or more, a short sword 20–28 inches, a dirk 14–20 inch-

es, and a dagger less than 14 inches<sup>14</sup>. Proposing an average natural size of 170 cm to our soldiers, the intact sword of no. 1276 (BMNE 3, 1963, fig. 26) would proportionately estimated be about 50 cm, that is on the border between a dirk and a short sword. The weapon held by the left hand of no. 1739 + 2345 (Figs. 3–4) would be even a little shorter and the one in his right hand is small even to be a dagger. The terracotta material must, as a matter of fact, be the reason for the strikingly small sizes of the weapons of our figurines. The sword of no. 1916 (Fig. 42) seems to have been fairly long but is of course broken. Cf the long sword of the bronze warrior of Salamis Tomb 79 (Figs. 9–10) and of the Kouklia vase no. 96<sup>15</sup>!

If, however, a dagger is worn at the belt or held in the hand of the warrior and a sword is worn in a strap over the shoulder, most weapons of our figurines are swords, for there are straps in most cases, visible or invisible, either over the breast (nos. 1524 etc. and 1276) or only the shoulder (nos. 1084 and 2102). Cf the little horse rider of the Cyprus Museum (Fig. 43), the Salamis bronze warrior (Figs. 9–10) and the terracotta busts of Kazaphani (Figs. 13–15)!

How the sword is hanging in its strap is never well indicated. For the sculptor it was evidently enough to show a strap, e. g. on no. 1524 etc. (SCE II pl. CC). On no. 1385 + 1530 (SCE II pl. CXCIV, 2) there is no strap visible, but perhaps there has once been one in paint, for it is a figurine with details of the helmet and shield unusually well rendered, but no strap is indicated, neither for the sword nor for the shield. On the other hand, a little warrior of chariot group no. 1779 has a strap, but the sword has fallen off.

Further, the swords worn in straps must be

<sup>14</sup> "Swords, Rapiers and Horse-riders." *Antiquity* 27, 1955, p. 67.

<sup>15</sup> "A propos de quelques représentations de chars sur des vases chypriotes de l'âge du fer." *BCH* 90, 1966, p. 105, fig. 3.



Fig. 43. Terracotta horse rider. Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.

supposed to be inside their scabbards. The weapons have no edges whatsoever. The decorative incised lines of the sheath of no. 1276 (BMNE 3, 1963, fig. 26) may remind of similar lines on the sword itself, but the weapon is unbroken and its very blunt point proves the presence of a scabbard.

Only in one case a warrior is drawing his sword: that is the small idol no. 991 (SCE II pl. CCXXXI, 8), but it is too small to show any interesting details. No. 1739 + 2345 (Figs. 3–4) is holding two weapons, one in each hand. The presence of a pommel on the sword under the left arm excludes the eventuality that there might be only a scabbard to the left and the sword itself in the right hand. The weapon in the right hand is so short that it must be called a dagger or even a knife. Both weapons are somewhat bent, protected by clinging to the body.

No. 2072 + 2075 (SCE II pl. CCXIV) is described in the SCE II as "probably having held a sacrificial knife". It is strange that the left arm is raised in a way as if to thrust a weapon. Since the right arm is lost, there is the

explanation as to why that was not used instead.

The sword of no. 2102 (SCE II pl. CCII) which is worn in a strap under the left arm and which seems to pierce through his cuirass, does not come forth to show on the back, although the strap is indicated there and the back side of the helmet is provided with a lot of tassels. However, there is no great wonder: backs are usually neglected and one must not believe that the sword should be short enough to finish in the arm-hole. Similarly does the sword of no. 1070 etc. finish "in the middle of the body". In the chapter on the shields is discussed, whether the sword of no. 1385 + 1530 (Fig. 41) is seen continuing backwards on the inside of the shield or whether there is a shield armband. If it is the sword, it is unusually long but might be so, because of the protection of the shield.

To make a classification of the swords it would have been necessary to see the blades, but even the blade of no. 991, the only one in the act of being drawn, is invisible. The sword of no. 1276 (BMNE 3, 1963, fig. 26) with its incised lines may be understood to show the "blood channels" of the blade<sup>16</sup>, but it is the only one with any ambition of the kind. Very little is seen of the hilts, because the warriors are hiding them in their hand-grips. The pommels, finally, are in most cases just formless little clumps (e. g. no. 2344 + 2324, SCE II pl. CXCIX, 5-6).

The hilt of no. 1524 + 2333 + 2346 (SCE II pl. CC, 1-2) is not covered by the hand of the warrior. It is rather short, the shoulders of the blade, or rather the scabbard, are rather square, and the pommel is crescent-shaped. Similar is the pommel of the left hand weapon of no. 1739 + 2345 (Figs. 3-4), while the dagger in the right hand of the same statue has got a round, conical knob. No. 2102 (SCE II pl.

CCII) is decorated with two horizontal, incised lines around the hilt<sup>17</sup>.

For a comparative study of the pommels there is not much material available, since the pommel was very often made of another material than the sword itself, such as wood or ivory, and it has very often perished<sup>18</sup>. Crescent-shaped pommels are normally presumed to belong to the type of swords called "Naue II", but they are actually best known from representations in relief or paintings, e. g. from Bogazköy<sup>19</sup>, Zinjirli<sup>20</sup>, Khorsabad<sup>21</sup>, Greek Geometric vases<sup>22</sup>, the relief pithos from Mykonos<sup>23</sup> and from the Siphnian treasury of Delphi<sup>24</sup>.

The pommel is preserved, however, on a dagger from Marion in Cyprus<sup>25</sup> to which may be compared the dagger of the right hand of no. 1739 + 2345 (Figs. 3-4). The pommel of sword no. 95 of Salamis Tomb 3<sup>26</sup> had decayed before the digging, but it had left a good enough impression in the soil for a restoration with a ball-shaped pommel, to which some of our terracotta representations may be equivalent: e. g. that of no. 2344 + 2324 (SCE II pl. CXCIX, 5-6), no. 1084 (Fig. 8) or no. 1385 + 1539 (SCE II pl. CXCIV, 2). Cf also the daggers with preserved crescent-shaped pommels from northern Iran<sup>27</sup>!

<sup>17</sup> Cf *op. cit.* in note 4 above, pl. V. type 44!

<sup>18</sup> Cf *A. Snodgrass, op. cit.* figs. 5-6!

<sup>19</sup> *H. Th. Bossert, Altanatolien*, figs. 476 f.

<sup>20</sup> *Op. cit.* figs. 927 f.

<sup>21</sup> *Y. Yadin, The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands*, pp. 422 f., 426.

<sup>22</sup> *A. Snodgrass, op. cit.* pls. 1-3.

<sup>23</sup> *G. Daux, "Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1961."* *BCH* 86, 1962, pp. 854 ff., fig. 16, pl. XXIX; *M. Ervin, "A Relief Pithos from Mykonos."* *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτικόν* 18 A, 1963, pp. 37-75.

<sup>24</sup> *R. Lullies — M. Hirmer, Griechische Plastik. München 1956*, pl. 49.

<sup>25</sup> *SCE II pl. CXLIX, 5, Marion 43:29, SCE IV:2, fig. 19:6.*

<sup>26</sup> *V. Karageorghis, "Chronique des fouilles... en 1964."* *BCH* 89, 1965, p. 286, fig. 83; *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis I*, p. 38, no. 95, pls. XLV and CXXIX.

<sup>27</sup> *A. Parrot, "Acquisitions et inédits du Musée du Louvre. 14. Armes iraniennes."* *Syria* XL, 1963, pp. 242-246, pls. XVII f.

<sup>16</sup> Cf *A. Snodgrass, op. cit.* fig. 5, g-j!

The pommels of nos. 2102 (SCE II pl. CCII) and 1070 etc. (Figs. 6–7) are a little more laboriously worked. For a long sword the pommel ought to be heavy in order to balance the weight of the blade. The length of these two swords cannot be calculated, but the pommels seem big. One material used as well for its weight as for its decorative qualities was alabaster<sup>28</sup>. Ivory was another possible material, but here it might as well be wood, possibly covered with metal plate. Whatever material is supposed to be represented on the weapons of our statues, they are rare or even unique examples of intact representations in round sculpture. Snodgrass refers several examples from vase pictures of Archaic times<sup>29</sup>, but contemporary sculpture of the Eastern Mediterranean of this size does not show any weapons.

<sup>28</sup> H. L. Lorimer, *op. cit.* p. 276; G. Karo, *Die Schachtgräber von Mykenai*. München 1930/33, pp. 108 f., 139, fig. 57, pls. LXXVI and LXXXIII.

<sup>29</sup> A. Snodgrass, *op. cit.* p. 111, notes 44–47.

## SPEARS.

The chapter on spears is soon finished because of the nearly total lack of such weapons among our figurines. Some of them have probably once been holding spears, perhaps made of wood or metal or even terracotta, but nothing remains of them: nos. 1189 (Figs. 11–12), 1490 (SCE II pls. CCI, 1 and CCIII, 1) and perhaps nos. 1562 (SCE II pl. CCXXXVIII, 4) and 1741 (SCE II pl. CCXXXVIII, 7–8).

However, in chariot group no. 2000, after the picture of SCE II pl. CCXXXIV, 5 was taken, the warrior to the right has been restored with a spear or javelin (Figs. 38–39), so the chapter head is justified to a certain extent. The execution and state of the spear do not allow of any conclusions about its type. Not only is it broken now, but it has never been made with any care and interest for details. Cf

some little “spears” of Kaloriziki (Figs. 22–23)<sup>1</sup>.

The “Ingot god” of Enkomi of the 12th Cent. B. C. is holding a much better spear in his hand<sup>2</sup>. The Swedish Cyprus Expedition made several finds of spear-heads with examples of the Cypriote “sigynna” type as well as of leaf-shaped, more “international” types<sup>3</sup>. A later find is Salamis Tomb 3 no. 123, where the impressions made of the wooden shaft have been measured<sup>4</sup>. The total length of the spear was 2.18 m. The length of the spear-head alone was 59.5 cm. This illustrates the sculptor’s dilemma: he had all reasons for either using another material than terracotta or arming the warrior with another weapon.

<sup>1</sup> Figs. 22–23 nos. 51–54; J. H. Young — S. H. Young, *Terracotta Figurines from Kourion in Cyprus*, pl. 61, nos. 404, 405, 749, and 750.

<sup>2</sup> V. Karageorghis, “Chronique des fouilles... en 1963”. *BCH* 88, 1964, pp. 353 f., pl. XVI.

<sup>3</sup> SCE IV:2 pp. 130 f., fig. 19 (iron) and pp. 138 f., fig. 23 (bronze). For Greek spears cf H. L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments*, pp. 254–261 and A. Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour and Weapons*, pp. 115–139. For the Near East cf Y. Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands*, illustrations *passim*, and H. Bonnet, *Die Waffen der Völker des alten Orient*, pp. 96–108.

<sup>4</sup> V. Karageorghis, *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis I*, pp. 39, 43 and 46, pls. XXXVIII, 6 and XLIII; “Chronique des fouilles... en 1964”. *BCH* 89, 1965, pp. 286 f., fig. 82.

## BOWS AND QUIVERS.

The use of bow and arrows in Greece is of course handled by H. L. Lorimer<sup>1</sup> and A. Snodgrass<sup>2</sup>, but the so far last word has been said by G. Rausing in 1967<sup>3</sup> who goes back in

<sup>1</sup> H. L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments*, pp. 276–305.

<sup>2</sup> A. Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour and Weapons*, pp. 141–156.

<sup>3</sup> G. Rausing, *The Bow. Some Notes on its Origin and Development*. Bonn/Lund 1967.



is survey to older authorities for Near Eastern and Greek material, such as E. Bulanda<sup>4</sup> and A. Schaumberg<sup>5</sup>, to whom references are also given by Lorimer and Snodgrass. For the Near East there is, as usually, an important chapter by H. Bonnet<sup>6</sup>, followed by a chapter on quivers<sup>7</sup>.

For Cypriote archery sources are scarce and the obvious lack of preserved bows limits the direct knowledge of the use of arrows. One is referred to representations in art.

Among the bigger statues of Ajia Irini there is no archer. There is one single small idol with a preserved bow and quiver, no. 893 (SCE II pl. CCXXXI, 3), one bow in a chariot group, no. 2000 (Figs. 38–39 and SCE II pl. CCXXXIV, 5), and at least five presumed bows must have gone forlorn, on the evidence of preserved quivers or the position of the archers.

Other Cypriote archers are one of a terracotta group drawing his bow with the quiver hanging on his back<sup>8</sup> and a vase of c. 600 B.C.<sup>9</sup> showing a chariot scene with an archer hooting from the chariot, a custom which seems to have been common in Cyprus. The bow of the vase scene is of an angular type<sup>10</sup>, while the bow of the terracotta group may be the same, but it is so crudely sculptured that no definite statement can be given. The bow of our chariot group no. 2000 is, however, clearly a double concave bow according to the classification system of Rausing<sup>11</sup>. Curved im-

pressions from such a bow were found in Tomb 3 of Salamis<sup>12</sup>. Cf also the later sculptures from Golgoi of a Herakles with a bow and arrows<sup>13</sup> and a kneeling archer with a preserved quiver<sup>14</sup>!

Of our six preserved quivers there is not much to say; they may have been made of any material, but the archers who had to carry them themselves would probably have preferred a light material like leather. About 20 bronze quivers were found at Karmir Blur<sup>15</sup>. In Cyprus no finds are registered, but arrows in bundles with traces of leather were found in tombs at Salamis<sup>16</sup>.

The position of the quivers on our chariots is either on the sides of the chariot box, outside (nos. 1046, SCE II pl. CCXXXIV, 6 and 2000, Figs. 38–39 and SCE II pl. CCXXXIV, 5), or in front outside the chariot box (no. 1170, SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 4). This way of hanging the quivers, often two in a crossed position, is common in older Assyrian chariotry<sup>17</sup>, but in Assyria of the 8th cent. the custom changed, so that the quivers were put in front<sup>18</sup>.

For Iron and bronze arrows of Cyprus of the Geometric and Archaic periods references are given in the SCE IV:2<sup>19</sup>. The arrow-heads seen in our quivers are unfortunately too crude and tiny to give any evidence of types.

<sup>12</sup> V. Karageorghis, *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis I*. Nicosia 1967 p. 52, pl. XXXVII, 3.

<sup>13</sup> L. P. di Cesnola, *Cyperm. Seine alten Städte, Gräber und Tempel*. Jena 1879, pl. XXIII.

<sup>14</sup> *Op. cit.* pl. XXXIII; J. Myres, *op. cit.* pp. 246 f. no. 1409.

<sup>15</sup> B. B. Piotrovski, "Teichebaini, centre ourartien du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle..." 8<sup>e</sup> congrès international d'archéologie classique (Paris 1963). *Le rayonnement des civilisations grecque et romaine sur les cultures périphériques*. Paris 1965, p. 412, pl. 96, 1.

<sup>16</sup> V. Karageorghis, "Chronique des fouilles... en 1964." *BCH* 89, 1965, p. 286, fig. 82; *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis I*, pp. 45 f. fig. 6: In the SCE II p. 14 no. 58 (Amathus Tomb 2) "About fifty arrow-heads of iron rusted together to a large bundle" are mentioned but nothing is reported about a quiver.

<sup>17</sup> Y. Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands*, pp. 298 f. and 386 ff.

<sup>18</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 299 and 452.

<sup>19</sup> SCE IV:2 pp. 132 f. and 138 ff., figs. 20 and 23.

<sup>4</sup> E. Bulanda, *Bogen und Pfeil bei den Völkern des Altertums*. Wien 1913.

<sup>5</sup> A. Schaumberg, *Bogen und Bogenschützen bei den Griechen*. Erlangen 1911.

<sup>6</sup> H. Bonnet, *Die Waffen der Völker des alten Orients*, pp. 118–173.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 173–181.

<sup>8</sup> J. Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection*, p. 344 f. no. 2102; H. L. Lorimer, *op. cit.* pl. XXII,

<sup>9</sup> H. L. Lorimer, *op. cit.* pl. XXV, 2; V. Karageorghis, "A propos de quelques représentations de chars sur des vases chypriotes de l'âge du fer". *BCH* 90, 1966, pp. 104 f., fig. 2.

<sup>10</sup> G. Rausing, *op. cit.* fig. 5.

<sup>11</sup> *Op. cit.* fig. 5.

## CHARIOT GROUPS.

In 1907 F. Studniczka wrote an article called "Der Rennwagen im syrischphönikischen Gebiet"<sup>1</sup>, where Cypriote chariots were discussed in relation to those of the neighbours, although the amount of known (terracotta) representations was fairly small at that time. This article was part of a kind of team-work project, where three pupils of his also took up studies on chariotry in antiquity<sup>2</sup>.

After that J. Wiesner studied chariotry in "Fahren und Reiten im Alteuropa und im alten Orient"<sup>3</sup> and F. Schachermeyer handled the warfare aspect in "Streitwagen und Streitwagenbild im alten Orient und bei den mykenischen Griechen"<sup>4</sup>. In "The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands" by Y. Yadin not only strategy and tactics were discussed, but among other things war chariots were richly illustrated<sup>5</sup>. In 1966 appeared W. Nagel's "Der mesopotamische Streitwagen und seine Entwicklung im Ostmediterranen Bereich."<sup>6</sup>

Finds of Cypriote terracotta groups are numerous in publications from the time of the Cesnolas on<sup>7</sup>, especially a large number from

Kourion<sup>8</sup>. For the study of chariot groups we seem, thus, to be well equipped, especially as recent finds have been made during the last years at Salamis in Cyprus, giving rich information about both horses and chariots<sup>9</sup>.

Vase pictures of the Levanto-Helladic style with chariot scenes from the Mycenaean period of Cyprus are numerous<sup>10</sup>. The chariots are of the "dual-bodied" type with four-spoked wheels and used for hunting<sup>11</sup>. In the next pictorial style, the Free field style of the Cypro-Achaic period equivalent to the period of our terracotta groups, there are also some representations of chariots, some of which used for hunting and others as war chariots<sup>12</sup>. Here we find an influence from the East, but it is also true that war chariots were used in Cyprus itself to an extent that had no equivalent e. g. in Greece of that time<sup>13</sup>.

That our chariot groups represent war chariots is proved by the presence of armed soldiers

<sup>8</sup> J. H. Young — S. H. Young, *Terracotta Figurines from Kourion in Cyprus*, pls. 18–29, 34, 36, 50 f. 60, 63 and 66.

<sup>9</sup> P. Dikaïos, "A 'Royal' tomb at Salamis, Cyprus," *AA* 1963, pp. 148–167, figs. 17, 19 ff., 26–31; V. Karageorghis, "Recent discoveries at Salamis (Cyprus)," *AA* 1966, pp. 223–242, figs. 18–21, 23 ff., 30, 42, 44, 46 ff.; "Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1964," *BCH* 89, 1965, pp. 268–287, figs. 68 ff., 72–75, 80 ff.; "Chronique ... en 1965," *BCH* 90, 1966, pp. 322, 366, figs. 58, 12; "Chronique ... en 1966," *BCH* 91, 1967, pp. 338–343, figs. 139–147; *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis, I*, pp. 21–24, 46–53, 87 f., pls. IV–VIII, XIV–XVIII, XXVII–XXXVIII, XLVI–XLIX, LXVII–LXXIV, CXIV–CXXIV, CXXVII f., CXXXIX–CXLIII. For earlier finds see *SCE* IV:2 pp. 146 ff. fig. 26.

<sup>10</sup> E. Sjöqvist, *Problems of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age*. Stockholm 1940, figs. 19 f., L. Aström, "A Note on a Mycenaean Chariot Crater in Bonn," *Opuscula Atheniensia* IV. Lund 1963, pp. 125–128, pl. I; V. Karageorghis, "Two Mycenaean Chariot Craters at Rochester, USA," *BCH* 93, 1969, pp. 162–172, figs. 1–9.

<sup>11</sup> H. L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments*, pp. 314 ff.

<sup>12</sup> V. Karageorghis, "A propos de quelques représentations de chars..." *BCH* 90, 1966, pp. 101–118, figs. 1–12.

<sup>13</sup> *Herodotus*, *Hist.* V, 113; H. L. Lorimer, *op. cit.* p. 323 n. 3; A. Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour and Weapons*, p. 165.

<sup>1</sup> *JdI* XXII, 1907, pp. 147–196.

<sup>2</sup> O. Nuoffer, *Der Rennwagen im Altertum. I. Leipzig 1904*; E. v. Mercklin, *Der Rennwagen in Griechenland. I. Leipzig 1909*; *Nachod*, *Der Rennwagen bei den Italikern. Leipzig 1909*.

<sup>3</sup> *Der Alte Orient*. Band 38:2–4. Leipzig 1939.

<sup>4</sup> *Anthropos* XLVI, 1951, pp. 705–753.

<sup>5</sup> London 1963, *passim*.

<sup>6</sup> *Berliner Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte*. 10. Berlin.

<sup>7</sup> L. P. di Cesnola, *Cyprus. Seine alten Städte, Gräber und Tempel*. Jena 1879, pls. XXXVII, 4 and LXVII; A. P. di Cesnola, *Salamina*. London 1882, pp. 239–243, figs. 226–229; J. Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus*. New York 1914, p. 346, nos. 2110–15; M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kyprische Bildwerke. MDAI (A)* 40, 1915, pp. 53–70, pl. IX; L. Heuzy, *Catalogue des figurines antiques de terre cuite*. Musée Nationale du Louvre. Paris 1923, pl. X, 2 and 6; H. Th. Bossert, *Altassyrien*. Tübingen 1951, nos. 136 f., — Cf also bronze wheels from early excavations at Salamis: A. S. Murray — A. H. Smith — H. B. Walters, *Excavations in Cyprus*. London 1900, pp. 15 f., fig. 25:1456 and 1460; C. F. A. Schaeffer, *Enkomi-Alasia I*. Paris 1952, pl. LXV, 10.

in most groups where human figures are at all preserved: e. g. nos. 1166 (SCE II pl. CCXXXIV, 2, swords), 1170 (SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 4, shield and quivers), and 1781 + 798 (SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 3, swords and shield). E. Gjerstad discusses the types of our chariots as being of both Egyptian and Assyrian derivation, the last one being the heavier, square type<sup>14</sup>. The traditionally light type of chariot known from relief pictures of the New Kingdom may be called Egyptian as a *terminus technicus*, but one had better remember that our knowledge of contemporary Egyptian chariots is very limited<sup>15</sup>, while hunting and war chariots are abundant on Assyrian reliefs<sup>16</sup>. Actually our chariots, also those of the rounded, "light" type are all drawn by four horses, while the Egyptian chariots used to be drawn only by two horses.

Here it may also be pointed out that the chariot group no. 249 + 115 (SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 6; BMNE 3, 1963, fig. 10) has been restored with a driver with a head of a moulded type that is very close to the Cypro-Egyptian sculpture style<sup>17</sup>, while the chariot is of the most typically square "Assyrian" type. This is, thus, an exception from the rule that the Cypro-Egyptian style was confined to stone sculpture<sup>18</sup>.

Because of the rather bad condition of most of the chariots I do not want to go further in discussing various types. The terracotta material has necessitated some particular details, such as the supports that most of the chariot boxes are resting upon. However, the box of no. 1715 (SCE II pl. CCXXXIV, 4) is resting directly on the earth and the wheels are just standing at the sides. No. 2388 + 2791 (BMNE 3, 1963, fig.

14) has no wheels at all! Most of our chariots are open in the rear and many of them have a kind of loop, e. g. nos. 1715 (SCE II pl. CCXXXIV, 4) and 2000 (Fig. 39), the use of which is explained in group no. 1781 + 798 (SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 3), where a man is helping himself into the chariot by grasping a now missing loop. Cf also a recent find at Salamis, in Tomb 79<sup>19</sup>! The chariot has left impressions of having been divided into two parts<sup>20</sup>, one to the left and one to the right, which is also normal for our groups with loops behind. This seems good for an equal number of men in the crew, but there are rather often three persons in the chariots. The length of the above mentioned chariot of Salamis Tomb 3 was 60 cm<sup>21</sup>. That does not give much space even for two persons, so the models for our chariots may have been a little bigger, since e. g. no. 1170 (SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 4) does not give the crowded impression of our no. 1125 (SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 1) or a group from Tortosa<sup>22</sup>. On Assyrian reliefs of the time of Ashurbanipal there may even be as many as four persons in one chariot<sup>23</sup>.

In our groups with only two persons, one figure is often lost, but in some cases the warrior beside the driver has had to protect himself with a shield, e. g. no. 1998 (SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 5; BMNE 3, 1963, fig. 9), which is elsewhere done by a third man in the crew if there is one. One man in group no. 1125 is holding an animal in his arms. That a *parabates* sometimes carries a votive gift is attested from Kourion<sup>24</sup>, but the case is unique among our groups. Although there is a loop, this chariot

<sup>14</sup> BMNE 3, 1963, p. 35.

<sup>15</sup> O. Nuoffer, *op. cit.* pp. 14 ff., pl. 1:13a (one relief from the 26th Dyn.).

<sup>16</sup> W. Nagel, *op. cit.* figs. 62–69; H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, pls. 84, 87 f., 110; O. Nuoffer, *op. cit.* pls. 5 ff.; Y. Yadin, *op. cit.* pp. 382–455 *passim*.

<sup>17</sup> SCE IV:2, pp. 103 f., pl. VI.

<sup>18</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 357.

<sup>19</sup> V. Karageorghis, "Chronique ... en 1966." *BCH* 91, 1967, p. 339.

<sup>20</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>21</sup> V. Karageorghis, *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis I*, p. 50.

<sup>22</sup> H. Th. Bossert, *Altsyrien*, no. 136.

<sup>23</sup> O. Nuoffer, *op. cit.* fig. 40; F. Studniczka, *Jdl* XXII, 1907, pp. 170 ff.; Y. Yadin, *op. cit.* p. 452.

<sup>24</sup> J. H. Young — S. H. Young, *op. cit.* p. 217.

obviously cannot be divided as above, since the driver is standing in the middle. The two other men are turning one another their backs. The man with the animal is wearing a band on his head, while the driver and the third man, who is carrying a shield, are wearing helmets.

A normal crew in our groups is composed of three persons: one driver, one warrior and the third a shield-bearer, who is supposed to protect the others. Cf no. 1780 (SCE II pl. CCXXXIV, 3) and no. 1170, where the shield has now been moved from the awkward positions as shown on SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 4, so as to stand in front of the front man left. The driver is nearly always standing to the right

and unarmed, his only visible protection being a helmet, most often of the straight type. He may of course wear a cuirass, but such details are not shown on so small figures. The warrior at his side has a straight or soft helmet or even a "cap", rather like a plain band round the head — or is that a kind of helmet? It is not very likely that even his head should be protected by the shield.

Some warriors are armed with swords: cf groups nos. 1166 (SCE II pl. CCXXXIV, 2), 1715 (SCE II pl. CCXXXIV, 4), 1779 (Fig. 44) and 1781 + 798 (SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 3). Others are archers. In group no. 1123 (BMNE 3, 1963, fig. 11) the position of the man and



*Fig. 44. No. 1779. Chariot group. Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm.*

traces of a quiver on the chariot are taken as a proof of that, and on chariots nos. 1046 (SCE II pl. CCXXXIV, 6), 1170 (SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 4) and 2000 (Figs. 38–39) there are complete quivers preserved, which must have implied archers in the crews. The quivers are on the front of chariot no. 1170 and on the sides of nos. 1046 and 2000.

In the New Kingdom of Egypt quivers are often seen at the sides of the chariots, either two cross-wise over each other or one with a case for the bow crossed over it<sup>25</sup>. The cross-wise side position is common on Assyrian chariots of the 9th Cent. B. C., but later they are put in front of the chariot<sup>26</sup>. Cf also a Cypro-Archaic vase scene with quivers in front and back<sup>27</sup>! The King's chariot in the great tribute procession of Persepolis has quivers in front as well as on the sides, or at least decorative reminiscences of them<sup>28</sup>. One chariot of Salamis Tomb 3 had quivers on the outer sides<sup>29</sup>.

In one of the chariots with quivers, no. 2000 (Figs. 38–39), where a bow is actually also hanging at the side of it, the warrior is hurling a spear, using that kind of weapon as the only one among our warriors. As a matter of fact, the arming of the warriors either with bow and arrows or with swords does not show much regularity. In group no. 1779 (Fig. 44) the two warriors are armed with swords and in no. 1781 + 798 (SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 3) two warriors are using swords as well as shields, that is, they are hoplites normally equipped for hand-to-hand fighting.

This actualizes the much discussed question of how chariots were used in Homeric battles: merely for transport of hoplites to the battle,

rather than as war chariots in a more literal sense of the word<sup>30</sup>? The only occasion where real fighting between chariots is mentioned, is in Nestor's advice to the troops<sup>31</sup>. But chariots are involved in many cases and the importance of the driver obvious, when he is killed instead of the warrior, since his task was to rescue the warrior in dangerous situations<sup>32</sup>. However, those who hurled the killing spears were not in their chariots themselves<sup>33</sup> and very often the warriors left the chariots to fight on foot, normally using spears<sup>34</sup>.

Returning to our chariot groups, we find only one spear, that is in group no. 2000 (Figs. 38–39) and as a matter of fact the warrior seems to be hurling it from the chariot. We cannot possibly know, if the major part of our warriors are armed with swords just because spears were liable to break when made of terracotta or if actually the sword was more used. It must, however, be taken as proved by our groups that swords as well as spears were used and not only bows and arrows, and that accordingly fighting took place both between chariot crews (or charioteer and foot-soldier) and hand-to-hand on the earth, at the time of our terracottas in Cyprus.

The position of the chariot box is normally with the back over the wheel axle in contrast to the vase picture chariots of the Mycenaean period, where the box is placed centrally over the axle like on our no. 1125 (SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 1).<sup>35</sup> As for the wheels we probably

<sup>25</sup> J. Kromayer — G. Veith, *Heerwesen und Kriegsführung der Griechen und Römer. Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* IV, 3, 2. München 1928 p. 26; H. L. Lorimer, *op. cit.* pp. 324–328; A. J. B. Wace — F. H. Stubbings, *A Companion to Homer*. London 1962, p. 521; A. Snodgrass, *op. cit.* p. 175.

<sup>26</sup> *Homer, Iliad* IV, 297–309.

<sup>27</sup> *Homer, Iliad* VIII, 119–129, 311–319; *Iliad* XIV, 737 ff.

<sup>28</sup> *Homer Iliad* XI, 320 ff.

<sup>29</sup> *Homer, Iliad* XI, 47–52; *Iliad* XVI, 426 f. and 462–486.

<sup>30</sup> E. Sjöqvist, *op. cit.* figs. 19 f; H. L. Lorimer, *op. cit.* pl. XXV, 2.

<sup>25</sup> E. g. Y. Yadin, *op. cit.* p. 240.

<sup>26</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 299, 386 f. and 452.

<sup>27</sup> H. L. Lorimer, *op. cit.* pl. XXV, 2; V. Karageorghis, *BCH* 90, 1966, p. 104, fig. 2.

<sup>28</sup> E. E. Herzfeldt, *Iran in the Ancient East*. Oxford 1941, pl. LXXVII.

<sup>29</sup> V. Karageorghis, "Chronique . . . en 1964." *BCH* 9, 1965, p. 286, fig. 82; Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis I, p. 50.

ought to imagine them all as spoked, although only four of the chariots have really modelled spokes: nos. 249 + 115 (SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 6; BMNE 3, 1963, fig. 10, with 5 spokes), 1781 + 798 (SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 3, with 7 spokes), the fragmentary group no. 1993 (not illustrated, 8 spokes) and no. 1998 (SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 5; BMNE 3, 1963, fig. 9, with 11 spokes). Spokes are painted on the solid wheels of no. 1782 (not illustrated) and we may suspect that paint indicating spokes has disappeared from many if not all of the others. The impressions in the soil of one chariot wheel in Salamis Tomb 1 (ca 700–650 B. C.) according to P. Dikaïos shows that it has been solid<sup>36</sup>, but later finds at Salamis (end of 7th century B. C.) has given evidence of spoked wheels from Tomb 3<sup>37</sup>. Cf also other Cypriote terracotta chariots with solid wheels and painted, concentric decoration as a contrast to the group in Athens said to be from Salamis<sup>38</sup>. One may carefully suggest a chronological development to modelled spokes in the later groups, although the dating of the other terracottas as well as ours is not very fixed: 18 out of 20 chariots groups belong to period 4 of Ajia Irini, one to per. 5, and one is uncertain within periods 4–6<sup>39</sup>. Per. 4 covers approximately the years 650–560 B. C., so there are good chances for great differences of age among the groups. Stylistic evidence is not reliable in the case of these small idols. But on the whole the groups with spoked wheels seem to have more carefully rendered details — which might be explained by the different care and skill from the part of different sculptors.

Usually there was only one yoke to all the four horses, but it was fixed to two poles<sup>40</sup>.

<sup>36</sup> *AA* 1963, p. 159.

<sup>37</sup> V. Karageorghis, *AA* 1966, fig. 46; Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis I, p. 31, pl. XXXII, 5.

<sup>38</sup> F. Studniczka, *op. cit.* p. 166, figs. 13 f.; V. Karageorghis, Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis, I, fig. 8.

<sup>39</sup> SCE IV:2, table on Small human idols at p. 812.

<sup>40</sup> E. g. Y. Yadin, *op. cit.* p. 426; W. Nagel, *op. cit.* fig. 66.

However, there is an example of two smaller yokes, one for each pair of horses, no. 2000 (Figs. 38–39). If there have been modelled reins, they have normally fallen off, but remains are seen on e. g. group no. 249 + 115 (BMNE 3, 1963, fig. 10). Yoking and harnessing of horses are discussed by W. Nagel<sup>41</sup>. Only one pole is used for four horses among the Assyrians. Enough has been found, however, of real Cypriote chariots at Salamis to confirm what can be seen on our terracottas, and it is interesting to compare their dimensions with the proportions of our chariots: notice e. g. tomb 1 of Salamis, where the impressions of the yoke for four horses was 2.28 m and the poles were 2.40 m<sup>42</sup>. This seems to be a reasonable length of poles even for the size of horses nowadays. The horses of our groups are variously proportioned: those of no. 1046 (SCE II pl. CCXXXIV, 6) have very short bodies compared to those of no. 1166 (SCE II pl. CCXXXIV, 2).

As far as rendering of horses' gear is concerned there are no equivalents in terracotta to our best groups: e. g. nos. 249 + 115 (SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 6; BMNE 3, 1963, fig. 10), no. 1170 (SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 4) or 1998 (SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 5). Reality only can compete with this and it is most interesting to compare with recent finds of Salamis tombs, where such finds as blinkers, front bands, standards and trappings of bronze, ivory and leather remains are found from the Cypro-Archaic period<sup>43</sup>.

Front bands are marked out in most of the groups<sup>44</sup>, but in nos. 249 + 115 and 1170 the horses' heads are decorated with something like little hats or crests, which may best be compared to what Sargon's horses are wearing on

<sup>41</sup> *Op. cit.* figs. 66–75.

<sup>42</sup> P. Dikaïos, *AA* 1963, pp. 159 and 162, fig. 21.

<sup>43</sup> Cf above, note 9!

<sup>44</sup> SCE IV:2, fig. 26:32, 33; V. Karageorghis, *AA* 1966, figs. 21 and 24.

reliefs of the palace of Khorsabad<sup>45</sup>. Here may also be remembered of the horses' breast decorations of the same reliefs<sup>46</sup>, which give us the hint that the vertical incisions indicate tassels in group no. 249 + 115<sup>47</sup>. Cf also the tasseled collar decoration from Khorsabad<sup>48</sup> with our no. 804 + 944 + 1338 (BMNE 3, 1963, fig. 15)! Some horses have not only breast plates but wrappings of cloth or leather covering the whole backs and sides of the bodies, e. g. no. 1170<sup>49</sup>. It is on the whole striking how much more interest for such details is shown in the Ajia Irini groups than e. g. in the groups from Kouion<sup>50</sup>.

<sup>45</sup> Y. Yadin, *op. cit.* pp. 420 and 426 f.; Cf also a relief from Arslan Tash, J. A. H. Potratz, *Die Pferde-entzungen des Alten Orient*. *Analecta Orientalia* 41. Roma 1966, pl. XXI, 46.

<sup>46</sup> Y. Yadin, *op. cit.* pp. 420 and 427.

<sup>47</sup> Cf also a terracotta group from Amrith, M. H. Neufalsch-Richter, *MDAI (A)* 40, 1915 p. 60, figs. 1-2, and another from Tjiona, *Archaeological Reports* 955 (Suppl. to the *JHS*, Vol. 76, 1956) pl. II, fig. 2d.

<sup>48</sup> Y. Yadin, *op. cit.* pp. 420 and 427.

<sup>49</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 452 and 458; J. A. H. Potratz, *op. cit.* I. VIII, 14.

<sup>50</sup> J. H. Young — S. H. Young, *op. cit.* pls. 18-27.

## SUMMING UP OF INFORMATIONS FROM THE FIGURINES.

As a source of information terracotta sculpture is not often regarded as very good. It is considered a secondary type, compared to stone sculpture, which is usually both better executed and preserved. The Ajia Irini terracotta statues are partly an exception, thanks to their size and general state. The terracotta material has there been used, not only for "pure idol plastic" but also real art sculpture, although the statues have all served the same, sacral purpose. Gjerstad makes a distinction between the sculptures with an artistic character and those without<sup>1</sup>, not mentioning the quality of size in that connection. However, size seems practically to have

been the determining factor in many cases. Cf e. g. no. 1417 (SCE II pl. CCXXXII, 8; 21.8 cm) with its beautiful, moulded head, and no. 1741 (SCE II pl. CCXXXVIII, 7-8; 38.6 cm) with its expressive face, both classified as "idol plastic", with the big statue no. 1860 (SCE II pl. CXCIV, 1; 158.0 cm)! It must be admitted that Gjerstad reckons with transitional cases between the idol plastic and art sculpture<sup>2</sup>. But usually "art sculpture" seems to be represented by statues of 60 cm height and bigger, "large idols" by such between 60 and 40 cm and those smaller than 40 cm are "small idols".

In spite of this it is true that the bigger statues are often of greater interest, both from the artistical point of view and for what they tell about their "models", i. e. the worshippers who have dedicated the statuettes as votive gifts<sup>3</sup>. Most of them appear as soldiers with attributes described above, but some of them are probably priests<sup>4</sup> or at least persons performing religious ceremonies. The best example of these is said to be no. 2072 + 2075 (SCE II pl. CCXIV), who is dressed in a long chiton and a mantle. Instead of a helmet he wears a band round his head and has probably held a sacrificial knife in his left (!) hand to perform a sacrifice. Actually, he is not only the best example — he is the only one of the kind. There are plenty of (or at least 23) statuettes with bands round their heads but they do not show any signs of making a sacrifice. Five statuettes with band round their heads are carrying votive animals or objects, whereas sixteen dressed in helmets are doing the same (cf e. g. nos. 1495, 573 and 1784 fig. 45!). Ten figurines with bands are armed with swords or other, probably not sacral weapons. In this connection we might remember Herodotus' description of the Cypriote army<sup>5</sup>,

<sup>2</sup> SCE IV:2 p. 127.

<sup>3</sup> E. Sjöqvist in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 30. Leipzig/Berlin 1933, p. 333.

<sup>4</sup> E. Sjöqvist, *op. cit.* pp. 343 f.

<sup>5</sup> Herod. Hist. VII, XC. Cf H. Brandenburg, *Studien zur Mitra*. Münster 1966, pp. 154 f.

<sup>1</sup> SCE II p. 777.



Fig. 45. Nos. 1495, 573 and 1784.  
Cyprus museum, Nicosia.

where the princes wore "mitrai" and the warriors "kitharis", both of which would mean pieces of cloth twisted like that of our no. 2072 + 2075, such as can also be seen among the warriors in our chariot groups, e. g. no. 1166 (SCE II pl. CCXXXIV, 2), and among terracotta figurines from Kourion, where bands round the heads are very common<sup>6</sup>.

The very fact that nearly all the figurines represent male persons is rather extraordinary in terracotta, but this appears more often in Cyprus than in Greece<sup>7</sup>. This has of course led to the conclusion that a male god, a war god, was worshipped at the sanctuary<sup>8</sup>. Warriors are rather frequent in small bronze sculpture in Greece, but there is not much comparable material in terracotta.

In the chapter on armour and dress we

<sup>6</sup> J. H. Young — S. H. Young, *Terracotta Figurines from Kourion*, pp. 200 f.

<sup>7</sup> H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum*. London 1903, p. xxxii.

<sup>8</sup> E. Sjöqvist, *op. cit.* pp. 340 ff.

discussed, whether the long "garments" of most of the statues were really representing garments or were a mere substitute for modelled legs, which the artist for some reason or other did not bother to sculpture. Inability or laziness may be the reason why most of the larger and all the small idols are sculptured with negligence for other parts of the body than head and arms. But what about the big statues? The tallest one (187 cm) no. 2106 + 2103 (SCE II pl. CXC) is according to the catalogue "dressed in a girdled chiton . . . overfold with side-flaps . . ." and according to our first chapter he is wearing a cuirass and (the reminiscence of) a *mitre* protecting the abdomen. Could it be that he is too tall to get sculptured legs like those of nos. 1 + 1618 + 1619 (SCE II pl. CXCI, 1; height 118.3 cm) and 1728 + 1740 (SCE II pl. CXCI 2-3; height 105.0 cm) to which statues he is very near akin? That is not very probable. Big statues get big, clumsy legs, but still legs, if wanted. Cf nos. 1763 + 1845 (SCE II pl. CXC VIII; height 155.5 cm) or 2102 (SCE II pl. CCII; height 177.7 cm)!

A suggestion that one of our sculptors modelled the legs and others preferred the long garments is proved to be wrong by the very similar nos. 2106 + 2103, 1 + 1618 + 1619 and 1728 + 1740, which must be sculptured by the same hand. Cf also nos. 1767 (modelled legs) and 1044 + 2495 (covering garment) on SCE II pl. CCV! The last example is one of those garments made intentionally half-way between short and long, not due to either negligence or inability. There are quite a few of this kind, e. g. no. 573 (Fig. 45), 1016 + 2505 (SCE II pl. CCXVII), and 1028 + 2077 (SCE II pl. CCVIII). A variation is shown e. g. in no. 1196 + 2437 (SCE II pl. CXCIV, 3), 2069 + 2087 (SCE II pl. CXCIX, 2-3), and 2072 + 2075 (SCE II pl. CCXIV), where the dress "cut off" in front to show the feet. Finally there is one group with toes peeping forth beneath the dress, e. g. nos. 1052 + 2442 (SCE II pl.



CXCIX, 2), 1099 + 2735 (SCE II pl. CCXXIII, 1-5), and 1509 (SCE II pl. CCVII, 1-2).

For what purpose, on which occasions were these garments used? They are combined with various kinds of helmets: nos. 1389 (SCE II pl. CXCIX, 1), 1196 + 2437 (SCE II pl. CXCIV, 1), 1044 + 2495 (SCE II pl. CCV, 2), and with urbane: nos. 1796 (SCE II pl. CCXIII, 6), 1072 + 2075 (SCE II pl. CCXIV). These statues are very "neutral", neither wearing weapons or votive gifts. Looking, on the other hand, upon the statues with legs modelled a bit above the knees, such ones provided with weapons seem to be rather frequent: nos. 1070 + 1072 + 1073 + 1075 (Figs. 6-7), 1385 + 1530 (SCE II pl. CXCIV, 2), 1524 + 2333 + 2346 (SCE II pl. CC, 1-2), and 2102 (SCE II pl. CCII). There are also statues with modelled legs, without offensive weapons but wearing helmet and cuirass: nos. 1 + 1618 + 1619 and 1728 + 1740 (SCE II pl. CXCI), 1767 (SCE II pl. CCV, 1), and 1189 (Figs. 11-12) who may have held a spear in his right hand. In the chariot groups there are armed men in "long chitons", but since they are all "small idols", where no modelled legs can be expected, they do not enter into this discussion.

Thus the "uniforms" of the warriors show rather varied traits. We do not even know which of the figurines are wearing "uniforms", but the terracotta material is not the reason for that, rather the sculptors, who did not care very much about how they equipped the warriors.

As mentioned in the chapters above on the various kinds of weapons, spears are nearly altogether lacking, except for one in chariot group no. 2000 (Figs. 38-39). This is evidently because of the material, which was not suitable for such tiny things. We do not know whether other spears have also existed, made of terracotta and now broken, or whether other materials like wood or metals were used, or even whether in some cases the position of the warrior would be enough for the on-looker to imagine

a spear, as with the bows of nos. 893 (SCE II pl. CCXXXI, 3) and chariot group no. 2000, where the strings are lacking but the curved bows are enough to indicate the weapons. Whether the strap over the shoulder of no. 893 belongs to the bow or the quiver, is not possible to see. The arrow-heads are seen in the quivers. Such as they are, they would not be of much use in a fight, but it is not very likely that metal arrows of the same size would have been much sharper. Regarding the quivers it is not possible to guess, if they are supposed to be of leather, wood, or metal.

A fair number of swords, or pieces of swords, are preserved. Since they are normally inside the scabbards the sculptor has not had any problem with getting sharp edges, for which the terracotta would not have been very good. On no. 1524 + 2333 + 2346 (SCE II pl. CC, 1-2) it is interesting to see how the sword in its scabbard is attached to the side of the body, while the strap has no connection with it. Similarly no. 1276 (BMNE 3, 1963, fig. 26), although part of the strap has fallen off, but the sword would actually be hanging in the air, if it were not fixed to the body itself. This would have been impossible to do in stone sculpture. But cf. the bronze warrior of Salamis (Figs. 9-10), where the strap quite clearly carries the sword! Our no. 2102 (SCE II pl. CCII) is holding his sword tightly between the overarm and the body, although there is a strap but without functional connection with the sword. This is also normal for the little swords and straps of the chariot groups. No. 2344 + 2324 (SCE II pl. CXCIX, 5-6) is also pressing the sword between arm and body, while others, nos. 571 and 991 (SCE II pl. CCXXXI, 9 and 8), 1070 etc. (Figs. 6-7), 1385 + 1530 (SCE II pl. CXCIV, 2), 1739 + 2345 (Figs. 3-4), and 1916 (Fig. 42) hold their swords with a hand-grip. Cf. also the terracotta busts from Kazaphani (Figs. 13-15), where great pains are taken to show the scabbards and the straps, so that one

cannot be mistaken of the function, although the rendering is not even here quite realistic.

It is not much otherwise with shields. Most preserved shields are placed in such a way as to hide how it is held by the warrior, e. g. nos. 991 and 1257 (SCE II pl. CCXXXI, 8 and 7). The biggest shield, that of no. 1385 + 1530 (SCE II pl. CXCIV, 2), is clung to the body in an inexplicable way, which would not have been possible in marble and hardly in metal.

The helmets of the smallest figurines are often made with straight tops and in one piece with the head, which is of course the easiest way in any material. Such helmets are also used for larger idols and statues like that of no. 1726 (SCE II pl. CXCII, 3). Others may actually be made in one piece with the head but are marked out with a border as if being modelled separately, e. g. nos. 1524 + 2333 + 2346 (SCE II pl. CC, 1-2) or 1028 + 2077 (SCE II pl. CCIV). But not seldom the helmet is actually made separately, e. g. those of nos. 1 + 1618 + 1619 and 2106 + 2103 (SCE II pl. CXCII, 2 and 1). We must imagine some kind of helmet on nos. 1763 + 1845 (SCE II pl. CXCVIII) and 2344 + 2324 (SCE II pl. CXCIX, 5-6), where the naked skulls show signs of having been covered.

The upturned cheek-pieces are not always as literally upturned as on the helmets of nos. 1842 and 1860 (SCE II pl. CXCIV, 5, 4 and 1), 1509 (SCE II pl. CCVII, 4), or 1727 (SCE II pl. CCXV, 1), but modelled upon the helmet surface, e. g. nos. 1824 + 2139 (SCE II pl. CCVII, 3) and 2102 (SCE II pl. CXCVII). Various ways of modelling helmets can be studied on SCE II pl. CCXV (nos. 906 + 928 + 931, 1727, and 2071).

Variants of helmets with back-bent tops are well rendered in terracotta. They certainly represent leather helmets. The one of no. 1028 + 2077 (SCE II pl. CCIV) is very stiff, the top being bent only very little. The helmet of the small idol no. 1279 (SCE II pl. CCXXX, 10)

is already a little more bent, intentionally or not, but the major part of these helmets have tops like that of no. 2106 + 2103 (SCE II pl. CXCII, 1), where the top can never have been intended to stand up but is hanging down back as a tail. Cf also nos. 1566 (SCE II pl. CXCV, 1-2), 1567 (SCE II pl. CXCVI, 1), and 1509 (SCE II pl. CCVII, 1-2 and 4)! On nos. 1010 + 1030 (SCE II pl. CCXII, 1-2) it is no more the whole top of the helmet that forms the "tail" but the front piece of it which looks like a sort of a handle on top of the head. Cf also no. 1824 + 2139 (Figs. 1-2 and SCE II pl. CCVII, 3) and no. 1741 (SCE II pl. CCXXXVIII, 7-8) where the helmet itself is a small round thing, but the cheek-pieces and the tail-formed top are very big. Such helmets with back-bent tops are very rare in other materials than terracotta. On the other hand, forwards-curving and stilted crests are rare in this material (but cf the crests on figs. 21-23!), and among our figurines there is none.

A propos of leather, the cuirasses may be mentioned here. There were of course different kinds of skin and leather used for them, and the one used for helmets ought to have been a harder type. If one should judge from the apparent stiffness of the terracotta statues, the cuirass leather would have been as hard as sole leather, but then the whole dress would be made of such a stiff material, which cannot seriously be presumed. In the chapter above on armour and dress the material problem was mentioned and it must be maintained here that the terracotta material somewhat disguises the type of material it is supposed to represent. If the long garments are not mere substitutes for modelled legs, so that there was no material whatsoever in the sculptor's mind, a leather garment down to the feet will seem to have prevented movements in a very uncomfortable way and a linen

\* Cf e. g. Y. Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands*, pp. 418 ff.

one would have done nearly the same without even giving as much protection. The long, scaled garments of Assyrian archers<sup>9</sup> always leave the feet free for walking, and we can certainly presume that our feet-hiding "robes" are exaggerations. Cf e. g. no. 1052 + 2442 (SCE II pl. CCXIX, 2)! But half-long garments must have been used. Some of the cuirasses have seams indicated in a very outspoken way: e. g. nos. 2106 + 2103 (SCE II pl. CXC), 1728 + 1740 (pl. CXCI, 2–3), or 1144 (SCE II pl. XCVI, 3–4). It seems natural to understand these as laced seams, which are normal for sewing in leather. Some of the supposed leather cuirasses lack indications of seams altogether, but there may once have been such ones in paint. Others have seams marked out by thinner, incised lines: nos. 1536 (SCE II pl. CC, 3, 5) and 1509 (SCE II pl. CCVII, 1–2), which give a similar idea of laced seams on the shoulders. Incised lines are not very much used, comparatively seen. Paint has probably been used to a rather great extent, to show such details as seams and plies of drapery, but there are incisions e. g. on nos. 1071 (SCE II pl. CXCIV, 3, 6), 1727 (SCE II pl. CCXI), and 1359 (Fig. 46). For a similar use of incisions and paint, see no. 1821 (SCE II pl. CCXIII, 3, 5), where the shoulder seams are incised, while the long side seams on the lower part of the garment are painted.

What made the artist use the one or the other method, incising or painting? Incisions were made before the firing, but the application of the paint was made after<sup>10</sup>. Thus the artist will often have left such details until after the firing, although he must have had a general idea of the statue from the beginning. The painter may of course also have been another person than the sculptor. For hair and beard various kinds of incisions were often used: e. g. nos.

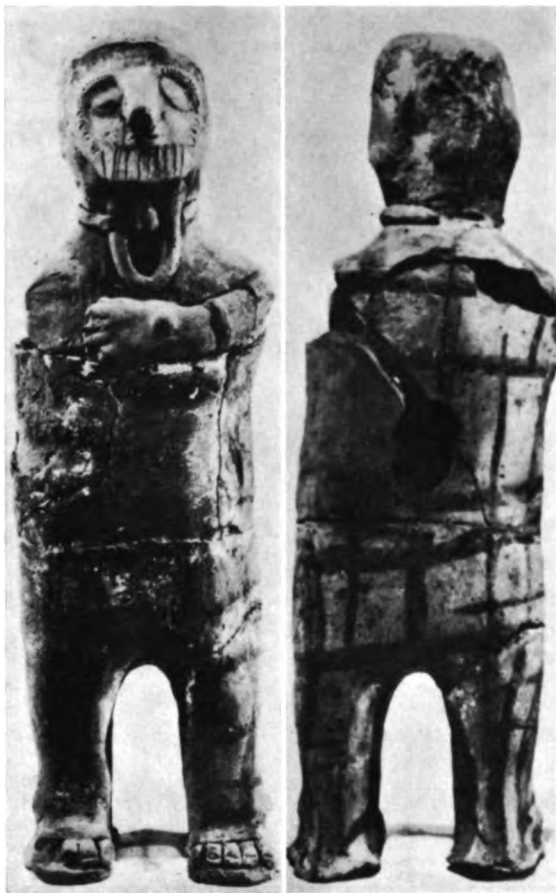
<sup>10</sup> Cf R. A. Higgins, *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum*. I. London 1954, pp. 5 and 7.



Fig. 46. No. 1359. Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm.

1028 + 2077 (SCE II pl. CCIV), 1044 + 2495 (SCE II pl. CCVI, 6), 2102 (SCE II pl. CXCIV), 2072 + 2075 (SCE II pl. CCXIV) and 2374 (SCE II pl. CCVII, 6). On no. 2374 incisions are also used to indicate scales or tusks for the helmet (cf chapter on helmets!).

The colours must have illustrated much that we can only guess at now, because it has disappeared with time, much to our regret. The remaining colours are mostly red and black, sometimes with brown, blue, or violet varia-



Figs. 47–48. No. 2465. Front and back.  
Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.

tions. There is usually a buff or light brown slip on the often rather red terracotta. Especially in earlier periods colours could be applied as purely ornamental patterns without any functional sense, e. g. on animal figurines (cf no. 2049, SCE II pl. CCXXIV, 4)<sup>11</sup>. It is probably still so with our human figurine no. 2465 (Figs. 47–48), whose dress is square-patterned.

Black colour sometimes remains on details like helmets (e. g. no. 1363, SCE II pl. CCIII, 3–4) or beards (e. g. no. 1728 + 1740, SCE II pl. CXCI, 2–3), or as a lower border on small and larger idols (nos. 92 and 874, SCE II pl.

<sup>11</sup> It was suggested by E. Sjöqvist, *op. cit.* p. 335, that this decoration should be a reminiscence of a cult cloth.

CCXXXII, 13 and 12). The borders of mantles indicated in relief are often coloured, e. g. nos. 1052 + 2442 (SCE II pl. CCXIX, 2) or 1141 (SCE II pl. CCXII, 6–7), where also the folds are indicated in paint as well as in relief. But on no. 1323 (SCE II pl. CCXXXVIII, 3) only colour indicated the mantle which is worn obliquely over the breast and one shoulder. Similarly the small idol no. 893 (SCE II pl. CCXXXI, 3). On many of the small idols the painted lines are probably mere decorations for the idols seen as idols, rather than illustrating a real chiton pattern (cf SCE II pls. CCXXXI–III!). But on the larger statues it is otherwise. There have probably often been coloured borders at the side seams: cf nos. 1821 (SCE II pl. CCXIII, 3), 1040 (not illustrated), and 1525 (SCE II pl. CCXXXVIII, 6). Nos. 1467, 1642 (not illustrated), and 1980 (BMNE 3, 1963, fig. 49) have converging lines on the breast like those of a statue in Stockholm without number (Fig. 49, neg. no. 2511). These lines illustrate folds of the garment rather than a woven pattern. Cf also the badly damaged no. 2467 + Suppl. no. 2802 (BMNE 3, 1963, fig. 35) with black borders and a red woven (?) pattern over the shoulders!

Unusually much colour has been preserved on no. 1727 (SCE II pls. CCXI and CCXV) causing some trouble to the interpreter. The “apron” on the lower part of the figure is probably the front of an outer, thicker garment, worn on top of the thinner one with folds indicated by incised lines at the bottom. That nothing of these garments is worked out on the back is rather normal. Backs are usually neglected, although there are exceptions like that of no. 1028 + 2077 (Fig. 5), where, however, the big vent-hole makes sure that the statue was only to be seen from the front side.

A mysterious, painted decoration is the one on the tunic of no. 1070 etc. (Fig. 6), which is in the catalogue understood as a bag hanging from the waist. This does not seem very likely

— it may rather be seen as a purely ornamental pattern.

The absence of greaves is total, in the round and in paint. As for foot-gear, most of the feet, when shown, are naked, but some of the warriors wear sandals: nos. 1 + 1618 + 1619, 1728 + 1740 (SCE II pl. CXCI), 1189 (Figs. 11–12) and 1524 + 2333 + 2346 (SCE II pl. CC, 1–2). They are all of the same type with thongs fastened between the first and the second toe.

Tassels and fringes are details that our artists have rather often shown in the round. Such are very rare in stone sculpture<sup>12</sup>. Among our statuettes fringes are rather frequent on a certain kind of narrow mantle, thrown obliquely over one shoulder like an bandolier: e. g. nos. 909 (BMNE 3, 1963, fig. 51), 1505 a + b (Fig. 26 and SCE II CCXXXVIII, 5), 1562 and 1741 (SCE II pl. CCXXXVIII, 4 and 7–8). On no. 1016 + 2505 (SCE II pls. CCXVI f.) the fringes are diminutive, but on no. 1363 (SCE II pl. CCIII, 3–4) there are magnificent fringes, especially those at the lower border. No. 2344 + 2324 (SCE II pl. CXCIX, 5–6) has fringes round the waist, probably not belonging to a mantle but to the lower border of a short cuirass. Cf nos. 1070 etc. (Figs. 6–7), 1189 (Figs. 11–12) and the Kazaphani terracotta busts (Figs. 13–15)!

The fringes of no. 1028 + 2077 (SCE II pl. CCVIII) are puzzling. Why the border under the fringes? There was obviously no technical need for such an extra piece of cloth under the fringes of the mantles in other cases. But this dress is on the whole mysterious.

Both fringes and a big tassel decorate the skirt of no. 1524 + 2333 + 2346 (SCE II pl. CC, 1–2). Most tassels mentioned in the catalogue are less impressive and normally



*Fig. 49. Without number, Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm.*

<sup>12</sup> Cf *J. Myres, Handbook of the Cesnola Collection*, pp. 141 ff. no. 1004; *H. B. Walters, Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities of the British Museum. I:II. Cypriote and Etruscan*. London 1931, pp. 31 f. no. C 47, fig. 36; In terracotta cf *SCE III pl. CCII, 4* (from Arsos)!

placed on helmets. No. 2102 (SCE II pl. CCII) has two vertical rows of tassels placed like the fringes of no. 1524 etc. on the tunic. Rather similar are the tassels of no. 1189 (Fig. 12), while the slit up side of the tunic of no. 1070 etc. (Figs. 6–7) is likely to be connected with these but there are no tassels.

The tassels on the helmets are generally smaller. Those in the necks of e. g. nos. 1505 a (Fig. 26) and b are actually no tassels but knots tied so as to hold up the cheek-pieces. Other helmet tassels are merely decorative: nos. 1071 (SCE II pl. CXCIV, 3 and BMNE 3, 1963, fig. 20), 1727 (SCE II pls. CCXI and CCXV, 1), and 2102 (SCE II pl. CCII).

Much of the information given by the figurines is actually incomplete, so we have to fill out the empty space with the help of our imagination, either expected to do so from the beginning or because time and conditions have changed the statuettes. Still there are things apt for rendering in terracotta, which would have given a marble sculptor difficulties to work out in his material, above all the stamped or drawn incisions and small “pellets” like the decorations on shields, arrow-bundles in quivers, and much of the horses’ gear on the whole (e. g. no. 249 + 115, BMNE 3, 1963, fig. 10!)

It is not within the scope of this study to discuss stylistic and chronological relations of the sculpture as such. When he treated the subject in the SCE IV:2, Gjerstad much regretted that e. g. Cypriote sculpture found in Samos was not fully published then<sup>13</sup>. In 1962 the Cypriote terracottas of Samos were the subject of a dissertation in Munich by G. Schmidt, which has now appeared in extended form as *Samos Band VII*, published by the German Archaeological Institute<sup>14</sup>. Schmidt disagrees

with Gjerstad on some chronological points<sup>15</sup>. There are also others who prefer a higher chronology than the dates proposed in the SCE<sup>16</sup>. The very special “Cypriote character” of the Proto-Cypriote sculpture remains, however. The equipment of our figurines is also of a special type: e. g. there is nothing of the Greek interest in the naked human body, but also nothing of Oriental luxury in dressing. The round shields of varied sizes but with a (tapering) spike seem to be characteristic for Cypriote warriors, even if they were not the only ones using round shields. The use of leather or linen corslets (besides scaled ones) at a time when metal cuirasses began to flourish in Greece does not prove that Cyprus lagged behind. The Cypriotes may have had good reasons for using their materials, considering that their fighting tactics were different from those of the Greeks, as illustrated by the war chariot groups. Until more is known about the use of leather and linen corslets in surrounding countries, the interconnections cannot be established. Both in details and seen as a whole the equipment of the Ajia Irini figurines confirms the general impression of independence from foreign dominance of the Proto-Cypriote period.

<sup>13</sup> J. Birmingham, who gives very early dates for the Ajia Irini terracotta sculpture, writes in “The Chronology of Some Early and Middle Iron Age Cypriot sites”. *AJA* 67, 1963, pp. 15–42, on p. 19: “The nonceramic dating evidence is virtually all from sculpture” (with reference to Ajia Irini). Cf Gjerstad in the SCE II pp. 818 f. on the evidence of scarabs, giving the year 663 B. C. as a *terminus post quem* for period 4 of Ajia Irini. More modified opinions, based upon ceramic evidence, about the chronology of the Cypriote Geometric and Archaic periods are expressed by V. Karageorghis — L. G. Kahil in “Témoignages eubéens à Chypre et chypriotes à Érétrie”. *Antike Kunst* 10, 1967, pp. 133 ff, and J. N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*. London 1968, pp. 318 ff., 383 f.

<sup>13</sup> Pp. 327 and 332 f.

<sup>14</sup> *Kyprische Terrakotten aus dem Heraion von Samos*. München 1962. Dr Schmidt very kindly lent me this typewritten dissertation; *Samos VII*. Gerhard Schmidt, *Kyprische Bildwerke aus dem Heraion von Samos*. Bonn 1968.

<sup>15</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 93–98.

LIST OF MUSEUMS

The Ajia Irini terracottas mentioned in the article are now placed as follows:

*Lund, Antikmuseet:*

Nos. 1524 + 2333 + 2346 and 1916.

*Malmö, Malmö Museum:*

Nos. 936 and 1842.

*Nicosia, Cyprus Museum:*

Nos. 1 + 1618 + 1619, 573, 576, 577, 893, 904, 906 + 928 + 931, 921, 926 + 1059, 940, 973, 991, 1025, 1028 + 2077, 1032, 1052 + 2442, 1081, 1083, 1107, 1125, 1138, 1141, 1150, 1151, 1166, 1170, 1189, 1191, 1201, 1257, 1320, 1323, 1385 + 1530, 1393, 1417, 1454, 1467, 1470, 1490, 1495, 1505a, 1516, 1536, 1541, 1562, 1566, 1567, 1588, 1642, 1715, 1724, 1727, 1729 + 2345, 1741, 1763 + 1845, 1767, 1780, 1781 + 798, 1782, 1784, 1796, 1804, 1805, 1821, 1824 + 2139, 1933 + 2378 + 2314, 2000, 2069 + 2087, 2071, 2102, 2106 + 2103, 2169 + 1603 + 2475, 2332 + 2360, and 2465.

*Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet:*

Nos. 33, 249 + 115, 342,804 + 944 + 1338, 909, 930, 1010 + 1030, —11, 1016 + 2505, 1031, 1037, 1040, 1044 + 2495, 1046, 1049 + 1054 + 1325 + 2799, 1070 + 1072, + 1073 + 1075, 1071, 1076, 1084, 1123 + 789 + 790 + 1864 + 1971, 1124, 1137, 1144, 1196, 1276, 1354, 1359, 1363, 1369, 1405, 1406, 1416, 1421, 1427, 1439, 1451, 1465, 1489, 1505b, 1509, 1525, 1538, 1542, 1564, 1725, 1726 + 1843, 1728 + 1740, 1746, 1747, 1779, 1860, 1980, 1998, 2072 + 2075, 2079 + 2105, 2100, 2324 + 2344, 2374, 2388 + 2791, 2435, 2439, 2467 + 2802, 2497, 2795, 2797 and one without no.

*Uppsala, Gustavianum:*

Nos. 1099 + 2735 and 1389.

ABBREVIATIONS.

AA	= Archäologischer Anzeiger. Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.
AJA	= American Journal of Archaeology.
Annuario	= Annuario della (R.) Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle missioni Italiane in Oriente.
BCH	= Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.
BMNE	= Bulletin. The Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities.
BSA	= The Annual of the British School at Athens.
Cesnola, Atlas	= L. Palma di Cesnola, A Descriptive Atlas of the Cesnola Collection of Cypriote Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Boston; New York. 1885—1903.
JdI	= Jahrbuch des (K.) Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.
Op. Athen.	= Opuscula Atheniensia.
SCE	= The Swedish Cyprus Expedition.







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THE MUSEUM OF MEDITERRANEAN AND NEAR EASTERN ANTIQUITIES

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*Bengt E. J. Peterson*

# Zeichnungen aus einer Totenstadt





THE MUSEUM OF MEDITERRANEAN AND NEAR EASTERN ANTIQUITIES

MEDELHAVSMUSEET

BU ETIN 7—8 1973



# ZEICHNUNGEN AUS EINER TOTENSTADT

Bildostraka aus Theben-West,  
ihre Fundplätze, Themata und Zweckbereiche  
mitsamt einem Katalog  
der Gayer-Anderson-Sammlung in Stockholm

von  
BENGT E. J. PETERSON

STOCKHOLM 1973

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# Vorwort

An dieser Stelle möchte der Verfasser allen, die bei der Gestaltung dieser Arbeit behilflich waren, seinen Dank aussprechen. Professor Torgny Säve-Söderbergh in Uppsala hat ihr grosses Interesse entgegengebracht und wertvolle Ratschläge und Hinweise gegeben, was den Inhalt wie auch die technische Ausführung angeht. Einige der hier publizierten Bildstraka sind in seinem Seminar in Uppsala diskutiert worden, wobei wichtige Gesichtspunkte zutage traten. Dr. phil. Beate George, Stockholm, hat bereitwillig ihre Ansichten mitgeteilt und eine kritische Durchsicht vorgenommen und auch viel Arbeit auf die deutsche Sprache der Abhandlung verwandt. Dozent Carl-Gustaf Styrenius, Stockholm, hat die Arbeit freundlich unterstützt und seine Zustimmung zu ihrer Aufnahme in die Bulletin-Serie des Medelhavsmuseet gegeben. Die Fachredakteurin der Universität Uppsala Gunnel Sjörs hat die Drucklegung dieser Abhandlung erleichtert, und Frau Brita Eriksson und Herr Gunnar Eriksson in Uppsala haben ihre Hilfe bei der technischen Ausführung des Tafelteils zur Verfügung gestellt, eine Arbeit, die durch T. Säve-Söderberghs Veranlassung im Victoriamuseum in Uppsala ausgeführt wurde.

Da der Verfasser früher nicht in einer grösseren Arbeit die Möglichkeit hatte, denen zu danken, die ihn in das Wissen um das alte Ägypten eingeführt haben, möchte er an dieser Stelle Professor Aron Borelius, Lund, nennen, der ihn zu der Bekanntschaft mit der Ägyptologie begeisterte, Mag. art. Eva Richter-Aeröe, Kopenhagen, die ihn zuerst in die Welt der Hieroglyphen einführte, und die damaligen Lehrer am ägyptologischen Institut in Kopenhagen Professor C. E. Sander-Hansen, Professor W. Erichsen und Dr. phil. Marie-Louise Buhl. Viele Jahre hat dann Professor Torgny Säve-Söderbergh bereitwillig seine Kenntnisse weitergegeben, und Dozent S. V. Wängstedt, Uppsala, hat während seiner Zeit als Museumsvorsteher in Stockholm dem Verfasser mit Generosität in verschiedenen wissenschaftlichen Fragen beigestanden. Aller dieser sowie auch der vielen Kollegen, deren Bekanntschaft dem Verfasser zu Freude und Nutzen gereichte, sei hiermit dankbar gedacht.

*Bengt E. J. Peterson*



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# Einleitung

Ostraka ist die Bezeichnung für Steinsplitter oder auch Tonscherben, die mit Texten oder Bilddarstellungen versehen sind. Dieses Material wurde in Ägypten ausser für Bilder in sehr grossem Umfange auch für Texte verwandt. Es ist ein Medium, das in Ermangelung des Schreib- und Zeichenmaterials par référence Papyrus — teuer und empfindlich — in grossem Ausmasse Verwendung fand. Ostraka gibt es aus allen Epochen der altägyptischen Kultur.

Bildostraka sind vor allem in Theben gefunden worden. Die, welche in verschiedenen Sammlungen vorliegen, stammen hauptsächlich aus dem Neuen Reich, ca 1550—1000 v.Chr. Dieses Material besteht meistens aus Zeichnungen und Malereien auf Kalksteinscherben. Diese sind bei archäologischen Untersuchungen vor allem an einigen bestimmten Stellen in Theben-West angetroffen worden, hauptsächlich im Tal der Könige und im Dorf Deir el Medineh. Es ist völlig klar, dass eine gewisse Gruppe von Künstlern aus diesem Dorf Urheber der meisten dieser Darstellungen ist.

Theben-West bildet ein eigenartiges Milieu. Hier wurde während des Neuen Reiches die grosse Felsengräbernekropole angelegt, die Ägyptens bedeutendster Friedhof für sowohl königliche als auch private Personen aus dieser Zeit ist. Hier gab es Traditionen aus dem Mittleren Reich, das grossartige Monumente in Gestalt von Gräbern und Tempeln draussen in den Bergen gegen die Westwüste geschaffen hatte in Felsenmassiven, die von der El Kurn-Spitze beherrscht werden. Im Neuen Reich wurden prächtige Tempel der Bergkette entlang in der Ebene beim Fluss errichtet, während auf dessen anderem Ufer die Reichsheiligtümer Karnak und Luxor mit ständig hinzukommenden Erweiterungen aufgeführt wurden. Es sind die königlichen „Totentempel“, Anlagen für

den Kult des verstorbenen Pharaos, die sich entlang der Berge erhoben, aber auch Paläste und Gärten bestimmen das westliche Theben. Die umfassende Palaststadt Amenophis' III., sein grosser künstlicher See, von einer prangenden Flora umgeben, die stark gegen die umgebende Wüste kontrastierte, befanden sich hier.

Überall in Theben-West, wenn man sich von der Ebene zu den Bergen wandte, wenn man den Weg in die Täler einschlug, in denen der Schatten gegen die von der Sonne scharf beleuchteten farbenreichen rauhen Bergwände steht, stiess man auf Monumente, die den Göttern und den Toten geweiht sind. In allen diesen fand sich eine charakteristische Bilderwelt, auf den Tempelwänden in klaren Farben leuchtend, innen in den halbdunklen Kammern der Gräber auch, in die man hineingehen konnte, um dahingegangenen Verwandten Opfer darzubringen. In Westtheben hat es eigenartige Bildtraditionen gegeben, die von Künstlern und Handwerkern, die selbst innerhalb des Gebietes der Nekropole wohnhaft sein konnten, durch Jahrhunderte überliefert wurden.

Diese Abhandlung hat die Absicht, ein Bildmaterial, das eng mit der thebanischen Nekropole verbunden ist, zu präsentieren. Dieses Material von Bildostraka ist zum grossen Teil bei archäologischen Untersuchungen entdeckt worden, aber auch Sammlungen, die mit grosser Sicherheit nach Theben verwiesen werden können, sind Gegenstand der vorliegenden Untersuchung, die vor allem ikonographischer Art ist. Es soll der Versuch unternommen werden, verschiedene Bildthemata zu präzisieren und ihre Zweckbereiche zu untersuchen, zu sehen, inwieweit dieses Ostrakonmaterial mit der Bilderwelt, die auf verschiedenen thebanischen Denkmälern belegt ist, zusammenhängt, aber auch, inwieweit es besondere

Züge aufweist, die das Vorhandensein von Bildthema, die sonst nicht bekannt oder erhalten sind, andeuten könnten. Mit Rücksicht auf die starke Ambivalenz, die das Material kennzeichnet — die Vieldeutigkeit, die eine exakte Klassifizierung sehr erschwert — kann kaum eine strenge Methode angewandt werden. Es ist notwendig, dem Material zu folgen und eine Beurteilung nach und nach sich bilden zu lassen. Eine praktische Einteilung kann die topographische sein. Wir beginnen damit zu betrachten, welcher Art der Ostrakonfund ist, der in dem isolierten und etwas abseits gelegenen Tal der Könige zutage gefördert wurde. Daran schliesst sich eine Analyse der Funde aus dem Wohnort der Künstler an, wobei viele interessante Faktoren dem Bilde der künstlerischen Tätigkeit neue Züge verleihen werden. Danach soll betrachtet werden, was bei Tempeln und

Privatgräbern gefunden worden ist, Ostraka, die ganz andere Urheber als die zur Deir el Medineh-Gruppe Gehörigen haben können. Wenn man auf diese Weise ein Bild der grossen Fundkomplexe gewonnen und ihre Eigenart gesehen hat, kann es wichtig sein, die Struktur des Materials unsicherer Herkunft zu studieren. Gibt es etwas darin, was von der oder den Linien, die im Material von bekannten Fundorten vorherrschend sind, abweicht?

Eine der grössten Ostrakengruppen ohne exakte Provenienzangabe befindet sich im *Medelhavsmuseum* in Stockholm. Sie ist fast ganz unpubliziert und so im Rahmen dieser Abhandlung veröffentlicht werden. Sie soll hier wie die anderen Gruppen von Bildostraka präsentiert und ausserdem in Gestalt eines dokumentierten Kataloges behandelt werden.

# Bildostraka aus dem Tal der Könige

## Daressys Fundmaterial

Die erste grössere Sammlung Bildostraka, die zusammengetragen wurde, besteht aus den Funden, die J. Daressy machte, als er im März—April 1888 zwei von den Felsgräbern im Tal der Könige säuerte<sup>1</sup>. Es handelte sich um die Gräber Nr. 6 und Nr. 9, die Ramses IX. bzw. Ramses VI. gehörten, das letzte eines der am besten erhaltenen und prachtvollsten von allen im Tal der Könige. Sie liegen ein gutes Stück von einander entfernt und sind in zwei ganz unabhängige Felsmassive hineingeschlagen. In den Gängen der Gräber stiess Daressy auf Ostraka, obwohl solche mit Inschriften allein als auch solche mit Bildern darauf. Er sagt in seinem viele Jahre später veröffentlichten Bericht, dass er sie gesammelt habe „dans les décombres qui occupaient les tranchées“<sup>2</sup>, und er gibt an, dass sich in Grab Nr. 6 etwa hundert, in Nr. 9 ungefähr die doppelte Anzahl fand. Dies gilt für beide Typen, Text- und Bildostraka. In Grab Nr. 6 gab es anscheinend nicht viele Bildostraka — die, welche daher stammen, waren nach Daressys Beurteilung grob und schlecht ausgeführt. Die Ostraka, die innen in den Gräbern gefunden wurden, könnten dorthin gelangt sein, nachdem die Gräber am Ende des Neuen Reiches gelüftet worden waren, etliche könnten aber zum Schutt gehören, der nie ausgeräumt wurde. Es geht aus Daressys Darstellung nicht hervor, was beim Eingang und was im Innern der Gräber gefunden worden ist.

Aus Grab Nr. 9 stammte also der Hauptanteil Bildostraka dieses grossen Fundes im Tal der Könige. Diese sollten nach Daressy von bedeutend höherer Qualität in der Ausführung sein als die aus Grab Nr. 6. Unter diesen Bildern befanden sich keine —

sagt Daressy — die direkt mit dem Grabdekor zu tun hatten: „ce sont des simples exercices pour s'entretenir la main, exécutés par les scribes chargés de la surveillance des travaux“<sup>3</sup>. Unter diesen Ostraka fand sich ausserdem eine Planskizze für ein Königsgrab, die zusammen mit einem Papyrus in Turin ein wichtiges Dokument bildet; das Bild gibt jedoch nicht den Plan des Grabes, in dem es gefunden wurde, wieder, sondern den von Nr. 6, Ramses' IX. Grab<sup>4</sup>.

Daressys Fundmaterial wurde nach Kairo gebracht, und 1901 lag sein Katalog über Ostraka im Museum von Kairo vor<sup>5</sup>. Beim Transport waren die Scherben aus den beiden Gräbern durcheinander geraten, so dass es für Daressy nicht mehr möglich war, die Herkunft für eine Anzahl von ihnen anzugeben; er konnte nicht immer „indiquer l'origine exacte de chacun d'eux“<sup>6</sup>. Deshalb können die Ostraka niemals mit absoluter Sicherheit einem der zwei Gräber zugewiesen werden.

In Daressys Katalog erscheint auch eine Anzahl Ostraka mit bildlichen Darstellungen, die aus andern Gräbern im Tal der Könige stammen. Aus dem Grabe Ramses' III., Nr. 11, wohlbekannt seit dem 18. Jahrhundert und in älterer Literatur oft als *Bruce's tomb* nach dem berühmten Reisenden zu den Quellen des Nils zitiert, kommen zwei Bildostraka (D 25 008 & 25 013). Aus Grab Nr. 37, unvollendet und vielleicht nie benutzt, kommt dagegen eine grössere Anzahl<sup>7</sup>. Es sieht aus, als ob dieses Grab als zeitweiliger Aufenthaltsort für Arbeiter und Schreiber im Gräbertal gedient habe. Die Scherben, die sie mit Text und Bild versahen, blieben dort liegen, tief innen im Ostteil des Tales, weit entfernt von den Gräbern der Ramessidenzeit.

Von Fundorten ausserhalb des Tales der Könige

sind in Daressys Katalog Mit Rahineh und Sakkara durch je ein Ostrakon repräsentiert (D 25 142 bis & 25 147), sonst umfasst dieser nur Bildostraka aus dem Tal der Könige, die, wie gezeigt werden soll, eine geschlossene Gruppe aus einer relativ kurzen Epoche am Ende des Neuen Reiches bilden.

### Personen hinter den Bildern

In den Inschriften auf einigen der Bildostraka, die Daressy vorlegt, findet sich eine Reihe Namen und Titel von Privatpersonen. Diese Angaben kommen hauptsächlich auf den Scherben vor, die als Votivgaben interpretiert werden können; Titel und Name des Stifters und oft auch ein Verwandter, vielleicht Vater oder Bruder, sind erwähnt. Es ist eine kleine Gruppe Privatpersonen, die in diesen Inschriften vorkommt, und ihre Titel erlauben uns schnell, sie zu bestimmen. Sie sind auf verschiedene Weise verbunden mit dem Königsgrab und der Nekropole, „dem Platz der Wahrheit“, also mit der Gruppe aus der Handwerkersiedlung Deir el Medineh, und sind als Schreiber oder Handwerker beschäftigt. Sie können ausserdem Priestertitel tragen oder auf andere Weise in Verbindung mit ihren Schreiber- oder Handwerkertiteln ihre Beziehung zu dem speziellen Schutzherrn der Handwerkersiedlung König Amenophis I. andeuten, der den besonderen Kult der Deir el Medineh-Bewohner genoss<sup>9</sup>.

So kommen nicht nur die Titel „Schreiber“ (*šš*) und „Königlicher Schreiber“ (*šš nswt*) allein vor, sondern auch der Zusatz „zugehörig zum Herrn der beiden Länder am Platz der Wahrheit“ (*n nb ꜥwy m st mꜣꜥt*)<sup>9</sup>. Ebenso wird der häufige Titel „Zeichner“ oder „Maler“ (*šš ꜥdwt*) manchmal mit diesem Zusatz verbunden. Dieser letzte Titel ist fast der einzige vorkommende Handwerkertitel. Manchmal wird er auch verbunden mit „am Platz der Wahrheit“ (*m st mꜣꜥt*) oder mit dem Zusatz, der sich auf das Königsgrab bezieht, „im Horizont der Ewigkeit“ (*m ꜥꜥt nꜥꜥꜥ*). Ein paarmal kommen Leiter für Arbeitergruppen von Deir el Medineh vor (*ꜥꜥꜥꜥꜥꜥ m st mꜣꜥt*)<sup>10</sup>, und mehrmals ist die ziemlich neutrale, allgemeine Bezeichnung für eine Zugehörigkeit zur Deir el Medineh-Gruppe belegt, „Diener am Platz der Wahrheit“ (*šꜥꜥꜥ ꜥ m st mꜣꜥt*). Einmal ist ein „Königlicher Mundschenk, zugehörig zum Herrn der beiden Länder“ (*wꜥꜥꜥ nswt n nb ꜥwy*) erwähnt, den man sich natürlich als Amtsträger bei einem lebenden König vor-

stellen kann, wenn er nicht zu dem Hofstaat eines toten Herrschers gehörte.

Unter den Priestertiteln kommen niedrigere Grade wie „Gottesvater“ (*it-nꜥꜥꜥ*) und „Reinigungspriester“ (*wꜥꜥ*) vor, aber auch die selteneren Titel „Kammerherr“ (*imy-ꜥꜥꜥ*) — mit dem Zusatz „zugehörig zum Amun“ bzw. „zugehörig zum Herrn der beiden Länder am Platz der Wahrheit“ (*n ꜥꜥꜥ bzw. n nb ꜥwy m st mꜣꜥt*) — und „Hoherpriester“ (*ꜥꜥꜥ-nꜥꜥ ꜥꜥꜥ*), diese letzte verbunden mit dem „Herrn der beiden Länder“, also in diesem Falle wohl Amenophis I.

In einigen Fällen sind historisch wohlbekannte Privatpersonen genannt, die nicht zur Deir el Medineh-Gruppe gehörten, die aber mit Sicherheit den Arbeitern im Gräbertal bekannt gewesen sein dürften. Dies gilt teils für den Hohenpriester des Amun Ramsesnacht und teils für den Wesir Neferrenpet. Der erste ist bekannt aus der Zeit Ramses' IV. und seines unmittelbaren Nachfolger<sup>11</sup>, der andere begann unter demselben Regenten seine Laufbahn, um seine Stellung bis zur Zeit Ramses' VI. innezuhaben<sup>12</sup>.

Hauptsächlich ist es gerade die 20. Dynastie nach Ramses III., welche diese Bildostraka zu repräsentieren scheinen. Betrachtet man, welche Privatpersonen von Deir el Medineh vorkommen, so weisen ihre Namen, trotz grosser Identifizierungsschwierigkeiten, da viele Namen in dem onomastischen Material dieses Ortes Homonyme sind, ziemlich einheitlich auf diese Dynastie. Mehrere Personen im Ostrakonmaterial finden sich zweifellos in der onomastischen Sammlung, die B. Bruyère zusammengestellt und saisonweise in seinen Grabungsberichten von Deir el Medineh wiedergegeben hat, wieder. Die, welche mit ziemlich grosser Sicherheit identifiziert werden können, wie der mit vielen Titeln versehene Schreiber *ꜥꜥꜥꜥꜥꜥ*, sein ebenfalls titelreicher Bruder *Pꜥꜥꜥꜥꜥꜥꜥꜥ* der Zeichner *Nb-nꜥꜥꜥ*, der Arbeitsleiter und Schreiber *Nꜥꜥꜥ-m-mꜥꜥꜥ*, der Zeichner *ꜥꜥꜥ* u.a., diese haben während der 20. Dynastie gelebt, soweit man nach B. Bruyères auf ein reiches Material gegründete Datierungen folgen darf.

Betrachtet man die Ostraka mit Königsnamen, z.B. die Namen bei dem Bild eines Königs, bekommt man dasselbe Resultat. Am häufigsten kommt der Name Ramses' IV. vor. Keine Bildostraka aus dem Material mit Königsnamen sind früher als Ramses III., dessen Name nur auf den beiden Ostraka erscheint, die bei oder in seinem Grab gefunden wurden. Dann sind Königsnamen bis zum Ende der 20. Dynastie belegt. Wenn man das Material, das aus dem abgelegenen



Grab Nr. 37 kommt, gesondert betrachtet, erhält man ein entsprechendes Bild. Es sind die Könige der 20. Dynastie, die erscheinen, mit Ramses IV. als stetem und zahlenmässig häufigstem Repräsentanten.

### *Die Gräber im Tal der Könige*

Im einen Hintergrund für eine Behandlung des auf den Scherben vorliegenden Bildmaterials zu gewinnen, ist es wichtig, die Königsgräber und ihren Dekor zu untersuchen, nicht zuletzt deswegen, weil viele Motivelemente in diesen wiederholt auf dem Ostrakonmaterial vorkommen. Daressys Behauptung, dass kein Motiv „en rapport direct avec la décoration de la tombe“<sup>13</sup> sei, kann bei näherer Untersuchung nicht aufrechterhalten werden. Wichtig ist auch zu sehen, dass bei diesem Material als Ganzem fehlt, wenn man es mit Ostrakongruppen von anderen Fundstellen in Theben vergleicht. Es wird klar werden, dass gewisse Gruppen von Darstellungen hier gar nicht vorkommen, die man in später gefundenem Ostrakonmaterial aus z.B. Deir el Medineh selbst findet. Es ist ganz deutlich, dass die Umgebung und die Beschäftigungen, die die Männer von Deir el Medineh im Tal der Könige hatten, dem dort gefundenen Scherbenmaterial sein Gepräge gaben.

Von Amenophis I. an, dessen Grab nicht gefunden worden, dessen Tempel aber lokalisiert ist, also vom Anfang der 18. Dynastie an legen die ägyptischen Könige ihre Gräber im Tal der Könige an<sup>14</sup>, also in Theben — dem religiösen Zentrum, das so bedeutungsvoll und reich an ehrwürdigen Traditionen des Mittleren Reiches ist. Die Gräber werden angelegt auf eine Art, die teilweise an altes Herkommen anknüpft, teilweise aber Änderungen mit sich bringt. Radikal trennt man Grab und Kultanlage — die Tempel, in denen die nötigen Opfer und Zeremonien stattfinden können, legt man in der Ebene vor den hohen Westbergen an der Grenze zur Wüste an, während das eigentliche Grab in den Berg hineingebaut wird, wie es schon Generationen früher für Fürsten wie für Privatpersonen in der thebanischen Nekropole geschehen ist. Diese Massnahme kann keinen Grund in der Gefahr der Grabplünderung haben, die sicher immer drohte — wir sehen an den königlichen Gräbern der 12. und 13. Dynastie, die noch Pyramidenform haben, deutlich eine erneute Tendenz, die Grabkammer so unzugänglich wie möglich zu machen. In Theben nun grenzt man bald — sicher seit Thutmosis I. — ein Tal in den Westbergen

für die Königsgräber ab. Nur ausnahmsweise wurden Privatpersonen hier begraben in diesem Tal, das streng bewacht und im Prinzip geschlossen war. Unzugänglich, schweigend und einsam sollte es liegen. Und im Innern der massiven Berge, nackten Felsen ohne Pflanzenwuchs, sollten Generationen von Königen verborgen liegen, umschlossen von ihren Särgen innerhalb von Sarkophagen, umgeben von ihren Schätzen, von ihren magisch wirkenden Geräten und von dem ganzen Arsenal magischer Texte und Bilder, das auf die Verwandlung des Königs vom Tode zum Leben, von Mensch zu Gott abzielte. So hätte es sein sollen in alle Ewigkeit, wenn nicht alles brutal umgestürzt worden wäre durch die grossen Grabräuber, die hier vor allem am Ende des Neuen Reiches tätig waren, aber auch schon früher, in der 18. Dynastie<sup>15</sup>. Die Gräber wurden geleert, die Königsmumien aufgerissen auf der Jagd nach Gold und Wertgegenständen, und dann war es die gute Tat der Priester, die Reste der alten Herrscher zu verbergen<sup>16</sup>. Nur Tutanchamuns Grab ist einer vollständigen Plünderung entgangen. Hier also legte man fünf Jahrhunderte lang Königsgräber an im vollen Bewusstsein der Plünderungsgefahr, hier führte man kontinuierlich in feierlichen und von unzähligen Zeremonien begleiteten Begräbniszügen die Mumien der Könige — mit Ausnahme der des Königs Echnaton — in das unterirdische Reich hinab, das die Gräber repräsentierten.

Im allgemeinen ist der innere Dekor der Königsgräber, polychrome Bilder und Texte auf Wänden und Decke, gleichartig, obwohl er unerhört vielfältig aussieht. Die Bilder, die hier vorkommen, geben nicht wie in Privatgräbern aus vor allem der ersten Hälfte des Neuen Reiches Szenen aus Alltags- und Festtagsleben mit Einschlag einiger religiös betonter Darstellungen, in denen den Göttern oder dem Grabbesitzer geopfert wird oder in denen er die Herren der Unterwelt und der Gefilde der Seligen trifft, wieder. In den Königsgräbern dominieren fast ganz religiöse, mythologische Darstellungen, die verschiedene Text- und Bildgruppen bilden: Pfortenbuch, Höhlenbuch, Aker-Buch, Totenbuch, Amduat, Buch vom Tage und der Nacht, Mundöffnungsbuch, Buch der Himmelskuh und das Buch mit Re-Hymnen<sup>17</sup>, die neben den Texten auch Reihen von Göttern und einzelne Szenen mit mythologischen Vorgängen enthalten. Dieser ganze Typ von Dekoration hat seinen Ursprung in Handschriften auf Papyrusrollen. Dies tritt deutlich in den Königsgräbern der 18. Dynastie hervor, wo

die Wände gleichsam mit einem ausgebreiteten Papyrus bedeckt und Text und Bilder vom Duktus des Schreibpinsels in schwarzen Linien geprägt sind. Erst mit dem Grabe Amenophis' III. ändert sich dies, eine stilistische Erneuerung findet statt, und die Bilder auf den Grabwänden werden der geläufigen Relief- und Malkunst der Zeit angenähert.

Ausser den mythologischen Szenen, die zu den erwähnten Text- und Bildsammlungen gehören, von denen die meisten fast ohne Ausnahme nur in Königsgräbern vorkommen<sup>18</sup> — Mitglieder der Königsfamilie können sie jedoch auch haben, wie mehrere Beispiele im Tal der Königinnen zeigen<sup>19</sup> — kann man eine Anzahl Szenen feststellen, die häufig ohne Verbindung zu den „Büchern“ an verschiedenen Stellen in den Gräbern vorkommen können. Die häufigste Szene ist ein Bild des Königs opfernd oder anbetend, oft vor Göttern stehend. Er kann auch zusammen mit Göttern dargestellt werden, wie er von ihnen geführt wird oder sich auf andere Weise in ihrer Gesellschaft befindet. Götter können auch allein vorkommen als Schützer an verschiedenen Stellen des Grabes, z.B. auf Türpfosten, oder auch in loser Verbindung zu Opferszenen z.B. auf Pfeilern. Weiterhin erscheinen verschiedene dekorative Elemente, die oft wiederholt werden, z.B. die Geiergöttin, die mit ihren Flügeln den König beschützt, die geflügelte Sonnenscheibe, Hathorköpfe auf Pilastern, Kobras, Skarabäen usw. Ausserdem gibt es oft eine sogenannte astronomische Decke, eine Himmelsdarstellung, in der verschiedene, häufig komposite Gestalten Sternkonstellationen und Himmelskörper repräsentieren können.

Es gibt nur wenige Ausnahmen von dem gewöhnlichen Typus des Dekorprogrammes. Tutanchamuns Grab hat ein verkürztes und ist in gewisser Weise eigenartig — der abgebildete Leichenzug gehört mehr zur Tradition der Privat- als der Königsgräber — aber dieses Grab nimmt eine Sonderstellung ein und ist wahrscheinlich nicht das ursprünglich für den jungen König geplante. Das ansonsten früheste Beispiel für eine Abweichung von dem regulären Schema ist König Ejes Grab, in dem es zwei einzigartige Szenen gibt. In der einen jagt der König zusammen mit seiner Königin Nilpferde mit der Harpune<sup>20</sup>, in der anderen erscheint er auf einem Papyrusboot, teils zusammen mit der Königin, teils bei der Vogeljagd<sup>21</sup>. Beide Motive kommen in Privatgräbern in Theben aus derselben Dynastie vor; die Nilpferdjagd hat klar religiöse Bedeutung<sup>22</sup>, die Vogeljagd indessen ist

vielleicht nicht auf gleiche Weise mit religiöser Symbolik verbunden. Was die Nilpferdjagd und vielleicht auch die Vogeljagd angeht, so könnten die Bilder hier Ersatz für Rundskulpturen sein; in Tutanchamuns Grab sind ja Skulpturen gefunden worden, die den König bei der Jagd wiedergeben<sup>23</sup>.

Das andere Beispiel für eine markante Abweichung von den regulären Szenen befindet sich im Grabe Ramses' III. In einigen Seitenräumen findet sich eine Vielfalt von Szenen, die das tägliche Leben schildern. Szenen eines Typs, der sonst zu Privatgräbern aus der ersten Hälfte des Neuen Reiches gehört<sup>24</sup>. Hier gibt es Bäcker, Köche, Schlächter, Brauer und Lederarbeiter in voller Tätigkeit. Hier kommen Schiffe auf dem Nil mit vollen Segeln, hier erscheinen Harfenspieler<sup>25</sup>. An anderen Stellen im Grabe ist auch das Leben im Jaru-Gefilde geschildert, also Szenen mit religiösem Hintergrund, die zum Repertoire des Totenbuches gehören und die sonst in Privatgräbern vorkommen, nicht aber in Königsgräbern. In diesen Bildern kann man Pflügen, Saat und Ernte sehen. Ackerbau wie im Alltagsleben. Abgebildet sind auch Gegenstände, die zur Grabausrüstung gehören: Betten, Kopfstützen, Gefässe verschiedener Typen, Schlitten, Felle, Kisten, Körbe, Stühle, Bögen, Schilde und andere Waffen usw., also Reihen von Geräten, die als Elemente im Grabdekor eine lange Geschichte haben und deren Ursprung in dem sogenannten „Gerätefries“ vom Ende des Alten Reiches gesucht werden muss<sup>26</sup>. Eine Szene ausserdem, die eines der ältesten ikonographischen Themata unter den Darstellungen des Königs bildet und die in unzähligen Zusammenhängen auftritt, aber sonst in den Königsgräbern fehlt, ist das Bild des Königs, der seine Waffe gegen Feinde schwingt; in einem Korridor ist Ramses III. in dieser traditionellen Haltung abgebildet<sup>27</sup>.

### *Ostrakonbilder und Königsgräber*

Zahlreiche Ostraka aus Daressys Fund tragen Bilder des ägyptischen Königs. Darstellungen Pharaos kommen ja viele Male auf Monumenten aller Art von kolossalen Tempelwänden bis zu Miniaturbildern der Kleinkunst und des Kunsthandwerkes. Wenn man das Material dieser Königsbilder auf Daressys Ostraka betrachtet, wird man feststellen, dass diese nicht von traditionellen Wiedergaben abweichen. Versucht man, eine Verbindung zwischen den Bildern auf Ostraka und denen in den Königsgräbern her-

stellen, so ist dieses leicht; man wird finden, dass die Ostraka sich eng an Bilder des Königs in den Gräbern anschliessen lassen.

Es ist oben gesagt worden, dass Darstellungen des sterbenden oder anbetenden Königs neben Illustrationen zu den „Büchern“ in den Gräbern am häufigsten sind. Bei einer Klassifizierung von Daressys Ostraka kann man folgende Typen von Bildern mit dem König allein feststellen:

der König stehend, Weihrauch und Libation darbringend“.

der König stehend mit Weihrauch“.

der König stehend mit zwei *nw*-Gefässen“.

der König kniend mit zwei *nw*-Gefässen“.

der König kniend und opfernd“.

der König stehend, eine Hand betend erhoben“.

der König stehend, beide Hände betend erhoben“.

der König stehend, ein Szepter haltend“.

der König stehend, ein langes Szepter haltend“.

Wenn man diese Gruppe von Königsdarstellungen betrachtet, kann man konstatieren, dass diese Bilder häufig geläufiger Art sind. Wenn zu einem Bild eine nähere Verbindung in Form einer exakten Parallele nicht anführen liess, so ist dies von geringer Bedeutung. Diese Bilder sind alle solcherart, dass man sie prinzipiell in mehreren verschiedenen Zusammenhängen erwarten darf, in denen der König die Hauptperson ist. Es liegt nahe, diese Bilder als Vorlagen, Skizzen oder Übungen für Darstellungen in den Königsgräbern zu betrachten. Es muss aber bestrichen werden, dass ihr Charakter so allgemein ist, dass man sie als Repräsentanten eines festen Bestandteiles in dem kanonischen Übungsmaterial des in den König arbeitenden Künstlers betrachten muss. Auch Details solcher Bilder wie z.B. Königsprophete sind zahlreich vorhanden in Daressys Material (D 25 021, 25 072, 25 144 ff.). Königshaupt, Profil des Herrschers und seine Krone sind wiederholt auf den Ostraka gezeichnet worden — dieses Material ist überall legio, wo man auf Künstlerskizzen trifft, Zeichnungen sowohl wie Reliefs“.

Dass die Königsbilder zu einem Skizzenmaterial gehören, wird auch aus dem Umstand klar, dass mehrere Ostraka dieser Art auch andere Bilder tragen, z.B. einen Falken und ein Szepter, Hieroglyphen, einen Stier, eine Krokodilgöttheit, einen Vogel und verschiedene Kritzeleien und Markierungen (D 25 022, 25 012, 25 021, 25 013, 25 016, 25 015).

Soweit man Daressys Lesung der Königsnamen, die auf einigen Ostraka vorkommen — sie sind nicht immer deutlich lesbar auf seinen Abbildungen — trauen darf, haben diese Ostraka keine Verbindung mit den Gräbern, bei denen sie gefunden worden sind, die meisten tragen den Namen Ramses' IV. Eine Ausnahme bilden die beiden Ostraka, die aus dem Grabe Ramses' III. stammen; sie weisen beide den Namen dieses Königs auf (D 25 008 & 25 013).

In einem Falle kommt das Bild einer Königin vor, die zwei Sistra hochhält (D 25 126). Dies ist eine Darstellung, die man gern als thematische Parallele zu den Bildern des opfernden Königs ansehen möchte und die man zum Dekor eines Königinengraves in Beziehung setzen könnte. Aber in diesem Falle kann es sich sehr wohl wie bei den meisten Königsdarstellungen auch um ein Bild aus einer ganz anderen Denkmälergruppe handeln wie z.B. den Stelendarstellungen. Auf einer Stele in einer englischen Sammlung z.B. erscheint die Königin Ahmes-Nefertere mit Sistra vor Amun-Re“. Dies ist ein privates Monument, mit dem ein Einzelner mit der vergöttlichten Königin als Mittlerin Amun-Re, den Götterkönig, anruft“. Ähnlich könnten natürlich die Bilder des Königs interpretiert werden — anhand dieses Beispiels sehen wir deutlich etwas von der Ambivalenz des Materials.

Wenn man die Ostraka betrachtet, die Götter wiedergeben, stellt man schnell fest, dass diese Darstellungen in der Regel leicht mit Bildern in den Königsgräbern zu verbinden sind. Aber andererseits sind auch diese Darstellungen so allgemeinen Charakters, dass man sie ebenso wie die Königsbilder — und vielleicht noch mehr als diese — als Bestandteil des Bilderschatzes ansehen muss, mit dem der Künstler täglich und stündlich zu tun hatte. Nicht nur in Königs- und Privatgräbern, sondern auch in Tempeln und auf religiösen Monumenten aller Art wie Stelen, Votivbildern, Amuletten usw. kommen diese Bilder vor. Es ist deshalb von Interesse, Daressys Material aus dem Tal der Könige daraufhin zu untersuchen, welche Götter darin vertreten sind, die gar nicht in den Königsgräbern vorkommen. Soweit es auf der Basis der leider summarischen Publikationen, aber mit Hilfe des Repertoireverzeichnisses in der topographischen Bibliographie von B. Porter und R. Moss festzustellen möglich ist, wären die Göttheiten, die von den Königsgräbern auszuschliessen sind — und hier sind auch die Bilder eingeschlossen,

die unten, wenn auch manchmal lose, in die Gruppe der Votivbilder gewiesen werden sollen — der vergöttlichte Amenophis I. (D 25 005, 25 010, 25 011, 25 014), Reschef (D 25 063), Bes (D 25 071) und Sobek (D 25 013) sowie die Triade von Elephantine, Chnum, Anukis und Satis (D 25 060). Von diesen Göttern hat besonders Amenophis I. eine ganz spezielle Beziehung zu den Leuten von Deir el Medineh; Reschef ist ein vorderasiatischer Gott, der vermutlich eine Kultanlage in Westtheben hatte<sup>44</sup> und der ein paarmal, aber nicht oft, auf Monumenten der Deir el Medineh-Gruppe vorkommt<sup>45</sup>. Der zwergengestaltige Bes ist unendlich oft auf allen erdenklichen Monumenten abgebildet, er gehört zu den populärsten Göttern und fehlt natürlich nicht in den Königsgräbern, obwohl er nicht im Wanddekor aufzutreten scheint — er ist auf Gegenständen funerären Charakters, die Teil der Grabausstattung waren, vorgekommen — aus Tutanchamuns Grab gibt es Beispiele dafür, z.B. im Dekor eines Bettes<sup>46</sup>. Der Krokodilgott Sobek ist nicht so häufig auf thebanischen Monumenten belegt; man kann ihn aber z.B. auf dem Relieffragment eines Privatmannes aus Deir el Medineh, gefunden im Grab Nr. 37 im Tal der Könige, also dem Fundplatz mehrerer von Daressys Ostraka<sup>47</sup>, oder auf anderen Darstellungen aus Deir el Medineh, vor allem Stelen<sup>48</sup>, wiederfinden. Die Triade von Elephantine hat nicht unwahrscheinlich eine besondere Bedeutung gerade für die Bewohner von Deir el Medineh gehabt. In Theben treffen wir sie auf Denkmälern nur dieser Gruppe, auf Stelen z.B.<sup>49</sup> sowie in einem Privatgrab<sup>50</sup>, an.

Die übrigen Götter, die in Daressys Material belegt sind, kommen grösstenteils im Standardprogramm für den Dekor eines Königsgrabes vor. Es ist eine Anzahl der am besten bekannten Götter der ägyptischen Mythologie. Es verdient festgehalten zu werden, dass keiner von ihnen für die Königsgräber exklusiv ist. Auf den Scherben sieht man Bilder von Re-Harachte (D 25 043), Horus als Falken mit Doppelkrone (D 25 030, vielleicht auch 25 174), Osiris (D 25 056, 25 264), Nephthys (D 25 070), Isis (D 25 067, 25 069), Ptah (D 25 054, 25 028 bis), Amun (D 25 047—25 050, 25 141), der thebanischen Triade Amun, Mut und Chons (D 25 058), Hapi(?) (D 25 141), Meretseger (D 25 173, 25 174[?]), Thokeris (D 25 064), Heh<sup>51</sup>. Weiterhin kommen göttliche Wesen wie Paviane mit Pektoralen (D 25 097, 25 099 vielleicht 25 067), eine Schlange mit zwei Beinen (D 25 153), die Beziehungen zu Darstellungen eines

Unterweltbuches<sup>52</sup> haben könnte, und einige nicht näher zu identifizierende Göttinnen (D 25 07, 25 073, 25 127) vor. Eine Sphinx syrischen Typs gehört zu der Art göttlicher Wesen, die als dekorative aber magisch geladenes Element in verschiedenen Zusammenhängen auftreten kann, z.B. auf Thronen oder auf anderen Möbeln; das Bild einer solchen auf einem Ostrakon (D 25 090) ist im Prinzip nicht ohne Bezug zum Dekor der Königsgräber.

Bei den verhältnismässig wenigen Ostraka, die mythologische Szenen, in denen Götter zusammen auftreten oder in denen der König ihnen Opfer wiedergeben, sieht man die Verbindung zum Bildprogramm der Königsgräber deutlich. Zwei Bilder zeigen den König, wie er einer grossen Sonnenscheibe Opfer darbringt (D 25 128, 25 075). Solche Darstellungen kommen am Eingang mehrerer Königsgräber vor<sup>53</sup> und dürfen als exklusiv für diese angesehen werden. Ebenso sind zwei verschiedene Wiedergaben der Himmelsgöttin Nut und des Sonnengottes so eng mit der solaren Thematik der Königsgräber verbunden, dass man ohne weiteres annehmen kann, die beiden Skizzen seien in direktem Anschluss an Grabbilder gemacht. In dem einen Falle trägt Nut in ihrem Schosse eine Sonnenscheibe mit dem Bild eines Kindes darin<sup>54</sup>, eine Darstellung, die oft wiederkehrt<sup>55</sup>. Im anderen Falle handelt es sich um ein wohl einzigartiges Bild eines Kuhkopfes *en face*, zwischen dessen Hörnern sich eine Sonnenscheibe befindet, in der ein widderköpfiger Gott — Amun-Re — sitzt<sup>56</sup>; rechts von dem Kuhkopf steht ein Pavian, der wahrscheinlich ein Pendant auf der anderen Seite hatte, die nicht mehr vorhanden ist. Dieses Bild des Kuhkopfes steht seiner Art nach ganz im Einklang mit Bildern zum Thema Nut-Re in den Königsgräbern. Zu derselben Gruppe gehört auch ein Detail wie zwei Arme, die eine Sonnenscheibe halten (D 25 176), auf einer Scherbe mit klarem Skizzencharakter. Zu dem solaren Programm gehört weiter das Bild des Sonnenschiffes, in welchem der Sonnengott über den Himmel fährt, das so oft auf religiösen Monumenten aller Art wiederkommt, und dies besonders in den Königsgräbern. In Daressys Sammlung erscheint dieses Motiv auf zwei Scherben (D 25 182, 25 164).

Die mythologische Szene mit den Göttinnen Isis und Nephthys bei einem *šn*-Zeichen kniend ist ein Bild, das man in jedwedem funerären Zusammenhang erwarten kann und das prinzipiell auch Szenen der Königsgräber nahesteht. H. Schäfer hat hierfür an

ie Darstellungen auf Königssarkophagen hingewiesen, und z.B. im Grab Sethos' I. kommt jede Göttin in sich mit einem *ḥn*-Zeichen in derselben Haltung wie auf dem Ostrakon der Daressy-Sammlung vor<sup>44</sup>.

Der König vor Göttern, oftmals Opfer darbringend, ist ein besonders häufiges Motiv. Auf Daressys Ostraka erscheint der opfernde König einmal vor Amun, Min(?), Meretseger und Mut (D 25 113), einmal vor Sokar (D 25 068), Bilder, die gut zum Repertoire der Gräber passen, obwohl Tempeldarstellungen als alternative Parallele angeführt werden können<sup>45</sup>. Für andere Ostrakonbilder wie Re-Harachte, der Ramses IV. umarmt (D 25 107), ein Gott, der einen König an der Hand führt (D 25 108), oder ein König zwischen zwei Göttern (D 25 112) bestehen keine Hindernisse, sie im grossen und ganzen auf die Gräber zurückzuführen, obwohl auch hier die Bilderwelt der Tempel eine ebenso richtige Verbindungsmöglichkeit liefert.

Eine Anzahl Ostraka, die grösstenteils nur erwähnt, aber nicht abgebildet ist bei Daressy, steht offenbar im Zusammenhang mit mythologischen Darstellungen in den Königsgräbern — jedenfalls sind diese Bilder häufig in funerärem Kontext belegt. Es handelt sich teilweise um Details, die oft als vor allem dekorative Elemente vorkommen können, wie z.B. das heilige Auge (D 25 079, vgl. 25 171), die geflügelte Sonnenscheibe (D 25 197), das Hathorgeicht (D 25 177, 25 178). Bei dieser Gruppe sollen schliesslich Bilder einer Mumie(?) (D 25 082), einer Iris-Krone (D 25 178) und eines Halskragens (D 25 181), vielleicht als Opfergabe gedacht, sowie eines Opfertisches (D 25 166, im Tafelteil falsch unter 25 165) erwähnt werden.

#### *Bilder mit Verbindung zu Privatgräbern*

Unter Daressys Ostraka gibt es Bilder, die man in erster Linie mit Darstellungen in Privatgräbern zu verknüpfen geneigt ist. Mehrere von ihnen, die Privatpersonen wiedergeben, kann man sich jedoch auch an anderen Denkmälergruppen vorstellen; z.B. kann das Bild eines „Grabherrn“ oder einer anbetenden oder opfernden Person zu kleineren Monumenten wie Stelen oder anderen hauptsächlich funerären Gegenständen gehören.

Typische Darstellungen eines Grabherrn zeigen ihn stehend mit einem Szepter und einem Salatkopf in der Hand<sup>46</sup> (D 25 024, 25 025, 25 035) oder nur mit einem Szepter (D 25 026, 25 027); in anderen kann

er sitzen, einmal allein vor Opfergaben (D 25 136), ein anderes Mal zusammen mit einer zweiten Person (D 25 137).

In Privatgräbern und auf kleineren, meistens funerären Denkmälern erscheinen oft opfernde oder anbetende Personen — sie können sich vor dem Grabherrn oder vor verschiedenen Göttern befinden, im letzten Falle ist es in der Regel der Grabherr selbst, der vor seine Götter tritt. Auf den Ostraka befinden sich solche Bilder von Privatpersonen in opfernder oder adorierender Haltung, Männer stehend oder kniend (D 25 028, 25 033, 25 039, 25 036), Frauen Opfer herbeibringend (D 25 045, 25 046).

Unter diesen Darstellungen ist eine von grösserem Interesse, da sie eine historisch bekannte Privatperson wiedergibt, den Hohenpriester Ramsesnacht aus der 20. Dynastie<sup>47</sup>. Er steht mit beiden Händen wie zur Adoration erhoben und erhebt den einen Fuss ein wenig wie zu einem Tanzschritt. Es kann sich natürlich um eine Art „Augenblicksbild“ des dem Künstler sicher wohlbekannten Mannes handeln. Die Scherbe, auf die es gezeichnet ist, trägt ausserdem das Bild eines Falken; der Skizzencharakter ist offenbar. Das Motiv ist aber auch auf einem andern Ostrakon in Daressys Material belegt<sup>48</sup> und somit nicht ganz unik. Sucht man eine Verbindung mit Ramsesnachts eigenem Grab<sup>49</sup>, das aber grossenteils zerstört und nicht publiziert ist, kann man mit Hilfe des Bildrepertoires der topographischen Bibliographie von B. Porter und R. Moss keine solche finden. Eine ähnliche Haltung wie die Ramsesnachts findet sich in sowohl profanem als auch religiösem Zusammenhang — im ersten Falle z.B. bei der Entgegennahme von Gold und Ehrenbezeichnungen aus der Hand des Königs, ein nicht ungewöhnliches Thema in den Gräbern der 18. Dynastie, aber auch in Tempelbildern des späten Neuen Reiches vorkommend<sup>50</sup>; im zweiten Falle könnte auch eine Beziehung zu Darstellungen funerärer Tänze angenommen werden<sup>51</sup>. Ramsesnacht, der auch auf Tempelreliefs als Opferträger auftritt<sup>52</sup>, stand sicher in persönlicher Verbindung mit den Künstlern in Deir el Medineh, tatsächlich war er als Leiter der Arbeiten an allen Monumenten Amuns in Karnak und an Gräbern und Statuen, deren Ausführung der König befahl, ein Arbeitschef, der in direkten Kontakt mit seinen Untergebenen kam. Wir wissen, dass er mit grösster Wahrscheinlichkeit in eigener Person mit auszog, wenn es praktische Arbeiten galt; er war Leiter einer Steinbruchexpedition zum Wadi Hammamat<sup>53</sup>.

Interessant festzustellen ist, dass noch eine andere historisch bekannte Privatperson auf zwei Ostraka vorkommt (D 25 033, 25 036). Beide Bilder gehören zu der Gruppe opfernder und anbetender Privatpersonen. Es handelt sich um den Wesir Neferrenpet, der sein Amt mindestens in der Regierungszeit Ramses' IV. innehatte, wahrscheinlich sogar noch etwas länger. Es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, dass direkte, persönliche Kenntnis den Hintergrund für diese Bilder auf den Ostraka bildet. Ohne für irgendwelche offensibaren bestimmten Dekorzwecke abgesehen zu sein, ist die Person im Rahmen des üblichen ikonographischen Schemas abgebildet, und die Bilder sind mit Inschriften versehen, die Namen und Titel angeben. Natürlich könnte man auch hier Beziehungen zu dem — uns unbekannten — Grab dieses Wesirs suchen; wichtig ist aber, mit dem Faktor zu rechnen, dass das Bild ohne besondere Verbindung zu einem speziellen Zusammenhang entstanden sein könnte.

Auf den Ostraka, die die hier behandelten Bilder tragen, können sich ausserdem auch noch ganz andere Darstellungen befinden. In einem Falle handelt es sich um ein richtiges „Skizzenheft“: eine Scherbe ist bedeckt mit Bildern eines Pferdekopfes, einer geballten Hand, eines Menschenprofils und eines Löwenhauptes (D 25 026).

Eine Reihe von Genreszenen, Privatpersonen bei verschiedenen mehr oder weniger profanen Beschäftigungen, kann auch in erster Linie als Beispiel für Verbindungsmöglichkeiten zum Bildprogramm der Privatgräber klassifiziert werden. Man muss jedoch im Gedanken an das Datum des Materials — spätramesseidische Zeit — des Problems der Kongruenz mit dem Dekorprogramm der Privatgräber gewärtig sein. Die Motive, die auf diesen Ostraka auftauchen, sind offensichtlich solche, die nicht die Bilder der gleichzeitigen Privatgräber reflektieren, die fast ausschliesslich religiöse Themata haben. Aber eine gründliche Auswertung des thebanischen Grabmaterials kann bei dem Mangel an *in extenso* publizierten Gräbern nicht zufriedenstellend vorgenommen werden. Für gewisse in diesem Zusammenhang aktuelle Szenen ist es auch möglich, einen Anwendungsbereich auf anderen Denkmälern wie Stelen zu finden, bei anderen ist es denkbar, dass sie nichts weiter als zufällige „Augenblicksbilder“ sind, mehr oder weniger frei von den üblichen ikonographischen Traditionen.

Der Harfenspieler auf einem Ostrakon (D 25 038) ist, wenn auch fragmentarisch, ein geschickt und ein-

fühnd ausgeführtes Bild, bei dem die Bewegung der Hände über die Saiten ein gewisses Raffinement hat. Dieses Bild ist das einzige in dieser Gruppe, das auch eine Verbindung zu den Königsgräbern haben könnte — im Grabe Ramses' III. als allein dastehender Ausnahme kommen ja Harfenspieler vor<sup>44</sup>. Sonst ist der Harfenspieler nicht ungewöhnlich in thebanischen Privatgräbern, sogar auf Stelen<sup>45</sup> kommt er vor, verbunden wie er ist mit einer literarischen Gattung<sup>46</sup>; selbst in Tempeln findet man auch manchmal Szenen mit Harfenspielern wieder<sup>47</sup>.

Zu der Welt der Genreszenen der Privatgräber muss auch das Bild eines Mannes, der die Doppelflöte bläst<sup>48</sup>, gewiss grob karikiert, gerechnet werden sowie das Bild eines Mannes mit einem Affen auf der Schulter, welcher Affe auch Doppelflöte spielt (D 25 138) — in vielen Zusammenhängen kann man den zahmen Affen im Bildrepertoire finden<sup>49</sup>. Und auf diesem letztgenannten Ostrakon gibt es ausserdem dem flüchtige Skizzen von Männern bei der Arbeit an Gefässen, vielleicht Handwerkern. Auf einem anderen kommen Männer in einer Reihe mit Gefässen auf der Achsel, einige ziehen an einem Seil (D 25 139), auf einem weiteren erscheinen Bauarbeiter (D 25 139 bis) — derartige Szenen finden sich in Gräbern, die eine Verbindung mit Deir el Medineh haben können<sup>50</sup>, sie können also prinzipiell auf Privatgräber zurückgeführt werden. Dasselbe gilt für eine Reihe anderer Szenen wie einen Mann mit einer Kuh (D 25 142), den Mann vor einem Gefäss auf einem Gestell und den Mann mit Stock (D 25 173) und vielleicht den bei Daressy nicht abgebildeten Wedelträger (D 25 028 bis). Ebenso gehört zu dieser Kategorie von Genreszenen auch ein Bild, das zwei Widder, die mit den Hörnern zusammenstossen (D 25 062), zeigt, eine Szene aus dem Alltagsleben auf den Feldern, die jedoch nicht unbedingt wie auch viele der schon erwähnten einer bestimmten Dekorgruppe zugezählt werden muss — gewisse Bilder können als blosse Reflexe der Darstellungen in Gräbern und an anderen Stellen betrachtet werden; sie brauchen im Augenblick des Zeichnens nicht unmittelbar in Beziehung zu einem bestimmten Zweck gestanden haben.

Von den in ramesseidischer Zeit in Privatgräbern so dominierenden mythologischen Szenen finden sich kaum Reflexe in Daressys Material. Die einzigen Bilder mythologischen oder funerären Charakters, die primär Privatgräbern zugerechnet werden können,

wenigen Gestalten, die zum Themenkreis des Totengerichtes gehören. Die betreffenden Darstellungen befinden sich auf einem und demselben Ostrakon (D 15 057). Es sind Osiris und das Untier Totenfresserin samt Anubis, der das Herz des Toten hält. Es handelt sich also um das Drama der Wägung des Herzens des Verstorbenen, um das diese Gestalten gruppiert waren. Ein solches traditionelles Totengericht ist nicht in den thebanischen Königsgräbern belegt, obwohl das Thema nicht fremd ist — etwas später zu Anfang des letzten Jahrtausends vor Christus treffen wir es im Zusammenhang mit Königsgräbern an<sup>71</sup>. Es muss jedoch erwähnt werden, dass das Motiv in Papyrusillustrationen sehr häufig ist. Ein weiteres Bild zeigt einen Ba-Vogel (D 25 106), der vielfach in Gräbern sowie auf Stelen vorkommt, sowie auch in vielen anderen Zusammenhängen. Ein Bild wie dieses kann man gewiss mit sowohl Privat- als Königsgräbern verbinden. Die mythologischen Gestalten wie die vielen Götter, die sich mit den Königsgräbern in Verbindung bringen lassen, sind natürlich auch für die Privatgräber aktuell. Es ist meistens nicht möglich, eine scharfe Trennungslinie zu ziehen.

#### Votivbilder

Gewiss können die Fundumstände ziemlich nichtsagend scheinen, wenn es gilt, Daressys Material zu klassifizieren. In der Nähe der Königsgräber eine Anzahl Skizzen mit einigermaßen direktem Bezug zur Motivwelt in ihrem Innern zu finden ist natürlich, darüber hinaus eine Reihe von Themata zu sehen, die zu dem Üblichsten im kanonischen Motivvorrat eines Künstlers gehören, verwundert nicht. Zu diesen geläufigen Motiven gehören Götterbilder, die schon im Anschluss an das Bildrepertoire der Königsgräber behandelt worden sind. Eine weitere Gruppe bilden dagegen die Darstellungen von Göttern, die hier hauptsächlich als Votivbilder klassifiziert werden sollen.

Diese Götterbilder sind von derselben Art wie die anderen, ihre Ikonographie ist die übliche und in vielen Fällen könnte man ohne weiteres gerade diese Ostrakonbilder als Skizzen, Vorlagen oder Übungen für Bilder in Gräbern oder auf kleineren Denkmälern ansehen. Das, was jedoch manchmal eine Bestimmung als Votivgaben zulässt, ist der *terminus technicus*, der oft wiederkehrt, *ir.n*, „gemacht von; gestiftet von“, worauf der Name des Stifters folgt. Es handelt

sich hier nicht um eine Signierung des Bildes als eines von einer bestimmten Person ausgeführten Werkes, sondern um die Identifikation des Stifters. Diese Art der Introduktion des Stifters einer Votivgabe kommt auf unzähligen ägyptischen Denkmälern vor. Natürlich kann in der kleinen Gruppe von Deir el Medineh-Leuten sicher in einigen Fällen der Name des Stifters mit dem des Herstellers zusammenfallen; zu entscheiden, wann dies der Fall ist, ist aber eine heikle Sache. Vielleicht kann manchmal sogar in erster Linie die Angabe den Zeichner und nicht den Geber meinen. Gelegentlich aber sollte man stattdessen den Terminus vielleicht mit „gemacht für“ übersetzen, wobei es sich ebenfalls um eine Votivgabe handeln könnte. Möglicherweise kann weiterhin in gewissen Fällen eine bestimmte Form, bearbeitete und geglättete Kanten einer Scherbe, andeuten, dass es sich um eine Gabe handelt, die man sorgfältig hergestellt hat; dies ist aber ein ziemlich unsicheres Kriterium. Oft kann man auch blosser Skizzen auf in dieser Weise bearbeiteten Scherben finden.

Es ist wohl bekannt, wie die thebanischen Berge auf dem Westufer des Nils von vielen kleinen Heiligtümern durchsetzt waren, manchmal nur primitiv durch ein paar aufgestapelte Steine markiert<sup>72</sup>, manchmal richtig in den Berg hineingehauen und mit Stelen versehen<sup>73</sup>. Es ist überhaupt eine Frage, ob nicht die ganze westliche Nekropole als heiliges Gebiet betrachtet wurde und als Ganzes wie in Einzelheiten als numinos erlebt wurde. Nicht zuletzt das abseits gelegene, von Stille und Verlassenheit geprägte Tal der Könige, das ja nicht andauernd von Leichenzügen durchquert wurde und wo nicht ständig Klagegeschrei der Frauen widerhallte, konnte ein Kraftfeld sein, dem man sich nicht ohne Furcht näherte. Die wenigen Leute, die Möglichkeit hatten, in die Nähe der Königsgräber zu kommen, konnten sich nicht nur zu den üblichen Plätzen mit ihren Votivgaben wenden, ihren auf Kalksteinscherben gezeichneten und gemalten Götterbildern mit dem Namen und manchmal auch dem Bild des Gebers, sondern sie können auch das Bedürfnis gehabt haben, solche Bilder mit ihrem Aufenthaltsort in der Nähe des Tals der Könige<sup>74</sup> und vielleicht mit den Königsgräbern selbst zu verbinden. Denn waren diese nicht ein Heiligtum über den König hinaus auch für das gesamte ägyptische Pantheon? Hier sind ja Reihen von Göttern und Göttinnen als Opferempfänger dargestellt, hier bildet das Grab eine umfassende Kultanlage und gleichzeitig ein kosmisches Zentrum, dessen

Kern der gestorbene König ist. In diesem Zusammenhang kann auch auf die Vergöttlichung von Königsgräbern in Pyramidenform hingewiesen werden, die mehrfach belegt ist<sup>74</sup>. Deshalb brauchen die Bilder mit Votivcharakter, die Daressy in der Umgebung der Königsgräber fand, nicht nur als Skizzen für andere Denkmäler oder als für andere Orte beabsichtigt betrachtet zu werden. Sie sollen vielleicht als Träger einer bestimmten religiösen Funktion an dem heiligen Platz, den die Königsgräber darstellen, aufgefasst werden.

Diese Votivostraka weisen verschiedene Schemata der Einteilung auf. Manchmal befindet sich auf der einen Seite das Bild eines Gottes, auf der anderen das einer anbetenden Person, z.B. ein adorierender Mann zusammen mit einem Gebet an Thoth und auf der anderen Seite dieser Gott — und in diesem Falle noch die Göttin Seschat und die Namen der heiligen Schützer der thebanischen Nekropole, Amenophis' I. und seiner Mutter Ahmes-Nefertere<sup>75</sup>. Auf einem anderen Beispiel sieht man Chons auf der einen Seite und auf der anderen den anbetenden Mann mit Namen und Titel (D 25 041). Manchmal können die Götter auf beide Seiten verteilt sein (D 25 095 bis).

Ein anderer Typ zeigt die adorierende Person und die Gottheit auf derselben Seite der Scherbe, ein weiterer nur den Beter, wobei die Inschrift den Namen des Gottes angeben kann, an den man sich wendet (D 25 031, 25 032), oder nur den Stifter namentlich nennt (D 25 037). Es gibt auch Scherben, auf denen nur der Gott abgebildet und manchmal der Stiftername erwähnt ist. Eine gewisse Vorsicht ist bei der Beurteilung von Daressys Material jedoch ratsam, da nicht immer klar hervorgeht, inwieweit es sich um beschädigte Scherben handelt.

Unter den verehrten Göttern befinden sich ausser den schon genannten — Thoth (auch D 25 095 bis), Seschat, Chons — mehrere der grossen und bedeutungsvollen Götter in Theben. Amun-Re (D 25 114, 25 115, 25 117 bis) erscheint ein paarmal zusammen mit Mut und Chons, die die thebanische Triade bilden (D 25 059, 25 117, 25 051), aber ein paarmal ist er auch als Bock oder Widder dargestellt<sup>76</sup>. Ptah (D 25 052, 25 053) fehlt nicht; einmal kommt er zusammen mit dem Pavian des Thoth vor<sup>77</sup>. Ptah gehörte als Schutzherr der Handwerker zu den beliebten Gestalten in Deir el Medineh. Eine gewisse besondere Verbindung zu den Leuten dort muss auch die elephantinische Triade gehabt haben<sup>78</sup> — Chnum, Anu-

kis und Satis finden sich auf einer unvollendeten Scherbe (D 25 060). Ebenfalls eine Verbindung mit Westheben hat Meretseger, die Schlangengöttin, die in der Stille und dem Schweigen der Gräber ihre Heimatort hatte<sup>79</sup>.

Andere Götter sind Re-Harachte (D 25 129), Isi (D 25 065, 25 066), Hathor als Kuh (D 25 092, 25 093), Apis (D 25 094, 25 095), Reschef (D 25 063), der einzige ausländische Gott in diesem Zusammenhang, und Nilgötter in symbolischer Darstellung<sup>80</sup>. Amenophis I. kommt mehrmals vor (D 25 008, 25 010, 25 011, möglicherweise 25 014, vgl. auch 25 032), eine anonyme Königin (D 25 044) soll vielleicht seine Mutter sein. Ein skizzenartiges Bild von Bes (D 25 071) soll erwähnt werden, gehört aber möglicherweise nicht zu den Votivbildern.

Noch einige weitere Ostraka sollen besonders hervorgehoben werden. Es handelt sich um Bilder, in denen ein König oder eine Königin opfernd vor einer Gottheit erscheinen. Die königlichen Personen fungieren hier als Medium für den Stifter, der auf — wie auf Stelen — nicht in eigener Person im Bild auftritt<sup>81</sup>. Diese Scherben sind hier ausgesondert und als Votivbilder klassifiziert worden, da sie in den meisten Fällen eine besondere Form zu haben scheinen — ihre Kanten sind oftmals bearbeitet und geglättet, was bei dem reinen Skizzenmaterial weniger häufig ist. Dies ist allerdings kein zwingendes Kriterium, sondern nur ein Hinweis auf die Möglichkeit diese Bilder, die man sich sehr wohl auch als mit den Grabbildern verbunden vorstellen kann, als Votivgaben zu deuten, obwohl sie keine Inschriften tragen, die einen Anhalt, z.B. durch *ir.n*, geben. Bei dieser Gruppe kommen zwei verschiedene Einteilungsschemata vor: 1. der Opfernde auf der einen Seite und der Empfänger auf der anderen, 2. Opfernde und Empfänger auf derselben Seite. Zur ersten Kategorie gehören die folgenden Beispiele: Ein König mit *nw*-Gefässen opfert einem krokodilköpfigen Gott wohl Sobek (D 25 013), eine Frau königlicher Abstammung opfert Re-Harachte<sup>82</sup>. Zur zweiten gehören Bilder Amenophis' I., der Amun-Re opfert (D 25 111), und Ramses' IV., demselben Gotte opfernd<sup>83</sup>.

#### *Die grossen Tempel und das Ostrakonmaterial*

Die grossen Reliefs, die seit der 19. Dynastie sowohl die Tempel von Karnak und Luxor als auch die königlichen Totentempel auf der anderen Seite des Nils beherrschen, bilden vielleicht die bedeutendsten



meuerung in der Kunst des späten Neuen Reiches. Schilderungen von Feldzügen und königlichen Taten auf dem Schlachtfeld oder in gefährlichen Jagdgebieten sind das lebendigste Element im Tempeldekor dieser Zeit — gleichzeitig zeugen sie auch von dem Bestreben, das historische Geschehen in der Balance zu halten, durch magisches Beschwören die kosmische Ordnung intakt zu erhalten<sup>55</sup>. Diese Reliefs, die ihren Ursprung in der dynamischen Kunstproduktion der 18. Dynastie haben<sup>56</sup>, spiegeln eine Tradition wider, in der Pharaos der Aufrechterhalter der Weltordnung sind, nach der Ägyptens Feinde niedergeschlagen und vernichtet werden. Und diese Tradition wiegt schwerer als die tatsächlichen historischen Ereignisse, die nur indirekt in den Tempelreliefs wiedergegeben werden. Ebenso sind die königlichen Jagddarstellungen Bilder, die dem König auf magische Weise Herrschaft über die Naturkräfte geben; Bilder von Wildtieren und Löwen, die erlegt werden, sind allegorisierte Bilder, die vom König als alleinigem und mächtigem Weltherrscher zeugen<sup>57</sup>.

Es kann von Interesse sein, einen kurzen Blick auf einen der am besten bewahrten Tempel der ramesseiden Zeit, nämlich den von Medinet Habu, zu werfen und die Hauptthemata zu betrachten, die im Dekor auftreten.

Östlich von Deir el Medineh innerhalb eines bestimmten Gehabstandes von dem Dorfe liegt der grosse Tempel Ramses' III.<sup>58</sup>. Es ist ein Totentempel in der alten Tradition wie die der früheren Könige, die in einer Reihe am Rande des Fruchtlandes liegen, das sich vor der Bergkette im Westen offen ausbreitet und an die Wüste grenzt, in der das Land der Toten liegt. Der Tempel ist aber nicht nur eine Totenkultanlage, er hat auch andere Teile, die manchmal traditionell sind so wie der Palast, wo der König mit seinem Hofstaat wohnen konnte, etwas, das schon in anderen Totentempeln vorkommt, und die manchmal eigenartige Züge aufweisen wie die starke Begrenzung. In der architektonischen Gestaltung deuten mehrere Besonderheiten auf ein gewisses Neudenken hinzu.

Die monumentalen Reliefs, die den grossartigen Tempel innen und aussen schmücken und die teilweise — obwohl man allgemein in der Regel das Verbot nicht betreten durfte — sichtbar gewesen sein müssen für alle, die in die Nähe kamen, besonders die ursprünglich in Farben leuchteten, diese knüpfen im Ganzen an die traditionellen Themata für Reliefs in den Tempeln des Neuen Reiches an: rituel-

le Szenen, die den König im Verkehr mit den Göttern zeigen, sowie solche, die sein Handeln mit der Umwelt wiedergeben.

Zu der ersten Kategorie gehört das oft wiederkehrende Bild des Königs, der den Göttern Opfer darbringt, vor allem Amun und Re-Harachte. Der König kommt mit verschiedenen Opfergaben, er schlägt Feinde nieder vor dem Gott oder übergibt die Trophäen des Feldzuges: Gefangene werden vorgeführt, Beute wird überreicht. Es können auch Szenen vorkommen, die zu bestimmten rituellen Zusammenhängen gehören — der König wird als Hauptperson in verschiedenen herkömmlichen Zeremonien geschildert, und von hier ist es nicht weit zu ausführlichen Darstellungen von Götterfesten.

Von der anderen Kategorie, von den „historischen“ Darstellungen, die des Königs Taten an der Spitze des Heeres zeigen, auf seinem Streitwagen mit Pferden oder im Kampf mit Libyern oder Hethitern oder andern Völkern, als Befehlshaber der ägyptischen Flotte, die die Seevölker besiegt, von diesen Szenen gibt es einiges, das in Medinet Habu besser bewahrt ist als in irgendeinem anderen Tempel. Zu dieser Gruppe sollen auch die Jagdszenen gerechnet werden — der König befindet sich draussen auf der Jagd, verfolgt und erlegt Antilopen, Wildesel, Stiere und Löwen — Bilder, die wie die vorhergehenden eine magisch-religiöse Implikation haben und nicht darauf abzielen, nur bestimmte zeitgebundene Geschehnisse direkt wiederzugeben, sondern die auch auf normsetzende Weise die Aufrechterhaltung der Weltordnung und des historischen Geschehens beschwören.

Ein paar Darstellungen in Medinet Habu können als ungewöhnlich ausgesondert werden. In einem Falle handelt es sich um Reliefs ausserhalb des eigentlichen Tempels in dem Portalbau, der aus mehreren Stockwerken besteht und der in der Mauer, die den heiligen Bezirk umschliesst, auf der Hauptachse den Eingang zum Tempelbezirk bildet<sup>59</sup>. In einigen Räumen im ersten und zweiten Stock finden sich Bilder des Königs zusammen mit Familienmitgliedern, Bilder intimeren Charakters als die monumentalen Darstellungen an anderen Stellen. Prinzessinnen kommen mit Musikinstrumenten und Fächern, in einer Szene spielt der König Brettspiel mit einer Prinzessin, die gleichzeitig einen Spielstein fasst und eine Blume an die Nase des Königs hält. Diese Szenen sind nicht so sehr Genreszenen, die sich dem Typ nach von anderen „offiziellen“ Darstellungen im

Tempel unterscheiden; vielmehr sind sie eher von der Steifheit der Opferszenen geprägt, als dass sie informelle Familienszenen sind der Art, wie man sie z.B. in der Palastmalerei in Amarna antreffen konnte<sup>99</sup>.

Reihen lebendiger Zweikampfszenen kommen in einem Register unter dem sogenannten Erscheinungsfenster vor, das den Palast im Süden mit dem ersten grossen Hof des Haupttempels verbindet. Sie sind zeremonieller Art, gehören mit bestimmten Festbräuchen zusammen und bilden eine abgegrenzte Gruppe<sup>100</sup>, da sie nicht direkt mit Kampf- und Jagdszenen zusammengehören und auch nicht mit einem bestimmten sonst im Tempel vorkommenden Götterfestthema verknüpft sind.

Schliesslich soll das Vorkommen von Bildern des Typs „Gerätefries“ erwähnt werden: Tempelausrüstung wie Statuetten und Musikinstrumente, aber auch Opfergaben in den inneren kleinen Räumen des Tempels. Weiterhin gibt es als besondere Typen von Darstellungen „astronomische“ Decken der Art, wie man sie in den Königsgräbern antrifft, und ausserdem einige Illustrationen aus der Bilderwelt des Totenbuches. Diese Typen dominieren aber ganz und gar nicht im Tempeldekoration als Gesamtheit.

Es verwundert nicht, dass Bilder aus dem Dekorprogramm der Tempel im Ostrakonmaterial wieder auftauchen<sup>101</sup>. Einige von Daressys Ostraka zeigen König Ramses IV. auf seinem mit Pferden bespannten Streitwagen, neben dem ein Löwe läuft, des Königs „Schlachtlöwe“ (D 25 122). In zwei anderen Darstellungen desselben Königs ist der Löwe dabei, mit seinen Kiefern einen Ausländer zu ergreifen, in einer von ihnen hält der König gleichzeitig gefangene Ausländer (D 25 123, 25 124). Der Löwe ist ein wichtiges allegorisches Motiv. Gewiss ist man berechtigt anzunehmen, dass man zahme Löwen hatte, die dem Könige folgten, aber in den Bildern dominiert die allegorische Bedeutung, der Löwe ist mit dem König identisch, der König ist der allein siegende Löwe<sup>102</sup>. Dieses Motiv kommt auch separat auf einem Ostrakon vor (D 25 135), ein Detail, Pferde und ein Löwe, auf einem andern zeugt von dem Skizzencharakter dieser Bilder (D 25 143). Ebenso verhält es sich mit den Darstellungen ausländischer Gefangener (D 25 133, 25 134) — die man sich jedoch sogar im Zusammenhang mit Königsgräbern denken kann — sie sind Skizzen zu Themata, die wieder und wieder in den Tempeln auftreten. Parenthetisch soll noch gesagt werden, dass das Motiv des Löwen, der einen

Gefangenen verschlingt, in ramessidischer Zeit auch als Rundskulptur vorkommt<sup>103</sup>.

Noch einige weitere Bilder gehören in dieselbe Gruppe der Tempelszenen, obwohl sie auch anderswo belegt werden können. Ein König schlägt Feinde mit einem Krummschwert vor Amun nieder, der gleichzeitig dem König eine Waffe gibt<sup>104</sup>, ein Motiv, das man wiederholt z.B. im Tempel Ramses' III. in Medinet Habu antreffen kann — keinem, der im Terrain von Deir el Medineh herumgestreift ist, kann das krenelierte hohe Tor an der Ostseite dieses Tempels entgangen sein, wo riesenhafte Darstellungen dieses Motivs in starken Farben vor dem Kai und dem Kanal, der zum Tempeleingang führte, leuchteten<sup>105</sup>. Andererseits muss man bedenken, dass das Bild des Königs, der seine Feinde niederschlägt, eins der herkömmlichsten in der ganzen ägyptischen Ikonographie ist — es kann im Neuen Reich bei so vielen ganz verschiedenen Motivgruppen vorkommen, von grossen Schiffen bis zu den winzigsten Schöpfungen der Kleinkunst<sup>106</sup>. In einem Falle — und das ist wichtig, in diesem Zusammenhang hervorzuheben — erscheint es ja auch in einem Königsgrab, nämlich dem Ramses' III.<sup>107</sup>. Und das Bild des Gottes, der Waffen überreicht, ist nicht ungewöhnlich. Eine verwandte Darstellung, die im Zusammenhang mit diesem Motiv zitiert werden kann, ist eine Stele von Deir el Medineh, auf der Amun einem Könige ein Schwert übergibt, in diesem Falle dem vergöttlichten Amenophis I.<sup>108</sup>.

Ein anderes von Daressys Ostraka zeigt einen König mit Kriegshelm, der, mit einer Axt gerüstet, ein Bündel ausländischer Gefangener hält (D 25 119); ein entsprechendes Bild könnte sicher in Tempeldekoration gefunden werden<sup>109</sup>. Eine Darstellung zweier ringender Männer<sup>110</sup> darf auch zum Tempelrepertoire gerechnet werden; sie kann nämlich mit der Serie zeremonieller Kämpfe in Medinet Habu<sup>111</sup> verknüpft werden. Schliesslich sollen zwei Ostraka mit Bildern gebundener Gefangener (D 25 042, 25 141) erwähnt werden, die beide sowohl mit Gräbern wie Tempeln verbunden werden können und die vermutlich auch noch in andern Zusammenhang relevant sind; sie gehören zu einem geläufigen kanonischen Repertoire.

Da Ramses IV. auf mehreren dieser oben genannten Ostraka namentlich genannt ist, wäre es natürlich von Interesse zu sehen, inwieweit diese Motive mit seinen Denkmälern verknüpft werden können. In seinem Grab im Tal der Könige (Nr. 2) gibt es natür-

lich keine Bilder dieser Art. Die Errichtung von Tempeln und die Herstellung von Skulpturen waren Ramses IV. sehr angelegen; mehrere grosse Steinbruchexpeditionen wurden während seiner kurzen Regierungszeit unternommen<sup>103</sup>. Ein grosser Tempel in der Gegend von Deir el Bahri nicht weit vom Ramesseum ist ganz zerstört<sup>104</sup>. Etwas weiter nach Norden ist ein anderer seiner Tempel lokalisiert worden, dessen Erhaltungszustand jedoch auch keinen Aufschluss über das Dekorprogramm geben kann. Ein Totentempel im Medinet Habu-Bezirk, geschleift und nicht untersucht, kann ebenfalls keine Zeugnisse liefern<sup>105</sup>. Einige Räume im Chontempel in Karnak, die unter Ramses IV. ausgeschmückt worden sind, haben keine Szenen, die als Parallelen zu den Ostrakonbildern angeführt werden könnten<sup>106</sup>. Aber die auf den Ostraka belegten Darstellungen sind jedoch so allgemeiner Art, dass sie nicht als spezifisch für eben diesen König angesehen werden können.

Am Rande sollen in diesem Zusammenhang ein paar Ostrakonbilder erwähnt werden, die eine gewisse Verbindung mit Tempelbildern zu haben scheinen. Wir kennen ja nicht so viele von den Totentempeln in Westtheben, da viele stark zerstört sind; mit Hilfe der Kleinkunst aber können bis zu einem gewissen Grade Darstellungen monumentaler Skala wenn nicht direkt rekonstruiert, so doch vorgestellt werden<sup>107</sup> — ein wichtiges Beispiel sind die Bilder auf einer kleinen Truhe aus Tutanchamuns Grab. Auf ihr kommt z. B. eine Löwenjagd vor wie später in Medinet Habu<sup>108</sup>, da in monumentalen Reliefs. Das von Dargessy erwähnte Ostrakon eines Löwen, der von einer Lanze getroffen ist<sup>109</sup>, gehört wohl gerade zu solcher Gruppe. Dagegen sollte ein anderes Bild, das einen Löwen darstellt, der von einer „Löwin“ verfolgt und in die Hinterbeine gebissen wird (D 25 084), vorsichtiger interpretiert werden. Die „Löwin“ ist vielleicht ein Hund, und man könnte in dem Bilde eine Satire sehen, nicht zuletzt weil eine Inschrift Königsephitha enthält, die sich auf den Löwen-König beziehen könnten, dem es hier schlecht ergeht. So lautet H. Kischkewitz' Deutung<sup>110</sup>. Jedenfalls ist es möglich, die grossen Löwenjagdbilder als Hintergrund der Darstellung zu sehen. Die Inschrift braucht nicht unbedingt mit dem Löwen in Verbindung gebracht zu werden, da sie ein oft wiederkehrender Teil der Königstitulatur ist, den man aus einem anderen Grund separat hier niedergeschrieben haben kann.

Ein Ostrakonbild mit einem König und einer Königin auf mit Pferden bespanntem Wagen, die sich mit Pfeilen beschliessen, und mit Nicht-Ägyptern im unteren Register, die sich ebenfalls mit Pfeilen beschliessen, ist eigenartig<sup>111</sup>. Der thematische Hintergrund findet sich in den Kampfschilderungen der Tempel, die Einteilung in Register stimmt mit üblicher Tradition überein. Ausserdem trägt die Rückseite die Wiedergabe der Gesichtszüge eines Ausländers, also ein geläufiges Motiv aus dem Kreise der Kampfszenen. Was in diesem Falle merkwürdig ist, ist die Königin, die sonst nirgends in der Rolle als Kämpferin auftritt<sup>112</sup>. Aber wie H. Kischkewitz hervorgehoben hat<sup>113</sup>, braucht man hierin nicht eine Illustration aktueller politischer Ereignisse zu sehen, sondern literarisch tradierten Themata. Die in römischer Zeit auf Demotisch belegte Erzählung vom Streit zwischen Ägyptern und Amazonen<sup>114</sup> könnte hier, wie Kischkewitz bemerkt hat, angeführt werden. Dass gerade literarische Motive den Ostrakonbildern zugrunde liegen können, soll unten weiter ausgeführt werden im Zusammenhang mit den Szenen aus der Welt der Tiergeschichte, die in Deir el Medineh von Ausgräbern gefunden wurden.

#### *Übungsskizzen — Details und Fragmente*

Eine Reihe von Scherben zeigt Detailbilder, die hauptsächlich reines Skizzenmaterial sein dürften, Übungen in der Kunst, ein elegantes Profil eines Gesichtes oder das Bild eines der vielen Tiere, die so oft als Hieroglyphenzeichen wie als Manifestationen von Gottheiten vorkommen, wiederzugeben.

Ziemlich wenige dieser Bilder können eigentlich als freie „Augenblicksbilder“ angesehen werden, als entstanden aus dem spontanen Bedürfnis, einen bestimmten Gegenstand nach der Natur abzubilden. Es entsteht eher der Eindruck zielbewusster Übungen; die Tradition kanonischer Darstellungen von Menschen und Tieren nach herkömmlicher Weise hat nicht gebrochen werden können. Natürlich kann ein gewisses Mass an Spontaneität und Freiheit in diesen Bildern gefunden werden, aber die Spannweite in den Themata und der Art der Darstellung ist relativ begrenzt. In den Bildern erscheinen Details der Motive, die in Gräbern, Tempeln und wahrscheinlich auch anderen Zusammenhängen beheimatet sind. Sie sind hauptsächlich so allgemeiner Art, dass es nicht immer möglich ist, sie strikt zu klassifizieren.

Die Königsköpfe sind oben schon zitiert worden

— wie diese sind Menschenköpfe im Profil oder sogar *en face* nicht selten, auch nicht menschliche Gestalten in traditionellen Haltungen. Ein paarmal kommen Details wie Augen oder eine Hand (D 25 167, 25 026) vor, die letzte ist vor allem in der Kunst der Amarna-Zeit ein übliches Übungsmotiv<sup>116</sup>.

Tiere gibt es unzählige: die häufigsten sind Falken, Stiere und Löwen, die bedeutungsvollsten aller Symboltiere, alle mit starker Verbindung zum König, alle Symbole für den Herrscher. Das Bild des Falken, oft mit Doppelkrone (D 25 101, 25 173, 25 195), ist häufig eng mit hieroglyphischer Ornamentik verknüpft; die Königstitulatur, die durch ein Falkenzeichen eingeleitet wird, war eine wichtige und vielfach wiederholte Aufgabe für den Künstler. Ebenso verhält es sich mit dem Stier — ausser seiner Darstellung als Gottheit findet sich sein Bild in den Hieroglyphen der Königstitulatur; ein Ostrakon zeigt gerade den Beginn derselben mit Falken- und Stierzeichen (D 25 195). Der Löwe kommt oft in verschiedenen Zusammenhängen als Sinnbild des Königs vor; das Scherbenmaterial zeigt Skizzen von Löwenköpfen, aber auch ab und zu von dem ganzen Tier (D 25 175, 25 061, 25 026 bzw. 25 085, 25 087, 25 027).

Widder- oder Bocksköpfe (D 25 104, 25 105) knüpfen an Götterdarstellungen an, vor allem die Amuns. Andere Tiere mit Verbindung zu Gottheiten sind Geier (D 25 103), Krokodil (D 25 091) und Skarabäus (D 25 108, 25 179), der letzte jedoch auch bedeutsam als rein dekoratives Element, wobei der ursprüngliche Symbolwert sicher oft verloren gegangen ist.

Andere Tiere sind typische Opfertiere, z.B. die gebundene Gazelle oder Antilope (D 25 179, 25 180, vgl. 25 176) oder die gerupfte Ente (D 25 179) — und hier könnten eventuell weitere Tierbilder eingezeichnet werden, die Daressy erwähnt, aber nicht abbildet — während andere nicht unbedingt mit einem bestimmten religiösen Hintergrund verbunden zu werden brauchen, wie z.B. der Pavian auf allen Vieren (D 25 089, vgl. 25 098), ein spontan betontes Bild, das man aber auch anderswo in einem Skizzenmaterial antreffen kann<sup>117</sup>, das Schaf, das seinen Rücken leckt (D 25 180, vgl. 25 179), oder die flüchtig gezeichneten Schakale, die nicht von dem hieratischen Stil der Göttertiere geprägt sind<sup>118</sup>. Der Pferdekopf (D 25 026, 25 149) gehört wohl zu den thematischen Übungen. Vielleicht von religiöser Symbolik bestimmt sind Bilder eines Panthers<sup>119</sup>, einer Schildkröte<sup>120</sup> und eines Schlangenkopfes (D 25 176). Die

auf einem Bild wiedergegebenen Tiertaten (D 25 167) sind wohl eine reine Übung.

Weiterhin sollen hier Bilder einzelner Hieroglyphenzeichen (D 25 034, 25 160, 25 179, 25 210) genannt werden; ein unidentifizierbarer Vogel (D 25 016) gehört möglicherweise zu dieser Gruppe. Einmal findet sich das Bild eines Phantasietieres, das auf einem Feuersteinstück geschaffen worden ist, dessen Form dazu inspirierte, die Gestalt mit ein paar Pinselstrichen hervorzulocken<sup>121</sup>.

Abgesehen von einigen Scherben mit verschiedenen Details und Kritzeleien (z.B. D 25 015, 25 176) sowie Übungen, Kartuschen mit Königsnamen zu schreiben (D 25 185 ff.), die zahlreich vorkommen — eine Gruppe, deren ornamentaler Charakter an die Welt der Bildscherben angrenzt — sollen in diesem Zusammenhang einige Bilder hervorgehoben werden, die eigenartig sind und nicht immer deutliche Parallelen haben. Ein Ostrakon trägt den Plan eines Brettspiels (D 25 183). Es gehört zu dem üblichen Dreissigfeldertyp, der zusätzlich drei besondere runde Felder hat<sup>122</sup>, und ist auf einer 45×24 cm grossen Scherbe ausgeführt. Es handelt sich also um ein komplettes Brettspiel, das während der Arbeitspausen angewandt werden konnte, wenn man aus dem dunklen Inneren der Berge herauskam, um etwas auszuruhen.

Der Plan eines Königsgabes ist schon früher erwähnt worden. Es ist nicht die einzige Planskizze, die auf einem Ostrakon gemacht worden ist; in anderen Fundgruppen gibt es mehrere Parallelen<sup>123</sup>.

Schliesslich soll das sehr schlecht erhaltene Bild zweier Mäuse (D 25 132), deren eine vielleicht eine Frucht isst, angeführt werden. Möglicherweise gehört es zu der Gruppe von Tierbildern mit Verbindung zu der Welt der Tiergeschichte, die unten behandelt werden soll, und wäre dann der einzige Beleg für dieses Thema im Material aus dem Königsgabertal. Das Bild ist jedoch zu unklar, um eine nähere Klassifizierung zuzulassen.

### Technik

Zum Abschluss der Betrachtung von Daressys Ostraka kann es angebracht sein, die verschiedenen Techniken bei der Ausführung der Bilder zu beschreiben. Mit einigen wenigen Ausnahmen, bei denen Ton- oder Feuersteinscherben vorkommen, sind alle Bilder auf Kalksteinscherben ausgeführt, die manchmal geglättet und in regelmässige Form gebracht worden sind. In der Regel sind die Bilder mit rot oder

schwarz oder mit beiden Farben gezeichnet. Oft wendet man die rote Farbe für einen ersten Entwurf an, er danach mit schwarzen Konturlinien nachgezeichnet wird. In gewissen Fällen hat man gelbe Farbe benutzt, allein oder zusammen mit schwarz und rot, doch nur relativ selten (D 25 043, 25 055, 25 064, 5 075, 25 079, 25 111, 25 144, 25 197). Bei wenigen Beispielen ist das Bild koloriert; ausser schwarz, rot und gelb, die beim Skizzieren gebräuchlich sind, kommt hier noch grün vor (D 25 136). Die Bilder, die koloriert sind, d.h. die innerhalb der Konturlinien farbflächen aufweisen, zeigen Götter (D 25 055, 5 064, 25 130), Stiere (D 25 075, 25 079), einen Königskopf (D 25 144) und eine Privatperson (D 5 136).

Eine weitere Bearbeitung ist bei einigen Ostraka festzustellen, bei denen man die Bilder im Relief herausgearbeitet hat. Dafür gibt es sogar unfertige Beispiele (D 25 001, 25 046, 25 072, 25 130, 25 155, 5 170, 25 171), die alle Menschendarstellungen sind. Ein paarmal hat man eine Zeichnung ausgewischt, um Platz für ein neues Bild zu bekommen (D 25 032 vgl. 25 093), oder hat sie abgewaschen (D 25 042, 5 043). In einem Falle ist eine Hilfslinie für die Proportionierung angewandt worden (D 25 002).

Diese technischen Daten sind für Ostrakonmaterial aus Theben überhaupt gültig. Wenn nicht bedeutende Abweichungen auftreten, werden die technischen Angaben für das Material, das in dieser Abhandlung behandelt wird, nicht besonders beschrieben.

## Isolierte Ostrakonfunde im Tal der Könige

Daressys Ostrakonmaterial ist die einzige grössere Sammlung aus dem Tal der Könige. Nur wenige der Ostraka, die darüber hinaus verschiedene Ausgräber an diesem Ort gefunden haben, sind publiziert — viele, die über verschiedene Sammlungen verstreut sind, haben keine zufriedenstellende Dokumentierung. Hier sollen einige Beispiele von verschiedenen Funden aus dem Tal der Könige aufgenommen werden, welche jedoch kaum für Daressys Material neue Aspekte liefern.

Zwei grössere Ostraka im British Museum kommen aus einem Königsgrab<sup>122</sup>, aus welchem, ist nicht angegeben. Sie gehören zum mythologischen Typ und schliessen sich an Szenen aus den Unterweltbüchern an, die zum festen Bild- und Textprogramm der

Königsgräber gehören. Mit ihren einfachen Strichzeichnungen und hieroglyphischen Texten stehen diese Ostrakonbilder den Gräbern der 18. Dynastie nahe, z.B. dem Thutmosis' III. Diese Ostraka sind eins der wenigen Beispiele für Skizzen mit mehreren Registern, was eine Planung des Text- und Bildzusammenhanges schon im Skizzenstadium erweist. Es kann jedoch nicht ausgeschlossen werden, dass die Bilder Kopien sind.

Obwohl nur ein einziges Ostrakon gefunden wurde, als man Ende Februar 1898 das Grab Thutmosis' III. öffnete<sup>123</sup>, so ist dieses doch von Interesse. Das Bild zeigt einen Gott, der ein Szepter hält<sup>124</sup>. Er ist in schwarzer Farbe als einfache Strichzeichnung der Art, wie sie auf den Wänden dieses Grabes vorkommt, ausgeführt. Es handelt sich wahrscheinlich um eine Vorlage oder Kopie, die eine direkte Verbindung mit dem hat, was im Grabdekor mit seinem typischen linearen Stil dargestellt war. Durch den gesicherten Fundzusammenhang ist das Scherbenbild natürlich ein Ausgangspunkt für Datierungskriterien, obwohl man die Möglichkeit einer späteren Kopie offenhalten muss. Ungefähr gleichzeitig wurde auch das Grab Amenophis' II. geöffnet<sup>125</sup>. Unter einer Anzahl von Kleinfunden befanden sich jedoch keine Ostraka mit Bildern, dagegen aber einige mit Zeilen von Bildzeichen, wahrscheinlich Arbeiterlisten, die Namenszeichen von Arbeitern enthalten<sup>126</sup>.

Während Howard Carters langjähriger Untersuchungen, teilweise für Th. Davis' Rechnung, wurden im Tal der Könige mehrere Bildostraka gefunden. Ein Teil davon erscheint in Carters Berichten. Ostraka mit Zeichnungen eines Falken und einer Sonnenscheibe, einer Kartusche und eines Königs mit Szeptern gehören zu den am frühesten veröffentlichten<sup>127</sup>. In Merenptahs Grab wurde ein interessantes Ostrakon gefunden, das einen Sarkophageckel mit einer skulptierten Darstellung des Königs wiederzugeben scheint<sup>128</sup>. Es ist mit Massangaben versehen und dürfte ein Dokument vom Fortgang der Arbeit am Grabe sein, das nach der Anwendung weggeworfen wurde. Ein Bildfragment mit einem Uräufries gehört wohl ebenso wie die vorhergehenden zum Bildprogramm der Königsgräber<sup>129</sup>. Eine Darstellung Ramses' IV., der seine Feinde niederschlägt, befindet sich auch unter Carters Funden<sup>131</sup>, ein Motiv, das vor allem zur Kategorie der Tempelbilder gehört und der entsprechenden Gruppe in Daressys Material sehr nahesteht.

In einem separaten Artikel hat H. Carter ein Ostrakon mit einem Hahn publiziert, ein Bild von zoologischem Interesse, das nicht weit vom Grabe Ramses' IX. gefunden worden ist<sup>139</sup>. Eine Votivgabe an Meretseger<sup>140</sup> und ein schwer definierbares Fragment mit einem Mann<sup>141</sup> stammen ebenfalls aus denselben meistens undokumentierten Untersuchungen.

Im Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York befindet sich eine Anzahl Ostraka, die jedoch nur teilweise veröffentlicht sind<sup>142</sup>. Einige Bilder sollen aus dem Tal der Könige stammen. Es ist nicht angegeben, dass sie aus bestimmten Gräbern kommen. Das Material, zu dem sie gehören, hat eine klare Verbindung zu den Bildthematika der Königsgräber. Ramses IX. opfert ein Maat-Zeichen<sup>143</sup>, ein Priester erscheint in zeremonieller Haltung bei einer im Text wiedergegebenen Versicherung an den König, dass der Gott Duamutef ihm helfe<sup>144</sup>, im Register darüber tritt Osiris auf. Im letzten Falle sind charakteristischerweise die Namenskartuschen des Königs frei gelassen, was die Rolle der Scherbenbilder als Vorlagen bestätigen könnte.

Pharao, der mit einer Lanze einen Löwen erlegt, ist ein Bild<sup>145</sup>, das einen seltenen Typ vertritt, belegt in einem Privatgrab des 15. Jahrhunderts<sup>146</sup> und ganz klar in seiner allegorischen Symbolik. Weiter finden sich auch die charakteristischen Königsköpfe und andere Details aus den „Skizzenbüchern“<sup>147</sup>.

Eine Verbindung zu Serien von Königsdarstellungen, die sich vor allem in Daressys Material finden, zeigt ein Ostrakon im Louvre. Beide Seiten tragen eine Darstellung Ramses' VII. — einmal bringt er Weihrauch und eine Libation dar, das andere Mal nur eine Libation<sup>148</sup>. Die Herkunft der Scherbe ist unbekannt, es gibt aber starke Gründe anzunehmen, dass sie aus dem Tal der Könige kommt. Die Herausgeberin J. Vandier d'Abbadie konnte zeigen, wie die Motive mit zweien aus dem Grabe des dargestellten Königs übereinstimmen, und behauptet daher, dass die Bilder eine Übung oder eine Vorlage für die Dekorationen dieses Grabes seien. Indessen ist die Übereinstimmung nicht exakt. Die Bilder der Scherbe sind nicht dieselben wie die fertigen Resultate, sie können nicht anders denn als sehr ungefähre Vorlagen aufgefasst werden, als wirkliche Skizzen, die ein Stadium in der Arbeit bis zum endgültigen Bild repräsentieren.

## Ein Rastplatz beim Tal der Könige

Hier soll noch ein weiterer Fundplatz erwähnt werden, der zwar nicht viele Bildostraka geliefert hat, aber Licht auf die Tätigkeit der Künstler von Deir el Medineh wirft, die im Tal der Könige arbeiteten.

Von Deir el Medineh führte ein kleiner Steg durch die sterile und leblose Landschaft zum Tal der Könige. Er verlief steil aufwärts und am Fusse der Bergspitze vorbei, die die ganze Nekropole beherrschte. Es ist eine halbe Stunde Weg von Deir el Medineh zum Tal der Könige. Oft geht der Steg am Abgrunde entlang. Unten breitet sich die Landschaft aus, die Ebene, der Fluss, die grossen Tempelstädte auf der Ostufer und die Wüste, die bald das grüne Fruchtland auch nach dieser Richtung abschliesst. Trotz der Nähe ihres Dorfes sind die Arbeiter, die bei den Königsgräbern beschäftigt waren, nicht regelmässig jeden Tag nach Hause gegangen, sondern haben in einer kleinen Ansammlung von „resthouses“, die primitiv hoch oben auf dem Berge, oberhalb des Tales errichtet worden waren, übernachtet. 1935 legte E. Bruyère diese Behausungen frei und untersucht sie<sup>149</sup>.

Es ging deutlich hervor, dass es Männer von Deir el Medineh waren, die diese Häuser bewohnt hatten, welche drei Komplexe von insgesamt 70—80 sehr kleinen Häusern bilden, die aus groben Kalksteinblöcken errichtet sind und feste Bettplätze auf Mauerwerk enthalten. Mehrere Titel und Namen sind vor allem auf Steinschemeln erhalten, in die die Männer ihre Namen eingraviert haben. Das an Ort und Stelle gefundene Material, Fragmente von Stelen und Skulpturen — meist skizzenartig —, hieratische Ostraka sowie Bildostraka, weist eindeutig in die ramesidische Zeit. Möglicherweise kann die Anlage in der 19. Dynastie errichtet worden sein, aber das Fundmaterial stammt hauptsächlich aus der 20. Dynastie. In Parenthese soll erwähnt werden, dass die hier vorkommenden Personennamen nicht mit denen übereinstimmen, die in Daressys Material aus dem Tal der Könige vorliegen.

Diese Anlage ist nicht als Ganzheit geplant gewesen, sondern ist nach und nach bei wachsendem Bedarf vergrössert worden. Besonders nach Ramses III. ist die Arbeit an den Königsgräbern ja auch bedeutend intensiver, da die Reihe von Königen mit sehr kurzer Regierungszeit im 12. Jahrhundert lang ist. Eine ständige Tätigkeit war hier im Gange, die

nicht von langen Pausen unterbrochen wurde, wie s gewiss im 13. Jahrhundert der Fall war, das ja rösstenteils von der langen Regierungszeit Ramses' I. ausgefüllt war. Auch war diese Anlage nicht die einzige ihrer Art, mehrere ähnliche gibt es im Gebiet um das Tal der Könige. Ob sie ausschliesslich als Last- und Übernachtungsstationen dienten, ist nicht klar; sie können auch aus Bewachungsgesichtspunkten wichtig gewesen sein, wie N. de G. Davies angedeutet hat<sup>14</sup>. Für das religiöse Leben dieser kleinen Gruppe war gesorgt durch eine nahegelegene Kapelle, die wahrscheinlich Amun geweiht war. Ausserdem gibt es in der Gegend eine Reihe kleiner Votivaltäre, die mit diesem Gotte verbunden sind, kleine Miniaturkapellen mit Bildern und Inschriften, deren Urheber Männer von Deir el Medineh waren<sup>14</sup>.

Auf den Stelen, die die Arbeiter und Künstler für private Votivzwecke herstellten, kommen die Götter Meretseger, Chons und Ptah vor, alle typisch für diese Gruppe und Gegend. In dem kleinen Material von Bildostraka erscheinen Ptah, Seth und eine Sphinx<sup>14</sup>. Eine Skizze mit einem knienden Mann, der das Bild eines Königs und einen Widderkopf vor sich hält, könnte nach J. Vandier d'Abbadie „un projet pour une statue“ (VA 2406) sein. Die Skizze eines Königskopfes und die geschickte Zeichnung eines stehenden Königs mit Szepter<sup>14</sup> gehören zu dem Repertoire, das sich gut mit den Ostraka verbinden lässt, die unten im Tal der Könige gefunden wurden. Das letzte Bild hat eine nahe Parallele in einem von Darius' Ostraka (D 25 004), ist aber durch eine Inschrift mit Namen und Titel eines Privatmannes als in Votivbild markiert. Es muss hier wie oben eben die Möglichkeit angedeutet werden, dass auch dem König selbst im Königsgrab Kult in dieser Form abgekommen sein könnte.

Als Gesamtheit zeigt dieses Ostrakonmaterial also keine radikalen Abweichungen von der Struktur, die Darius' Sammlung aufweist; neue Motivgruppen tauchen nicht auf, sondern Variationen wohlbekannter Themata.

## Zusammenfassung

Eine kurze Zusammenfassung der Bildostrakonfunde, die im Tal der Könige gemacht wurden, legt nahe, dass die Bilder von den Künstlern und Arbeitern stammen, die mit der Anlegung der Gräber beschäftigt waren. Trotz der Vieldeutigkeit des Materials ist

seine Verbindung mit dem Dekorprogramm der Gräber offenbar. Der Bildinhalt stimmt oft mit ihrem Dekor überein, sowohl was einzelne Details wie auch ganze Szenen angeht.

Darstellungen des Königs und von Gestalten aus der Mythologie sind am häufigsten; primär gehören diese mit dem Programm der Gräber zusammen. Ihre Ikonographie ist indessen in der Regel nicht exklusiv für die Gräber. Die Bilder lassen sich oft sekundär an andere Zusammenhänge anschliessen, z.B. Tempelreliefs oder Stelen.

Einige Darstellungen von Göttern — die zum Teil nicht mit den Königsgräbern in Verbindung gebracht werden können — sind Votivbilder, oft deutlich durch Inschriften gekennzeichnet. Es handelt sich meist um isolierte Figuren, selten um ganze Szenen.

Die Szenen, die im Material als Ganzes vorkommen, können mythologischer Art sein und zu den Gräbern gehören. Eine Gruppe von Bildern, in denen der König als Hauptperson auftritt, kann indessen zur Bilderwelt der Tempel gerechnet werden und hat in der Regel keine Parallelen in den Gräbern.

Nur wenige Bilder können an das Programm der Privatgräber angeschlossen werden. Darstellungen z.B. des „Grabherrn“ sind oft auch in anderem Zusammenhang denkbar, wie auf Stelen. Genreszenen gibt es wenige und keine ausgeprägt kanonischer Art — sie können eventuell teilweise spontan geschaffene Bilder sein, die nur peripher Themata aus Gräbern reflektieren. Mythologische Szenen sind sehr spärlich repräsentiert. Einige Wiedergaben von Göttern, die in erster Linie den Königsgräbern zugeschrieben werden konnten, sind natürlich ebenfalls im Zusammenhang mit Privatgräbern denkbar.

Wenige Bilder stehen ausserhalb dieser grösseren Gruppen: Königsgrab- und Privatgrabbilder, Tempeldarstellungen und Votivgaben. Für einige wenige Beispiele können literarische Themata als Hintergrund sehr hypothetisch angenommen werden. Bei einem grossen Teil der Bilder handelt es sich offensichtlich um Skizzen, Übungen, die oft nur aus Details bestehen. In einigen wenigen Fällen lassen sich Darstellungen an Skulpturentwürfe anschliessen. Das Problem des Charakters vieler Bilder, Vorlagen oder Kopien, kann manchmal schwer zu lösen sein. Eine Haupttendenz im Material scheint jedoch auf zielbewusste Übungen gewisser kanonischer Motive zu deuten. Das Bildrepertoire ist verhältnismässig begrenzt, und ikonographische Neuerungen sind selten. Die Künstler waren stark durch das Bildprogramm

gebunden, das sie in den Königsgräbern auszuführen hatten. Sie waren jedoch nicht unbekannt mit ikonographischen Themata aus anderen als um den König, ihren Auftraggeber, zentrierten Sphären. Wahrscheinlich waren sie in religiöser Hinsicht stark von den speziellen Umständen abhängig, die ihre Arbeit in der Gräberstadt prägten; auch dies hat zum Charakter des Materials beitragen können. Dagegen scheint nur eine schwache Verbindung mit den Beschäftigun-

gen und der Bilderwelt des Privatgrabmalers zu existieren, besonders was die profan ausgerichtete Thematik dieser Gräber angeht.

Die technische Qualität der Bilder ist in der Regel sehr hoch. Eine Elitegruppe von Künstlern ist für den Hauptanteil des Materials verantwortlich. Es sind dieselben Künstler, die wir im folgenden Kapitel in Deir el Medineh treffen werden. Wie sieht ihre Tätigkeit zu Hause im Dorfe aus?



# Bildostraka aus Deir el Medineh

## Deutsche Ausgräber in Deir el Medineh

Während der Jahre 1911 und 1913 führten deutsche Archäologen eine Anzahl kleinerer Ausgrabungen in Theben aus<sup>1</sup>. Georg Möller war 1913 für eine Reihe von Versuchsgrabungen verantwortlich, die u.a. in Deir el Medineh stattfanden. Sie wurden in dem Dorf vorgenommen, das später vom französischen archäologischen Institut ausgegraben werden sollte, dem Dorfe, das der Heimatort der Schreiber, Künstler und Handwerker war, von denen das Ostrakonmaterial stammt, das G. Daressy im Tal der Könige antraf.

Nicht weit von dem wohlerhaltenen ptolemäischen Tempel, der seit langem bekannt war, begann Möller eine Probegrabungen. Er richtete sein Interesse dann teilweise auf ein Gebiet entlang einem Abschnitt von Deir el Medinehs Stadtmauer aus luftgetrockneten Ziegeln, die gegen Kurnet Murai gerichtet ist. Nach einer Notiz von Möller hat Heinrich Schäfer seine Resultate wiedergegeben:

„Vor dieser Mauer, innerhalb der Stadt, lagen zwei Kehrichthaufen, die sich auf eine Strecke von etwa 15×2 oder 3 m erstreckten, durchsetzt mit Kleinfunden, wie sie in solchen Müllhaufen gefunden zu werden pflegen, und mit beschriebenen und bemalten Scherben. Die Haufen scheinen in der Zeit der 19. bis 20. Dynastie (also etwa 1350 bis 1100 v.Chr.) entstanden zu sein. Dahin weist der Schriftcharakter der Notizen auf den Ostraka.“<sup>2</sup>

Diese Funde wurden nach Berlin gebracht. Die Grabungen wurden nicht fortgeführt, weil der erste Weltkrieg kam und deutsche Unternehmen in Ägypten unmöglich machte. Da Möller am Kriege teilnahm

und bald danach, 1921, starb, wurden die Grabungen nie als Ganzes publiziert. Eine Zusammenfassung der Resultate und eine Übersicht über die Funde legte Rudolf Anthes erst 1943 vor.

Es handelt sich um einen recht grossen geschlossenen Fund von Bildostraka, der gemacht wurde. R. Anthes gibt eine Anzahl von ungefähr 70 Stück an<sup>3</sup>. Dies entspricht auch der Anzahl, die schon 1916 in Listenform mit kurzen Kommentaren von H. Schäfer publiziert worden war<sup>4</sup>. Auf diese Weise wurde dieser Teil des Fundmaterials schnell bekannt. Schäfers Publikation schliesst ausserdem etwa zwanzig Scherben ein, die auf andere Weise in das Berliner Museum gelangt waren, Scherben, die hauptsächlich auch aus Theben stammen. Diese Bilder wurden später — 1956 — zusammen mit ähnlichem Material in anderen deutschen Sammlungen von Emma Brunner-Traut vollständig veröffentlicht<sup>5</sup>.

Die von Möller in Deir el Medineh gefundenen Bildostraka werden von Schäfer in Gruppen nach verschiedenen Motivkreisen eingeteilt. So kann man in seiner Gruppierung Bilder finden, die zeigen 1. verschiedene Tiere, die nicht als heilig gedacht sind, 2. Pflanzen, 3. Szenen aus dem Leben der Menschen, 4. Szenen aus der Tierfabel, 5. Götter und heilige Tiere, 6. den König, 7. Ausländer, 8. Architektur und 9. Schriftzeichen.

Wenn man stattdessen eine Materialeinteilung nach den Anwendungsbereichen dieser Motive, nach dem Zusammenhang, in welchen sie gewöhnlicherweise gehören, vornehmen will, wird man sehen, dass dieses Ostrakonmaterial sich seiner Art nach von dem aus dem Tal der Könige unterscheidet. Bilder mit Verbindung zu Privatgräbern und sogar skizzierte Detaildarstellungen, die zu diesen in Bezug gesetzt werden können, und Motivbilder sind bei weitem vorherr-

schend. Einige ganz neue Motivgruppen kommen vor, die an profane Malerei in Privathäusern anknüpfen oder die mit literarischen Themata wie z.B. Tiergeschichten zusammengehören, die nicht in der monumentalen Kunst belegt werden können. Bilder des Typs, der sich direkt an die Königsgräber anschließt, fehlen fast ganz, ebenso sind die Bilder, die am ehesten zu den ikonographischen Themata der Tempelreliefs gehören, kaum vertreten. Ein paar architektonische Planzeichnungen (BT 148, 149) sind rein praktischer Art. Vielleicht aus demselben Geist ist das Bild entstanden, das vermutlich den Hathor-Tempel Sethos' I. in Deir el Medineh (BT 144) darstellt, und vielleicht auch das, welches ein Kapitell wiedergibt (BT 145), obwohl diese natürlich mit dem Grabdekor in Verbindung gebracht werden könnten.

Was die Materialeinteilung nach Anwendungsbereichen angeht, so soll hervorgehoben werden, dass der Verweis eines Bildes in einen bestimmten Motivbereich nicht ausschliesslich bedeuten muss, dass dieses eine Skizze für ein Motiv, das der Künstler im Begriff auszuführen steht, sein muss, dass dieses nicht als ein Glied in einem bestimmten besonderen Projekt aufgefasst zu werden braucht. Man muss ständig die Möglichkeit beachten, dass das betreffende Bild ein Reflex eines Details aus Motivkomplexen ist, die für die Gruppe von Künstlern aktuell waren, welche das Material geschaffen haben<sup>8</sup>. Man muss sich die Bilder als Ausdruck einer lebendigen Tradition vorstellen, wo Motive manchmal nur zum Vergnügen gezeichnet werden können und manchmal zur direkten Anwendung in einem konkreten Zusammenhang bei einer bestimmten Arbeit. So wird die Tradition weitergeführt — in ungebundener Übung und in spontanem Zeichnen sowohl wie in bestimmtem Skizzieren für aktuelle Projekte; dabei können den geläufigen Motiven auch neue Elemente hinzugefügt werden. Die Deir el Medineh-Gruppe bildet ein Team, das durch die Jahrhunderte die Tradition in einem Gebiet in Theben weitergeführt, erneuert und variiert hat, dies letzte besonders markant in den eigenen Gräbern rund um das Dorf.

#### *Aus der Bilderwelt der Grabmalerei*

Verhältnismässig wenig Details aus dem umfassenden Bildprogramm der Privatgräber des Neuen Reiches tauchen in diesem Skizzenmaterial auf. In der von den deutschen Ausgräbern zusammengetragenen Sammlung aus Deir el Medineh sind nur wenige

Motive repräsentiert. In mehreren Fällen ist es ausserdem nicht möglich, diese Bilder ausschliesslich auf Privatgräber zurückzuführen — auch andere Bereiche können hier in Frage kommen.

Das Bild eines Stieres kommt mehrmals vor (BT 106, 107, 110, 112, 113, 114). In drei Fällen erscheint er zusammen mit einem Hirten, der ihn vorführt; sonst handelt es sich um Wiedergaben des Tieres allein. Das Vorführen von Stieren, entweder in Szenen alltäglicher Art oder als Opfer für den Grabherrn, ist in zahlreichen Gräbern des Neuen Reiches abgebildet<sup>7</sup>. Das Motiv kommt natürlich auch in Tempeln vor, obwohl nicht so oft wie in Gräbern. E. Brunner-Traut's Andeutung, dass man in diesen Bildern eine profane Malerei wiederfinden könnte, die zu „dem Schatz der Dekorationsbilder in den Wohnhäusern“ gehörte, ist ziemlich vage. Die Parallelen, auf die sie in Amarna<sup>10</sup> hinweist und die man auch aus dem Palast Amenophis' III. von Malkata anführen könnte, sind von einem anderen Typ, das nicht mit den hier vorliegenden Stierbildern übereinstimmt, dagegen aber mit Ostrakonbildern in anderen Sammlungen.

Die Wüstenjagden, die im 15. Jahrhundert in thebanischen Privatgräbern<sup>11</sup> dargestellt sind, haben eine Entsprechung auf einigen von Möllers Ostraka (BT 127, 129, 130). Da gibt es Antilopen, die von einem Hund gejagt werden, da gibt es Bilder von Hyänen und Hunden. Aber Jagdszenen, in denen solche Details vorkommen, sind nicht auf Privatgräber beschränkt. Sie erscheinen auch in gewissem Umfang in Tempeln, vor allem in Medinet Habu, wo die Jagden Ramses' III. geschildert sind<sup>12</sup>, aber auch schon in Zusammenhang mit Königen in der 18. Dynastie<sup>13</sup>. Es existiert auch — wie E. Brunner-Traut zeigt<sup>14</sup> — eine klare Verbindung mit Motiven des Kunsthandwerkes. Ein Ostrakon in Paris ist ein wichtiges Dokument, da es eine Skizze für den Bilddekor eines Kästchens zu sein scheint<sup>15</sup>. Man kann in diesem Zusammenhang an Darstellungen auf einer Truhe in Tutanchamuns Grab<sup>16</sup>, die Krieps- und Jagdszenen in Miniatur trägt, welche die Bilderserien der Monumentalkunst — vor allem der Tempelreliefs<sup>17</sup> — widerspiegeln, erinnern. Details wie Vögel und ein Grashüpfer, die auf zwei von Möllers Ostraka erscheinen (BT 135, 137), können auch zu dieser Gruppe in Beziehung gesetzt werden; sie gehören jedoch am ehesten in den Kreis der Jagdbilder, die in den Papyrussümpfen spielen<sup>18</sup>.

Genreszenen aus der Motivwelt der Privatgräber

ommen in einzelnen Exemplaren vor. Ein Mann steht stehend einen zweirädrigen, mit Pferden bespannten Wagen (BT 102), ein Motiv, das mehrmals in der 18. Dynastie wiederkommt<sup>20</sup>. Dieses Bild scheint keine Darstellung des Grabherrn selbst zu sein, der fein gekleidet in seinem Wagen ausfährt, stattdessen scheint es — wie mehrere Parallelen in später gefundenem Ostrakonmaterial — das Bild eines einfachen Mannes zu sein, eines Kutschers, der den Wagen vorfährt oder die Pferde bewegt. Das Thema soll unten ausführlicher behandelt werden, weshalb hier nur angedeutet werden soll, dass es wahrscheinlich gibt, diese Bilder als freie Varianten des Grundthemas zu betrachten, das der Grabherr in einem pferdebespannten Wagen bildet. Diese Ostrakonbilder brauchen nicht unbedingt an Bilder grösseren Formats in Gräbern oder, wie Brunner-Traut bemerkt hat, in der Hausmalerei<sup>21</sup>, angeschlossen zu werden. Jean Caparts Versuch, das Motiv mit einem literarischen Thema zu verbinden<sup>22</sup>, kann gemacht erscheinen; es ist zu allgemein und geläufig, dass man hier nach einem solchen Ursprung zu suchen brauchte.

Weiterhin erscheint das Bild von Arbeitern, die an der Herstellung eines grossen Gefässes beschäftigt sind (BT 51), eine Szene, die gut zu den vielen Handwerkerdarstellungen passt, die oft in Gräbern auftreten, und die eine nahe Parallele auf einem Ostrakon in Stockholm hat<sup>23</sup>.

Die Lautenspielerin, die auf einigen Bildern vorkommt (BT 59, 60), ist eine häufige Erscheinung in Gastmahlsszenen in Privatgräbern<sup>24</sup>, kommt aber auch ab und zu in Tempelreliefs vor<sup>25</sup>. Ein Fragment einer Malerei in einem Privathaus in Deir el Medineh, das eine tanzende Frau mit Flöte zeigt<sup>26</sup>, hat Brunner-Traut veranlasst, die Möglichkeit anzunehmen, dass sogar Bilder wie diese Lautenspielerin aus diesem Kreise stammen könnten<sup>27</sup>. Dies ist eine plausible Annahme, obwohl ihr Argument, dass der Typ der Darstellung nicht wahrscheinlich sei für eine Skizze für Grabmalereien, da solche Darstellungen nicht mehr in Privatgräbern zur Zeit der Entstehung dieses Bildes in der ramessidischen Epoche vorkommen, von geringem Gewicht ist, da das Phänomen der Retardierung für so gut wie das gesamte Ostrakonmaterial gilt, worauf schon Schäfer gedeutet hat<sup>28</sup>. Dieses Phänomen wird unten im Anschluss an die Prozesse von den französischen Ausgräbern in Deir el Medineh gefundene Ostrakonsammlung betrachtet werden.

Ein fragmentarisches Bild, wahrscheinlich mit Ringkämpfern (BT 53), kann eventuell an diese Gruppe angeschlossen werden, obwohl das Motiv in den Gräbern selten ist<sup>29</sup>. Parallelen gibt es auf ein paar Bildern in Stockholm<sup>30</sup>, auf denen es sich ebenso wenig wie auf diesem Berliner Bild um zeremonielle Kämpfe handelt, die eine besondere Gruppe bilden<sup>31</sup>.

Für die in ramessidischer Zeit dominierenden religiösen Themata im Grabdekor gibt es nicht viele Beispiele in diesem Ostrakonmaterial. Ein nicht ungewöhnliches Motiv in den Deir el Medineh-Gräbern ist das Bild einer Palme am Teich im Garten des Grabes<sup>32</sup>. Dies spiegelt sich vielleicht in zweien der Bilder; diese Bruchstücke (BT 139, 141) können aber auch zu ganz anderen Grabdarstellungen gehört haben, z.B. solchen von richtigen Gärten<sup>33</sup>, oder sie können eine mehr dekorative Funktion gehabt haben.

Neben den Götterbildern, die auf Votivgaben vorkommen, die ziemlich klar aus diesem Fundmaterial ausgegrenzt werden können, gibt es einige wenige Darstellungen mythologischer Gestalten, die natürlich eine Verbindung mit der Grabmalerei haben können, obwohl auch ganz andere Monumentgruppen angeführt werden können. Der Re-Pavian erscheint (BT 83), der oft in Bildern vorkommt, die sich an ein Totenbuchkapitel anschliessen und die ebenfalls also auf Papyri wiederkehren. Ein Bild — ein plummes Übungsstück — des schwebenden Horus-Falken (BT 84) oder das eines sitzenden Gottes (BT 12) können ihren Hintergrund im Repertoire der Grabmalerei haben.

Aus dem Motivschatz vor allem der Königsgräber stammen ein paar Ostraka mit Bildern von Libyern (BT 73, 74). Auf eine nahe Parallele zu dem einen hat Brunner-Traut hingewiesen: eine Darstellung im Grabe Sethos' I.<sup>34</sup>, die zum Bilderzyklus des „Pfortenbuches“ gehört. Man kann beobachten, dass die Skizze ziemlich steif ist, dass sie sich gewissermassen an ein gegebenes Vorbild anschliesst und den Charakter einer Kopie hat. Aber dies braucht keinesfalls zu bedeuten, dass genau dieses zitierte Bild eine Kopie von exakt diesem Grabbild sei. Libyer sind selten in Privatgräbern<sup>35</sup>, aber man kann sie natürlich in Tempelbildern finden, nicht zuletzt in Medinet Habu, wo der Libyer-Krieg Ramses' III. geschildert ist.

Gewisse einzelne Motive und Fragmente in Möllers Material können nicht näher bestimmt werden, was ihre Zugehörigkeit zu einer Motivgruppe angeht.

Hier sollen einige genannt werden, die von allgemeiner Art sind und zu denen gehören, die im Skizzenmaterial der Künstler von verschiedenen Plätzen legio sind und die sich sowohl an den Dekor der Privat- wie der Königsgräber anschliessen lassen: eine Lotusblume (BT 142, 143), ein stehender Mann (BT 49), Opfergaben (BT 154), ein stehender König (BT 31), ein Königskopf (BT 33), ein Männerkopf (BT 54), verschiedene Hieroglyphen (BT 157, 159, 161, 162, 163, 169—172), ein Fragment mit Tierohren (BT 132) und die Skizze für einen Brustschmuck (BT 25).

### Votivbilder

Eine Anzahl Ostraka mit Bildern von Göttern und ausserdem heiliger Schiffe kann mit mehr oder weniger Wahrscheinlichkeit als Motivbilder betrachtet werden. Es ist klar, dass diese natürlich in einigen Fällen Skizzen, die in einen anderen Zusammenhang gehören, sein könnten. Etwas, das gerade den Skizzencharakter andeutet, sind ja die Fundumstände — die Bilder scheinen von Schutthäufen zu stammen, aber wie bei der Behandlung des französischen Ostrakonmaterials deutlich werden wird, kann den Fundplätzen in Deir el Medineh kein grösseres Gewicht beigemessen werden; Ostraka der allerverschiedensten Art scheinen praktisch überall gefunden worden zu sein, in Häusern, Kapellen, Gräbern usw. Ausserdem war es Möller 1913 nicht möglich, Deir el Medinehs interne Topographie zu klären. In ihrer Art stimmen jedoch die Bilder, die hier angeführt werden sollen, im grossen und ganzen mit solchen aus anderen Funden überein, die ziemlich eindeutig als Votive identifiziert werden können. Ausserdem kann man weiterhin ohne Zweifel mit dem Vorkommen von Götterbildern — und warum dann nicht auch auf Ostraka — in Privathäusern rechnen, in denen natürlich auch die Götter verehrt wurden; wir kennen ja gut die Hausaltäre aus Amarna.

Amun-Re treffen wir unter diesen Bildern an. Er kommt in Menschengestalt (BT 1) mit einem anbetenden Mann vor sich vor. Wahrscheinlich ist es auch Amun-Re, der als Widder auf einem fragmentarischen Ostrakon erscheint (BT 4).

Zu den grossen Festen in Theben gehörten Prozessionen mit Amun-Res heiliger Barke. Diese Barken, von denen wir annehmen dürfen, dass verschiedene Tempel ihre Exemplare hatten — sogar Totentempel wie z.B. der Sethos' I. oder Ramses' III. haben ihre

Barkenkapellen<sup>22</sup> — sind von der Bevölkerung in Theben verehrt worden. Auf drei Ostraka ist Amun-Res heilige Prozessionsbarke abgebildet<sup>23</sup>. Es ist Brunner-Traut's Ansicht, dass diese Bilder eine Votivfunktion hatten: „sind doch schliesslich die Schiffe dem Volke vertrauter geworden als der Gott selbst, so dass sich das Kultgerät weitgehend an seine Stelle geschoben hat“<sup>24</sup>. Gegen dieses letzte Argument kann jedoch das Faktum gestellt werden, dass die Bilder der thebanischen Götter in eigener Person im Ostrakonmaterial sonst nicht von irgendwelcher Sache diese darzustellen, zeugen. Es ist nicht möglich, die Barkenbilder eindeutig als Votivbilder zu interpretieren. Man muss bedenken, dass diese Barken in den Darstellungen der Tempel und Gräber häufig sind. Auch kleinere Monumente wie Stelen sind häufig aktuell<sup>25</sup>.

Zwei Bilder stellen einen König in einer Sänfte dar (BT 28, 29), ein Thema, das in Tempeln, Gräbern oder auf Stelen nicht ungewöhnlich ist<sup>26</sup>. Es ist nicht unwahrscheinlich, dass diese Darstellungen Könige Amenophis I. wiedergeben, der ja in Deir el Medineh besondere Beliebtheit genoss und dessen Bild bei bestimmten Gelegenheiten in Prozession herumgeführt wurde. Eine ausgezeichnete Parallele und eine schöne Darstellung einer solchen Prozession findet sich z.B. in Chabechenets Grab in Deir el Medineh<sup>27</sup>. Die etwas freiere Zeichnung, die intimere Wiedergabe der Ostrakonbilder hat gewiss — wie Brunner-Traut aufgeführt — mit dem Charakter des Ostrakons als einer mehr inoffiziellen Bildmöglichkeit zu tun. Diese beiden Bilder sollten vielleicht in erster Linie als Amenophis I. geweihte Votive betrachtet werden, aber dies schliesst keineswegs andere Klassifizierungsmöglichkeiten aus; das Thema ist zu allgemein, um eine eindeutige Interpretation zuzulassen.

Ein auch historisch äusserst interessantes Ostrakon zeigt den vergöttlichten Privatmann Amenophis, Sohn des Hapu (BT 41), den Beamten der 18. Dynastie, der einen besonderen Kult genoss. Erst spät ist dieses Bild identifiziert worden, früher wurde es anders gedeutet<sup>28</sup>. Brunner-Traut's Identifizierung und Klassifizierung als Votivbild ist aber nicht unwahrscheinlich, wobei man jedoch bedenken muss, dass es sich um eine vorläufige Skizze handeln kann. Das Motiv, der Typus des sitzenden Mannes, ist in einem thebanischen Privatgrab belegt<sup>29</sup> — nach Brunner-Traut ist das Ostrakonbild eine freie Wiederholung des Grabbildes. Eher könnte man jedoch von der Möglichkeit einer vorhandenen festen ikonographischen

hen Tradition sprechen. Ein weiteres Ostrakon (BT 1) mit einem Schreiber und einem Pavian könnte eventuell denselben Amenophis wiedergeben, was nicht entschieden werden kann, aber erwägenswert — die Verbindung Schreiber und Pavian im Bild scheint übrigens auch in der Plastik der 18. Dynastie<sup>60</sup>.

Unter den Göttern kommt auch die populäre Hlangengöttin Meretseger vor (BT 88). Sonst sollen einige Dokumente erwähnt werden, die peripher zur Gruppe der Votive gezählt werden können. Ein Fragment zeigt einen Mann mit Opfergaben vor einem Tisch (BT 45). Es ist ein Bruchstück einer Szene, die sich wiederholt unter Votivgaben findet — einem Gotte oder Gestorbenen wird geopfert — der natürlich auch anders klassifiziert werden kann.

Das Bild eines knienden betenden Mannes, eines eigentlich genannten Wesirs, betrachtet Brunner-Traut als Votivgabe (BT 43). Ähnliche Bilder gibt es in Daressys Material. Es ist nicht schwer, sich die Votivfunktion vorzustellen: das Bild ist eine gegebene göttliche Gebärde, die magisch eine Handlung der abgebildeten Person ist, im Bild festgehalten und bewirkt. Aber eine Frage von Interesse ist, inwieweit man sich den hohen Beamten, den Wesir, der dem König am nächsten stand, als Mittler zwischen Mensch und Gott denken könnte, genau auf die Weise, wie der König oft diese Rolle innehat<sup>61</sup>.

#### *Bilder aus den Tempeln*

Von ganz besonderem Interesse ist ein Ostrakon, das ein einzigartiges Tempelbild wiedergibt. Es ist die Darstellung der sogenannten Punt-Fürstin, die in Hatschepsuts Tempel in Deir el Bahri erscheint<sup>62</sup>. Dieses Detail aus einem grossen Bildzusammenhang ist auf einer Kalksteinscherbe kopiert worden (BT 6). Wahrscheinlich hat der Künstler seine Kopie aus dem Gedächtnis angefertigt. Dies ist ein Beispiel für Kopieren, das eine Möglichkeit beleuchtet, wie man die Ostrakonbilder nuancierter betrachten könnte. Im Kontext des grossenteils klar in die ramessidische Zeit datierten Materials aus Möllers Grabung zeigt diese Kopie eines Reliefs, das zum Zeitpunkt der Kopierung vielleicht 300 Jahre alt war, die Möglichkeit für ein zurückblickendes Bildrepertoire, das vorkommen konnte. Was diese Künstler auf ihren Wanderungen in der thebanischen Nekropole sahen, haben sie sicher oft auf Scherben festgehalten. In

diesem Falle können wir das genaue Vorbild finden, weil es so einzigartig ist; in anderen Fällen, wenn es sich um oft wiederkehrende ikonographische Motive handelt, ist das schwieriger.

Ein anderes Ostrakon zeigt ein Bild Ramses' II. in einer zeremoniellen Szene (BT 27). Der König tritt mit den Symbolen des Sed-Festes auf. Hierzu gibt es eine klare Parallele in einer Tempeldarstellung der Zeit Sethos' I. in Karnak<sup>63</sup>. Brunner-Traut versucht eine Datierung dieses Ostrakons in die Zeit Ramses' II. aufgrund des Namens, der in dem Brustschmuck, den der König trägt, vorkommt, ist jedoch nicht sicher. Hier kann es sich natürlich, wie im vorigen Falle, um eine spätere Kopie eines bekannten Bildes handeln.

#### *Profane Malerei*

Eine Gruppe von Bildern, die eine Sonderstellung innerhalb des Ostrakonmaterials einnehmen, sind die, welche als Motiv eine stillende Frau zusammen mit aufwartenden Personen oder auch mehr oder weniger freie Variationen dieses Themas haben. Dies ist ein Motiv, das E. Brunner-Traut als Aufenthalt der Frau in der sogenannten Wochenlaube identifiziert hat, in der zeitweiligen Behausung, die die Frau bei der Geburt eines Kindes und während der Reinigung danach einnahm<sup>64</sup>. Mehrere Scherben in Möllers Material tragen dieses Motiv (BT 65—69). Sie sind oft in diesem wie auch in anderen Funden farbig bemalt, also nicht nur gezeichnet.

Es ist klar, dass das Motiv mit Malereien in grösserem Format zu tun hat, die im Dorf Deir el Medineh vorgekommen sind. B. Bruyère hat schon 1923 ein Fragment einer Wandmalerei aus einem Hause in Deir el Medineh publiziert, das, rekonstruiert wie es von ihm ist, mit diesen Wochenlaubebildern übereinstimmt<sup>65</sup>. Bruyères Ansicht, dass die Darstellung religiösen Charakters sei, dass es sich also um eine stillende Göttin handle, hatte zur Folge, dass er auch das Haus, in dem dieses Bild gefunden worden war, als eine Art Heiligtum bestimmte. Es gibt keine anderen Indizien für eine solche Anwendung des Hauses. Das Bild muss wohl im Zusammenhang mit anderen Wandmalereien aus Häusern in Deir el Medineh gesehen werden, in denen auch Götter abgebildet werden konnten wie z.B. Bes<sup>66</sup>, ohne dass man sie deshalb als Heiligtümer betrachten müsste.

E. Brunner-Traut und J. Vandier-d'Abbadie<sup>67</sup> treten für eine profane Deutung der Szene ein. Dies

scheint am glaubwürdigsten zu sein, obwohl berücksichtigt werden muss, dass die religiöse Ikonographie keine scharf umrissenen Grenzen gegenüber profanen Darstellungen hat oder zu haben angenommen werden kann<sup>11</sup>. Gerade bei diesem Motiv dürften teils Isis-Horus-Darstellungen und teils traditionelle Wiedergaben der göttlichen Geburt des Königs<sup>12</sup> inhaltlich eine gewisse Rolle gespielt haben.

Brunner-Traut nimmt nicht klar Stellung dazu, inwieweit diese Ostrakonbilder Votivgaben an eine Fruchtbarkeitsgöttin oder Skizzen für grössere Darstellungen sind<sup>13</sup>. Dies ist richtig, da es sehr schwierig ist, eine bestimmte Feststellung zu treffen. Wie früher oben geschehen ist, kann man auf die Fundumstände hinweisen, die ja nicht auf das Vorhandensein eines Kultplatzes oder einer Kapelle deuten. Dies ist jedoch keine grössere Hilfe, teils weil die Bilder aus Qualitätsgründen oder anderen Anlässen ganz einfach nie zur Anwendung gekommen sein könnten und teils weil die Fundumstände nicht klar dokumentiert sind.

Das Bild mit einer Lautenspielerin, das oben in der Gruppe der Szenen mit Verbindung zur Grabmalerei genannt worden ist, kann natürlich auch hier angeschlossen werden. Sogar als selbständiges Motiv in der Hausmalerei von Deir el Medineh kann man es sich denken. Als Parallele gibt es ein Fragment einer Wandmalerei mit einer tanzenden Flötenspielerin<sup>14</sup>.

Obwohl eine endgültige Klassifizierung schwer ist, soll hier ein Motiv erwähnt werden, das innerhalb des Rahmens einer hypothetischen profanen Malerei liegt. Ob dieses Motiv jemals in grossem Format ausgeführt worden ist, kann nicht gesagt werden, aber unzählige Ostraka in verschiedenen Sammlungen zeugen von seiner Popularität. Es handelt sich um Darstellungen von Affen in Palmen. In Möllers Material gibt es ein Ostrakon, das zwei Affen zeigt, die dabei sind, auf eine Palme zu klettern (BT 122). Mehrere Parallelen verdeutlichen dieses Bild<sup>15</sup>. Dresierte Affen, die oft angebunden sind, wurden bei der Ernte von meist Dumpalmnüssen, aber auch von den Früchten der Dattelpalme verwandt. Gewiss können diese Bilder lose mit Details in grösseren Reliefzyklen im Tempeldekoration verbunden werden, wie J. Vandier-d'Abbadie gezeigt hat<sup>16</sup>. Die Vielfalt der Ostrakonbilder deutet aber auf ein Eigenleben dieses Motivs in Deir el Medineh. Es ist klar, dass die hypothetische Möglichkeit besteht, diese Bilder mit einer profanen Malerei zu verknüpfen. Sogar innerhalb des Kunsthandwerks gibt es Anknüpfungspunk-

te. So hat Brunner-Traut die Existenz des Motivs in der Kleinkunst angedeutet, aber auch auf die Möglichkeit seines Vorkommens im Rahmen der Wandbemalung in Wohnhäusern hingewiesen<sup>17</sup>. Darüber hinaus muss auch die Möglichkeit offengehalten werden, dass man es nicht notwendig mit bestimmte Zweckbereichen zu verbinden braucht.

### *Literarische Motive*

Zwei Bilder im Material der deutschen Ausgräber haben eine klare Verbindung zu literarischen Themen. Es ist Brunner-Trauts Verdienst, dass ein ganzes Komplex von Bildern — nicht nur auf Ostraka, sondern auch auf Papyrus — um bestimmte Themen gruppiert werden konnten, die auch in literarischen Form in Texten verschiedener orientalischer Literaturen vorhanden sind. Sie hat das Material zur Tiergeschichte<sup>18</sup> herausgearbeitet und auf diese Weise eine früher völlig unbekannte Gattung ägyptischer Kunst und Literatur zugänglich gemacht.

Eins der Motive, das wiederholt in dieser Welt der Tiere vorkommt, sind Szenen aus einem Zyklus, den den Krieg der Katzen gegen die Mäuse behandelt. Aus diesem Zyklus hat ein Fragment in dem deutschen Material sein Motiv geholt: eine Maus, die auf einem Streitwagen steht (BT 97—98), ein Detail einer grösseren Szene. Dieses Motiv und der Problemkomplex um diese Tierbilder sollen unten behandelt werden. Es soll aber hier schon erwähnt werden, dass es neben Brunner-Trauts Deutung dieser Ostrakonbilder als selbständiger Kunstwerke oder Vorlage für Papyrusillustrationen auch möglich ist — was Brunner-Traut bekannt ist — sich diese hypothetisch in grösserem Format als Wandmalereien in mehr oder weniger profanem Zusammenhang vorzustellen<sup>19</sup>.

Ein Bild, das schwierig zu klassifizieren ist, kann parenthetisch hier angeführt werden. Es ist die Darstellung eines Affen, der zusammen mit einem Mann einen Opfertisch deckt (BT 121). Es ist möglich, dass im Prinzip eine Verbindung mit Wochenlaubebildern existieren könnte, wo auch zahme Affen als Aufwartende erscheinen können<sup>20</sup>. Offenbar ist das Bild keine zufällige Komposition, da es ikonographische Parallelen auf anderen Ostraka gibt<sup>21</sup>; sie gehören zu einer Anzahl von Bildern, die Gegenstand besonderer Übung waren. Möglicherweise kam dieses der Tiergeschichte-Gruppe zugezählt werden

von manchmal Tiere zusammen mit Menschen auftretend.

Ein anderes Bild mit klarem literarischem Bezug (BT 92) hat sein Motiv aus einer mythischen Erzählung, die von einem demotischen Papyrus bekannt ist, geholt, nämlich dem Mythos vom Sonnenauge<sup>55</sup>. Dieses Ostrakon ist der früheste Beleg für diesen Mythos, der auch auf Tempelwänden illustriert worden ist, aber in bedeutend späterer Zeit als das Neue Reich<sup>56</sup>. Ebenfalls in diesem Falle ist es unklar, welche Funktion das Ostrakonbild gehabt hat. Ist es ein selbständiges Werk, ist es eine Vorlage für ein Tempelbild, eine Papyrusillumination usw., oder gibt es noch andere Deutungsmöglichkeiten? Was Bilder auf Papyrus angeht, so gibt es ja vielfältige Möglichkeiten, Verbindungen zwischen Motiven in diesen und solchen auf Ostraka zu sehen. Wir wissen nicht viel vom Hintergrund der Papyrusilluminationen, über den Arbeitsprozess mit eventuellen Vorlagen und spezielle Traditionen, auch nicht viel über die, welche diese Illustrationen ausführten. Die Produktion ist ihre Stätte innerhalb der Tempel gehabt. Es gibt keine Gründe, die anzunehmen zwingen, dass die Bewohner von Deir el Medineh mit Aufträgen in diesem speziellen Kunstzweig beschäftigt gewesen wären. Indessen ist leicht festzustellen, dass die ikonographischen Themata der Papyrusilluminationen — und das gilt vor allem für das am häufigsten vorkommende Werk, nämlich das Totenbuch — nicht scharf von z.B. Grabdekor abgegrenzt sind, in dem, was zuletzt in den Gräbern von Deir el Medineh der ramessidischen Zeit, dieselben Motive oft wiederkehren. Selbstverständlich hatten die Künstler von Deir el Medineh Papyrus zur Verfügung, und ohne Zweifel ist eine gewisse künstlerische Tätigkeit mit diesem Material als Medium ausgeübt worden. Es ist denkbar und glaublich, dass wenigstens eine der Papyrusrollen mit Bildern zur Tiergeschichte<sup>57</sup> aus Deir el Medineh stammt; eine sichere Herkunft ist für keine der drei bekannt. Aber diese informellen Handschriften unterscheiden sich beträchtlich von den anderen illuminierten Manuskripten mit religiöser Thematik, die erhalten sind. Diese letzte Art von Illuminationen ist es, die wahrscheinlich nicht in Deir el Medineh produziert wurde.

Ein Ostrakon mit der Wiedergabe eines Krokodils (T 136), das Brunner-Traut versuchsweise auf Papyrusilluminationen zurückführt, da Ähnlichkeit mit Krokodildarstellungen im Totenbuch besteht, kann zwar wohl im Anschluss an diese gesehen werden und

damit auch an Grabdekor. Aber gleichzeitig gibt es die Möglichkeit, dass dies ein Krokodil ist, das mit den profanen Bildern des Grabdekors in Verbindung gebracht werden kann<sup>58</sup>. Es kann auch ein Motivbild sein — an den Gott Sobek — oder überhaupt keine direkte Beziehung zu einem bestimmten Zusammenhang haben, nur die Darstellung eines Krokodils zum Vergnügen gemacht. Ein solches Bild liefert ein Beispiel für den wirklich ambivalenten Charakter des Materials. Oft ist eine eindeutige Definition überhaupt nicht möglich.

## Französische Archäologen in Deir el Medineh

Den deutschen Ausgrabungen in Deir el Medineh waren kleinere italienische vorausgegangen<sup>59</sup>, die dem ägyptischen Museum in Turin eine reiche Sammlung von Gegenständen aus dem Dorfe zuführten, eine Kollektion, die erst in unseren Tagen ihre wissenschaftliche Bearbeitung erfährt. Auch in Turin befindet sich eine Sammlung von Bildostraka, die jedoch nicht publiziert ist. Anna Donadoni-Roveri wird in kurzem eine Veröffentlichung vorlegen<sup>60</sup>.

Indessen führten französische Archäologen während einer langen Reihe von Jahren vor allem unter Leitung von B. Bruyère die vollständigsten Untersuchungen durch, die von einer ägyptischen Siedlung vorliegen. Noch sind die Endergebnisse nicht präsentiert, noch sind wesentliche Teile des archäologischen Materials zu bearbeiten und zu publizieren, aber Bruyères „Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh“ gibt in vielen vom französischen archäologischen Institut in Kairo herausgegebenen Bänden das Wesentliche<sup>61</sup>. Seit 1969 hat dieses Institut eine neue Aktivität, das Deir el Medineh-Material betreffend, begonnen, weshalb noch einiges zu erwarten ist<sup>62</sup>.

Schon während der letzten Jahre des ersten Weltkrieges begann das französische archäologische Institut seine Arbeit in Deir el Medineh<sup>63</sup>. Die Reste der Wohnsiedlung, die sich mitten in der thebanischen Nekropole fanden, in der sonst keine grössere Besiedlung existiert<sup>64</sup>, hatte man erst für später gehalten, errichtet im Anschluss an den Tempel ptolemäischer Zeit, der einen beherrschenden Platz in der Gegend einnimmt. Doch man wurde sich bald darüber klar, dass dieses der Ort war, an dem die Schreiber, Künstler und Handwerker — unter denen sich vornehmeres und einfacheres Verwaltungspersonal

befand — mit ihren Familien gewohnt hatten, die mit der Anlegung der grossen Königsgräber im Biban el Molouk<sup>73</sup> beschäftigt waren. Ihr Tätigkeitsbereich und ihre Produktion konnten nicht ganz klar abgegrenzt werden. Es scheint jedoch keine grösseren Aufträge für sie neben der Arbeit an diesen königlichen Grabanlagen und auch denen im Tal der Königinnen gegeben zu haben. Ihre Tätigkeit umfasst hauptsächlich Ausschachtungen für die Gräber und deren innere gezeichnete, bemalte und manchmal reliefierte Ausschmückung. Nur in sehr geringem Ausmass hat man Spuren von Bildhauerlehrtätigkeit gefunden, obwohl eine solche bei den Königsgräbern, die oft reliefierte Darstellungen aufweisen, nötig war und obwohl zahlreiche Privatskulpturen und Reliefs für den eigenen Gebrauch dieser Leute existieren. Sie bilden eine geschlossene Gruppe vom König privilegierter Handwerker und Künstler, die kaum Aufträge für z.B. die grossen Tempel gehabt haben können, die eine Aufgabe für im Prinzip eine ganz andere Verwaltung in Theben bildeten. Wir wissen, dass diese Bewohner von Deir el Medineh für sich selbst Gräber in den Bergen um ihr Dorf angelegt haben, Gräber, die eine eigenständige Gruppe in der thebanischen Nekropole ramessidischer Zeit bilden, von einem Stil geprägt, der von dem anderer Grabgruppen deutlich abweicht. In welchem Masse sie Aufträge hatten, andere Privatgräber auszuführen, ist schwer zu entscheiden. Es ist nicht undenkbar, dass sie weiter eine Verbindung mit Steinbrucharbeiten hatten und möglicherweise mit den Granitbrüchen in Assuan. Die klare Definition der Aufträge und Tätigkeiten dieser Gruppe wird in kurzem leichter werden, wenn J. Černýs nachgelassene Arbeiten publiziert sind<sup>74</sup>. Nicht zuletzt wichtig in dieser Hinsicht sind Untersuchungen der Karriere einzelner Individuen; die Dokumente erlauben uns oft, gewisse Familien durch Generationen zu verfolgen und ihre Entwicklung und die verschiedenen Beschäftigungen zu sehen. Die Bearbeitung von unzähligen verschiedenen Dokumenten, Urkunden wie Verwaltungsberichten, Rechnungen, Briefen, Inventaren, Quittungen usw., die sich vor allem auf hieratischen Ostraka befinden, steht noch aus.

Der Gründer der Siedlung ist Thutmosis I. — obwohl vielleicht die Gruppe schon von Amenophis I. organisiert wurde. Aus der Zeit Thutmosis' I. stammt die Kernpartie des Dorfes. Mit der Zeit weitete es sich bedeutend aus<sup>75</sup>. Der Hauptanteil der Funde kommt aus der 19. und 20. Dynastie; da erst ist das

Dorf gewachsen und gross geworden, da hat es seine Blütezeit. Danach kam das Ende plötzlich. Mit der verschlechterten ökonomischen Lage, mit den Marionettenkönigen, die die letzten Ramessiden der 20. Dynastie sind, und mit der rein äusseren Unsicherheit in Theben zu der Zeit mit wiederholten Barbareneinfällen war der Tätigkeit der Gruppe die Grundlage entzogen. Mit den Priesterkönigen der 21. Dynastie verschwinden die Bewohner von Deir el Medineh, das Dorf wird verlassen, und die Häuser verfallen.

### *Religiöses Leben — Kultstellen und Götter*

Zu Deir el Medinehs Eigenart gehört, dass wir uns das religiöse Leben der Bewohner ziemlich eingehen auf eine Weise, die sonst nicht gewöhnlich ist, vorstellen können. Unzählige private Dokumente und Monumente zeugen von der Begegnung des Einzelnen mit der Welt der Götter<sup>76</sup>. In der Gegend gibt es mehrere kleine Kultstellen eines Typs, der unsere Kenntnis nach einzigartig ist. Vieles deutet darauf, dass es in der Gruppe mehrere religiöse Verbände gab, die ihre Treffpunkte in kleinen, Göttern oder verstorbenen Königen geheiligten Kapellen hatten, welche beide in der Regel eine feste Verbindung zu der thebanischen Nekropole hatten; auch konnten die Kapellen den grossen Göttern des Landes, die hier in lokalen Formen auftreten, oft in Tiergestalt gewidmet sein<sup>77</sup>.

Ausserhalb der Dorfmauer, grossenteils um den Platz des späteren ptolemäischen Tempels zentriert, lag eine Anzahl Heiligtümer, die mit Sitzen für Besucher versehen waren. Hier hat man viele religiöse Denkmäler wie Stelen, Statuetten und Opfertische gefunden<sup>78</sup>. Eine Laienpriesterschaft ist tätig gewesen. Die Einwohner von Deir el Medineh tragen oft Priestertitel neben ihren Handwerkertiteln. Sie sind ihre eigenen kultischen Offizianten<sup>79</sup>. Hier ist der Platz für sowohl tägliche wie festtägliche Zeremonien. Die Kapellen können Ausgangspunkte für Prozessionen mit heiligen Bildern sein, die wir aus dem religiösen Leben der Gruppe kennen. Die Kapellen können aus grob zugehauenen Stein oder luftgetrockneten Ziegeln gebaut sein. Oft ist es schwierig, sie einer bestimmten Gottheit zuzuweisen. Auch innerhalb des Dorfes, in Privathäusern konnten Kultstellen ihren Platz haben<sup>80</sup> und ebenfalls in der Nekropole um das Dorf herum. In der Nähe des Tales, in dem die Siedlung liegt, gab es ausserdem ein grosses Kultzentrum auf dem Wege zum Tal der Königinnen



las nach kleineren italienischen Untersuchungen von B. Bruyère freigelegt wurde<sup>90</sup>.

Ein Durchgang des Materials, das vor allem im Anschluss an diese Kultplätze gefunden worden ist, ergibt folgende Götterliste: die thebanische Triade Amun, Mut und Chons; Min, eng mit Amun verbunden; Ptah von Memphis, der als Gast in Theben im Neuen Reich zu erscheinen beginnt und der ausserdem besonders mit Handwerkern und Künstlern verbunden ist<sup>91</sup>; Thoth<sup>92</sup>, der Gott der Schreiber — zahlreiche Fragmente literarischer Texte zeigen, dass es eine gebildete Schicht und Schultätigkeit in der Gruppe gab; der Krokodilgott Sobek; die Triade von Elephantine, Chnum, Satis und Anukis, vielleicht mit besonderer Beziehung aufgrund vermuteter Verbindungen mit den Steinbrüchen in Assuan<sup>93</sup>. Weiterhin treten mit der thebanischen Gräberstadt so intim verbundene Göttinnen wie die Kuhgöttin Hathor und damit auch Isis, die Schlangengöttin Meretseger<sup>94</sup> und auch Renenutet<sup>95</sup> auf. Nicht zuletzt in den Privathäusern erscheinen der populäre Bes, der Zwergengott, der sowohl in Fresken wie auf Erzeugnissen des Kunsthandwerkes abgebildet ist, und die im Heim und für Frauen bedeutungsvolle Nilpferdgöttin Thoeris. Unter den königlichen Personen spielen Amenophis I. und seine Mutter Ahmes-Nefertere eine besondere Rolle als Beschützer der Gemeinschaft<sup>96</sup>. Andere Könige, die hier speziell verehrt wurden, waren Thutmosis III.<sup>97</sup> und Sethos I. In dem Kultzentrum, das auf dem Wege zum Tal der Königinnen liegt, genossen vor allem Ptah und Meretseger einen Kult.

#### *Der Dekor der Kultkapellen*

Die Kultkapellen sind im Rahmen dieser Abhandlung von speziellem Interesse, da sie mit Wandmalereien ausgeschmückt waren. Mehrere Fragmente davon sind erhalten, leider oft nur Bruchstücke, die eine Bestimmung von ganzen Szenen oder Figurengruppen nicht zulassen. Hauptsächlich handelt es sich um Bilder von Göttern oder königlichen Personen<sup>98</sup>. In einigen Fällen ist es nicht möglich, zwischen z.B. Göttern und Königen oder Göttinnen und Königinnen zu unterscheiden, da in der Regel nur die untere Partie der Bildregister erhalten ist<sup>99</sup>. Ausser diesen Gestalten kommen vereinzelt Menschen vor<sup>100</sup> — vielleicht Opferträger —, geschmückte Opferstiere<sup>91</sup>, Inchriften<sup>92</sup> und dekorative Elemente<sup>93</sup>.

So gibt es hier also Belege für eine Wandmalerei

in verhältnismässig grossem Format, die eine eigene Entwicklung und Sonderart gehabt haben kann. In den wenigen erhaltenen Fragmenten kann man jedoch keinen bemerkenswerten Unterschied zwischen dieser Gattung und der geläufigen Grabmalerei religiösen Inhalts feststellen, weder was den Stil noch was den Inhalt angeht<sup>94</sup>. Sie ist von der geläufigen Konvention geprägt.

#### *Hausmalerei*

Ein weiterer Umstand, der Deir el Medineh für das Studium der Ostrakonbilder, die von seinen Einwohnern ausgeführt worden sind, interessant macht, ist, dass man in diesem Dorf Reste von Wandmalereien in profanem Zusammenhang gefunden hat. In den Wohnhäusern hat man Fragmente gemalter Darstellungen *in situ* angetroffen, Reste eines Dekors, in dem Bildelemente Wandfelder beherrscht haben, die oft durch Ornamente voneinander abgegrenzt sind<sup>95</sup>. Die wenigen erhaltenen Bilder zeigen keine direkte Einheitlichkeit, und es ist schwer, ganze Bildzusammenhänge zu rekonstruieren — meist sind nur isolierte Figuren erhalten. Es verdient, darauf hingewiesen zu werden, dass es sich um einen einzigartigen Fall handelt, dass hier Reste einer Malerei aus profanem Milieu bewahrt sind. Dazu gibt es aus dem Neuen Reich fast ohne Ausnahme<sup>96</sup> nur eine Entsprechung in den Bildern, die wir in unbedeutenden Bruchstücken aus Palästen und Privathäusern in Amarna und aus Palästen in Theben kennen<sup>97</sup>, wo jedoch der Zweck des Dekors, was die Paläste betrifft, ganz anders gewesen sein dürfte, da er besonderen repräsentativen und zeremoniellen Funktionen diente, oft mit magischer Betonung und mit speziellem Inhalt. Neben den gemalten Darstellungen in Deir el Medineh existiert auch Reliefdekor in den Privathäusern; es handelt sich um Türpfosten und Türstürze, die jedoch in diesem Kontext nicht von grösserem Interesse sind, da sie so gut wie ganz identisch sind mit gewissen Darstellungen in funereärem Zusammenhang<sup>98</sup>. Daraus könnte man natürlich schliessen, dass auch die Darstellungen auf den Wänden eine religiöse Prägung haben konnten.

Die Szenen, die man in den Häusern von Deir el Medineh angetroffen hat, sind die folgenden: einige scheinen Szenen aus dem intimen Leben der Frau wiederzugeben, z.B. eine Frau bei der Toilette<sup>99</sup>, eine stillende Frau<sup>100</sup>; eine nackte Flötenspielerin<sup>101</sup> ist ebenso wie ein Mann neben dem Gotte Bes<sup>102</sup> tanzend

dargestellt — hier kann natürlich eine religiöse Implikation vorhanden sein. Auch einen religiösen Anklang enthält vielleicht das Bild einer Person in einem Papyrusnachen<sup>109</sup>. Der Zwergengott Bes ist mehrmals abgebildet<sup>104</sup>. Sein charakteristischer Kopf kommt auch in Stuckarbeiten vor<sup>105</sup>. Mehr graffitoartig ist eine Darstellung einer Anzahl Männer und eines stehenden Königs, vielleicht Amenophis' I.<sup>106</sup>, aber die Wiedergabe mit klarer symmetrischer Einteilung in verschiedene Wandfelder zeigt einen bewussten Kompositionswillen; es handelt sich nicht um einen unüberlegten Einfall.

Im ganzen betrachtet zeigen diese Bilder eine starke Verbindung zur religiösen Welt. Es ist möglich, einige der profanen Szenen wie z.B. die stillende Frau — das einzige Motiv, das auf die Hausmalerei beschränkt ist, falls es nun keine göttliche Frau ist — als in erster Linie religiöse Darstellungen zu deuten, was Bruyère getan hat<sup>107</sup>, obwohl nicht unwidersprochen<sup>108</sup>. Die Bilder sind keine isolierte Gruppe, die klar gegen die Grabmalerei oder die Bilder der Kultkapellen abgegrenzt ist. Diese Malereien in den Privathäusern sind so stark religiös und mythologisch gebunden, dass man wie bei dem oben genannten Reliefdekor der Privathäuser keinen nennenswerten Unterschied zwischen diesem Bildprogramm und dem der Grabmalerei sehen kann. Ebenso dürften die Darstellungen in den Kultkapellen keine grösseren Abweichungen aufweisen. Für die Bewohner von Deir el Medineh ist im grossen und ganzen derselbe Komplex von Bildern in Gräbern, Kapellen und Privathäusern verwandt worden — ein greifbarer Unterschied zwischen Profanem und Religiösem ist schwer in den Monumenten dieser Gruppe festzustellen.

Die Bilder in den Privathäusern von Deir el Medineh haben fast keine Entsprechung im archäologischen Material von anderen Orten in Ägypten. Der Platz, an dem auch Privatwohnungen, die mit gemaltem Dekor ausgestattet waren, untersucht werden konnten, ist Amarna<sup>109</sup>. Im Dekor dort fehlen Bild Darstellungen so gut wie ganz. Er ist ornamental und besteht oft aus naturalistischen Blumen- und Pflanzengirlanden oder auch aus geometrischen Mustern. Nur in einigen wenigen Fällen hat man Bilddarstellungen angetroffen, aber so angebracht, dass sie nicht auf dieselbe Weise wie anderer Dekor hier oder in Deir el Medineh zur Raumausschmückung gehörten, sondern nur Randerscheinungen sind — es handelt sich um kleine isolierte Kultstellen mit in Nischen gemalten Darstellungen der Königsfamilie und des

Gottes Aton<sup>110</sup>. Dagegen trugen ja die Paläste in Amarna wie in Theben einen überwältigenden Bilddekor.

Es ist nicht unwahrscheinlich, dass die Werke der Bewohner von Deir el Medineh eine Sonderstellung in der ägyptischen Kunst einnehmen, die nicht nur in ihrer gut erhaltenen und vor allem von den Franzosen dokumentierten Grabmalerei hervortritt, sondern auch in den Fragmenten, die in ihrem Dorf zum Vorschein gekommen sind und die zeigen, wie ihr Alltagsmilieu und Leben von der ganz speziellen religiösen Gestimmtheit ihrer Umgebung, der thebanischen Gräberstadt, durchdrungen waren. Von diesen Verhältnissen, die hier festzustellen sind, braucht man nicht anzunehmen, dass sie für andere Gruppen und Orte in Ägypten charakteristisch waren.

### *Gräber in Theben-West*

Um ein wenig das spezielle Milieu und die eigenartige Bilderwelt, welche die Besonderheit der thebanischen Nekropole bilden, anzudeuten, kann es wichtig sein, einen Blick auf die Felsgräber dort und ihren Dekor zu werfen.

Vor allem zwei thebanische Gräber sind bedeutungsvoll, wenn es gilt zu studieren, wie ein Grab entsteht, wie das Werkverfahren ist. Es handelt sich um ein Privatgrab, das dem Wesir Ramose gehörte<sup>111</sup>, und um ein Grab im Tal der Könige, das König Haremhab gehörte<sup>112</sup>. Aufgrund des letzteren hat Frank Teichmann auf sehr verdienstvolle Weise die verschiedenen Phasen der Herstellung des Grabes zusammengefasst<sup>113</sup>. Dies ist möglich gewesen, da Haremhab's Grab ebenso wie Ramoses unvollendet ist. In Haremhab's Fall scheint es deutlich zu sein, dass die Arbeit sehr hastig aufgegeben wurde, weshalb man auch ein besonders klares Bild davon, wie die Arbeit vor sich ging, wie man gleichzeitig an ganz verschiedenen Phasen arbeitete, bekommt<sup>114</sup>.

Pläne für die Raumeinteilung und den Dekor waren Arbeitern und Künstlern zugänglich<sup>115</sup> — wir kennen ja einige solche Pläne und Skizzen, die mit den Königsgräbern verbunden sind, gut<sup>116</sup>. Das Grab wurde ausgehauen, die Wände wurden eingeebnet und repariert. Rote Hilfslinien wurden angebracht, Register- und andere Einteilungen vorgenommen. Dann wurden die Figuren in rot gezeichnet — oft wandte man Hilfslinien an — und danach mit schwarzen Umrisslinien korrigiert. Die begleitenden Hieroglypheninschriften erhielten sodann ihren Platz,

astige Zeichen in rot, die man oft zusammendrängen musste, wo der Raum zwischen den Figuren nicht ausreichte. Sie wurden danach in schwarz reingezeichnet. Darauf begann die zeitraubende und schwierige Arbeit, alle diese Bilder und Inschriften in Relief in den weichen Kalkstein zu übertragen, wonach Darstellungen, Texte und Wandflächen für die polychrome Bemalung fertig waren.

Dieser Einblick in das Werkverfahren<sup>117</sup> — das ein Idealvorgang ist, der natürlich nicht immer vorkommt — ist deshalb bedeutungsvoll, weil er eine Andeutung davon gibt, dass man mit Spezialarbeitern rechnen muss. Es war nicht derselbe Handwerker oder Künstler, der für alle die verschiedenen Phasen verantwortlich war. Dies wird auch aus den Inschriften ganz klar. Wir kennen eine entsprechende Sachlage schon aus einem literarischen Text des Mittleren Reiches, aus Sinuhes Erzählung<sup>118</sup>. Sein Grab wurde von mehreren verschiedenen Kategorien von Arbeitern hergestellt. Gebaut wurde es von Bestimmten, dekoriert von „Konturenschreibern“ (*sš kdw* oder *kdy*<sup>119</sup>), und dekoriert von *gnwty* (Transkription unsicher)<sup>120</sup>, obwohl die exakte Definition der Aufgaben der letzten ungewiss ist. In dem Turiner Papyrus mit einem Plan des Grabes Ramses' IV. ist erwähnt, dass der Dekor nur — wie A. H. Gardiner übersetzt hat — „drawn with outlines, carved with chisel and filled with colours“<sup>121</sup>. Die Männer, die auf Ostraka gezeichnet und gemalt haben, sind die „Konturenschreiber“. Dieser Terminus dürfte nicht nur die Zeichenarbeit, sondern auch die Bemalung der Wandflächen umfassen. Ein anderes Verbum anstelle von *sš*, das ja „schreiben“ als Grundbedeutung hat, das für „malen“ angewandt wird, ist *sphr*, das indessen im Neuen Reich sehr ungewöhnlich ist. Jedoch ist die polychrome Bemalung nach dem Turiner Papyrus nicht nur sondern *mḥ m drw*, nicht „gezeichnet“ sondern mit Farbe gefüllt“. Es gibt aber keinen Anlass, dem *kdw* die Tätigkeit als Maler neben der als Zeichner abzusprechen.

Der Hauptanteil der thebanischen Felsengräber stammt aus dem Neuen Reich mit einem kleinen Übergewicht für die 18. Dynastie<sup>122</sup>. Sie liegen im Bergterrain auf dem westlichen Nilufer verstreut. Man kann gewisse Gruppierungen unterscheiden, die manchmal in gewisser Weise mit der Lage der königlichen Totentempel in der Ebene zum Fluss hin zusammenhängen<sup>123</sup>. Die königlichen Gräber sind ja von den privaten isoliert, die Täler der Könige und

der Königinnen bilden besondere Einheiten innerhalb der Nekropole.

In diesem Zusammenhang ist es nicht wesentlich, auf die äussere Struktur der Gräber einzugehen, auf die Konstruktionen, die ausserhalb der in den Felsen gehauenen Räume lagen. Diese letzten sind im Falle der Privatgräber oft nur zwei von etwas unterschiedlichen Dimensionen. Sie tragen in der Regel Dekor auf den Wänden und an der Decke. Die Technik variiert teilweise wegen der Beschaffenheit der Bergwände — alle erlauben nicht, Reliefs nach der Einebnung auszuhauen, sondern einige haben stattdessen gemalten oder reliefierten Dekor auf einem besonderen Überzug, meist Stuck. In gewissem Masse ist es jedoch auch eine Stilfrage, welche Technik angewandt wird<sup>124</sup>.

Das Dekorprogramm der beiden Räume ist nicht identisch. Während der 18. Dynastie finden sich in dem äusseren Raum im Prinzip säkulare Szenen, die, obwohl sie grundsätzlich religiöser, magischer Art sind, die oft profanen Beschäftigungen des Grabherrn während seiner Karriere als Beamter, Priester oder welches Amt er nun innehatte zeigen. Hier erscheinen Bilder seiner Amtshandlungen aber auch seiner Vergnügungen und weiter, nicht von der geringsten Bedeutung, seiner Auszeichnungen. Hier ist also Platz für unzählige Genreszenen. Oft ist der König an hervorgehobener Stelle abgebildet; die Beziehungen zu ihm waren wichtig wiederzugeben. Der innere Raum dagegen hat ein anderes Gepräge. Hier finden sich funeräre Szenen. Der Begräbniszug, Rituale wie z.B. Mundöffnung, die Reise nach Abydos und das Totenmahl, Götter und Opferlisten sind hier das Wesentliche. Der Dekor der Decke in beiden Räumen ist oft geometrisch, Figurendarstellungen kommen dort nur selten vor<sup>125</sup>.

Am Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts tritt indessen eine Verschiebung im Dekorprogramm ein. Die säkularen Szenen treten mehr und mehr zurück zugunsten der funerären. Die lebhaften und eleganten weltlichen Bilder beginnen den oft monotonen funerären Darstellungen zu weichen, in denen ikonographische Themata aus Illuminationen religiöser Bücher wie z.B. des Totenbuches grossen Raum einnehmen.

Eine Folge dieser Verschiebung im Inhalt ist eine Veränderung von Stil und Qualität. Die Grabmalerei wird von einem Manierismus betroffen, der besonders in der Schlussphase während der 20. Dynastie hervortritt. Einige Gräber wie z.B. das des Ipuy<sup>126</sup> sind Schlüsselgräber, wenn es sich darum handelt, diesen

Übergang kennenzulernen. Hier kann man deutlich den Bruch mit dem Profanen studieren. Niemand hat vielleicht klarer als Norman de G. Davies den großen Unterschied in künstlerischer Hinsicht in der Ausführung der verschiedenen Bildtypen beobachtet:

„What inspiration could an artist find in gods and demons, temple furniture and rites, and the worshiping figures of his patron's family? Interesting episodes are nearly always the best painted, and many a dull tomb . . . wakes into beauty and brightness as it touches a dramatic scene. But these get rarer and rarer.“<sup>127</sup>

Die Malerei in den Gräbern wird während der Ramessidenzeit oft summarisch, schon zur Zeit Ramses' II. gibt es Beispiele einer flüchtigen und recht nachlässigen Malerei<sup>128</sup>.

M. Wegner, der die Entwicklung der thebanischen Beamtengräber ausführlich studiert hat, hat diese mit verschiedenen Termini charakterisiert. Er sieht in der 18. Dynastie drei Phasen, die mit Termini wie z.B. „linear-plastisch-malerisch“, „Fläche-Körper-Raum“ oder „realistisch-idealistisch-naturalistisch“ umschrieben werden können<sup>129</sup>. Diese Charakterisierungen könnten auch, meint Wegner, für das ganze Neue Reich gelten, dessen drei Dynastien durch die Termini in der Folge, in der sie aufgestellt sind, gekennzeichnet würden. Wegners Versuch ist vielleicht der am tiefsten eindringende, wenn es darum geht, die Entwicklung in einem Schema von Termini einzufangen. Seine Studien der Bedeutung der Farben sind wichtig und treffen ebenso wie die Terminologie besonders für die 18. Dynastie Wesentliches. Indessen ist die Studie nur skizzenhaft ausgearbeitet, was die 19. und 20. Dynastie angeht; deshalb ist es schwierig, die Terminologie und Charakterisierung, so wie es wünschenswert wäre, einer entsprechenden Studie des Ostrakonmaterials, die wichtig wäre, zugrunde zu legen. Wahrscheinlich wäre auch eine andere Gruppierung der Gräber als die zeitliche für die Möglichkeit interessant, vielleicht nicht unbedeutende Nuancen in dem Bild, das man bei einer allgemeinen Übersicht bekommt, wahrzunehmen. Besonders wichtig wäre, Grabgruppen topographisch abzugrenzen, und auch rein soziale Gruppierungen vorzunehmen, wäre wesentlich<sup>130</sup>. Diese Faktoren betreffend, gibt es interessantes Material gerade in der Siedlung von Deir el Medineh, in dem Tal, in dem die Einwohner gewohnt und selbst ihre Gräber angelegt haben. Hier

fallen im ganzen topographische und soziale Faktoren zusammen und bewirken, dass wir diese Gruppe als eine klar abgegrenzte Einheit betrachten können.

Es scheint, als ob sich die Bewohner von Deir el Medineh nach den Worten einer alten Weisheitslehre gerichtet hätten, die u.a. vom Anlegen von Gräbern sagt:

„Du sollst nicht aus deinem Hause hinausgehen, wenn du nicht die Stätte kennst, wo (dein) Leichnam ruhen soll. Lasse deine Ruhestätte, wo du wünschst, dass dein Leichnam begraben werden soll, bekannt sein, damit man (dich) begraben kann. Setze (es) dir vor als den einzuschlagenden Weg . . . Schmücke deine Stätte, die im Tale ist, das Grab, das deinen Leichnam bergen soll. Halte sie dir gegenwärtig unter deinen Aufgaben . . . gleich den grossen Alten, die in ihrem Grabe bestattet ruhen“<sup>131</sup>.

Die Handwerker und Künstler haben selbst ihre Gräber angelegt; es gibt keine Gründe, dies zu bezweifeln. Dies ist auch an anderen Stellen in Theben vorgekommen. Ein Sohn eines Aufsehers einer Gruppe von Zeichnern, ein wohlbestellter Schreiber und Künstler in Amuns Verwaltung der Zeit Ramses' II. hat in seinem Grabe notiert, dass er selbst mit eigener Hand die Dekoration ausgeführt habe<sup>132</sup>. Eins der frühesten datierbaren Gräber in Deir el Medineh gehört dem Leiter der Arbeiten Cha und stammt aus der Zeit Amenophis' II. bis III.<sup>133</sup>. Die meisten Gräber von Deir el Medineh gehören jedoch in die Ramessidenzeit.

Im Prinzip sind die Deir el Medineh-Gräber durch Eigenart der Farbauswahl, des Stils und des Inhalts charakterisiert. Der Dekor ist meist auf Stuck oder eine Lehmsschicht gemalt. Mit ihren vollen tiefen Farben, ihren Figuren mit oft kohlschwarzen, kräftigen Konturen und ihrem ziemlich einseitigen Bildprogramm aus dem religiös betonten Motivvorrat bilden die Darstellungen eine besondere Gruppe. Es handelt sich nicht um Verfall in der Malerei, dies ebenso wie die Ostrakonbilder derselben Zeit sich durch hervorragende technische Geschicklichkeit auszeichnet. Es handelt sich eher um eine bewusste Stilisierung, die ganz anderer Art ist als diejenige, welche die Bilder in den Königsgräbern prägt. Die Stileigenart von Deir el Medineh dürfte ein letzter Ausläufer der besonderen Art der Amarna-Kunst sein, der neuen Impulse, die während einer kurzen

poche des 14. Jahrhunderts eine Vitalisierung der ägyptischen Kunst bedeuten. Das Aufnehmen der Amarna-Zeit von Elementen aus profaner Kunst und 'Volkskunst'<sup>134</sup>, ihre radikale Abwendung von alten Traditionen und die Lancierung eines neuen Stiles sind, nachdem man gewissermassen zu der alten Ordnung zurückgekehrt ist, nicht total verschwunden, sondern eine Vereinigung — in diesem Falle mit der thebanischen Grabtradition — eingegangen. Es ist auch hypothetisch angenommen worden, dass Deir el Medineh während der Amarna-Zeit verlassen war, dass die Künstler in der neuen Hauptstadt beschäftigt waren und dass sie dann zurückkamen, als Amarna eine politische Unmöglichkeit wurde<sup>135</sup>. Auf jeden Fall kann diese Gruppe nicht abseits gestanden haben und ohne Kenntnis der revolutionierenden Veränderungen, die die ägyptische Kunst im 14. Jahrhundert trafen, gewesen sein. Sie ebenso wie Künstler an anderen Orten des Landes entgingen dem nicht, von dem Neuen beeinflusst zu werden. Davon zeugen mehrere Gräber des 13. Jahrhunderts<sup>136</sup>. Prinzipiell lässt man damit rechnen, dass derartige äussere Faktoren der thebanischen Grabmalerei neue Impulse beigeführt haben.

#### *Palastmalerei*

Über ein Studium der Bilderwelt, die die Bewohner von Deir el Medineh umgab und die es in den thebanischen Traditionen gegeben haben muss, ist es auch wichtig, sich eine Auffassung von der Ausschmückung der Paläste zu bilden. Es gibt keine Belege dafür, dass die Leute von Deir el Medineh mit der Dekorierung königlicher Paläste beschäftigt waren, aber sie können kaum mit dem unbekannt gewesen sein, was das übliche Bildrepertoire in derartigen Zusammenhang bildete. Die Palastmalerei ist ebenso wie jede andere ungefähr gleichzeitige Malerei in Theben oder an anderen Stätten, ein notwendiger Hintergrund für die Bestimmung der Bilder, die auf Ostraka vorliegen.

Leider ist nur wenig von der Palastmalerei erhalten. Es gibt Fragmente aus Deir Ballas, Theben und Amarna. Es ist leicht, den Inhalt dieser Malerei zusammenzufassen.

Einer der zwei Paläste von Deir Ballas aus der ersten Hälfte der 18. Dynastie hat den Archäologen zwei winzige Fragmente von Bilddarstellungen geliefert: einen Männerkopf auf einem, zwei Streitäxte auf einem anderen<sup>137</sup>. Bedeutend mehr gibt es im

Palast Amenophis' III. in Theben, in Malkata, welche Gegend amerikanische Archäologen untersucht haben. Zwar sind diese Ausgrabungen nie anders als vorläufig publiziert worden, doch hat W. Stevenson-Smith eine Übersicht gegeben<sup>138</sup>. Es wird deutlich, dass der Bilderschmuck reich war. In Übereinstimmung mit den Tempeln konnten die Räume als Mikrokosmen erlebt werden — ihr Dekor macht sie jedenfalls manchmal zu Äquivalenten der Natur, in der Erde und Himmel sich treffen. Auf den Fussböden befinden sich gemalte Teiche, in denen Fische umherschwimmen und um welche Pflanzen wachsen. Darin haben Wasservögel ihre Nester. Unter der Decke finden sich die Bewohner des Himmels, Tauben, Geier oder Enten, die in grossen Scharen — symmetrisch und dekorativ angeordnet — die Flächen füllen. Auf den Wänden erscheinen Menschen und Tiere, der König auf seinem Thron, von gefesselten Feinden umgeben, eine vornehme Dame mit blumengeschmücktem Kopfe oder wilde Tiere in einer Wüstenlandschaft und freigaloppierende Stiere oder Kälber. Die einzigen mythologischen Gestalten, die vorkommen, sind die speziellen Schutzgottheiten des Hauses, vor allem der Zwergengott Bes, der hier tanzt ebenso wie in den Privathäusern von Deir el Medineh.

Aus den erhaltenen Fragmenten kann man nicht viel über den Stil herauslesen. Er scheint in dem publizierten Material kaum von dem abzuweichen, den wir aus Gräbern oder Privathäusern kennen. Einer der Ausgräber wollte einen bedeutend freieren als üblich und sogar karikierenden Stil in einer Darstellung des Königs sehen<sup>139</sup>. Das Bild sollte, soweit es nun nicht später entstanden ist, aus der Zeit unmittelbar vor Amarna und der radikalen Veränderung, die es in stilistischer Hinsicht mit sich bringt, stammen und kann vielleicht zufällig bedingt sein.

Im grossen und ganzen dieselbe Art von Malerei wie in Malkata hat man in Amarna angetroffen<sup>140</sup>. In Echnatons Palästen scheint es jedoch weniger Menschendarstellungen gegeben zu haben<sup>141</sup>, während Naturschilderungen mit Tieren und Pflanzen im Überfluss vorhanden sind.

Der intimere Motivtypus, der in der Palastmalerei vorkommt — und die Darstellung, an welche man vor allem denkt, ist das Bild der königlichen Familie in Amarna, von dem sich ein Fragment nun in Oxford befindet<sup>142</sup> — dieser klingt in gewisser Weise in den Intentionen, die Sethos I. hinsichtlich des Dekors einer Kapelle, die er für seinen Vorgänger

Ramses I. in Abydos errichten liess, hatte, nach. Im Dekorprogramm sollten Darstellungen der Familie einen dominierenden Platz bekommen<sup>144</sup>. Hier gibt es also ein Beispiel dafür, wie ein aus der Palastmalerei bekanntes Bildprogramm im Prinzip auf einen religiös ganz anders bedingten Zusammenhang übertragen werden konnte<sup>145</sup> — dass das Projekt stil­mässig ganz anders gestaltet gewesen sein könnte, ist selbstverständlich, und dass es schliesslich in dieser Form nicht verwirklicht wurde, ist eine ganz andere Sache. Andererseits muss berücksichtigt werden, dass die Palastmalerei keineswegs im Prinzip in Gegensatz zur religiösen Sphäre gestellt werden kann; in diesem Falle ist der Gegensatz religiös—profan nicht adäquat. Weiter kann erwähnt werden, dass die Palastmalerei eng mit dem Kunsthandwerk verbunden ist. Ähnliche Motive wie dort erscheinen z.B. auch bei der Ausschmückung von Fayencekacheln, die im Palastzusammenhang vorkommen. Eine Andeutung davon geben derartige Fragmente, die in einem Palast von Kantir aus der 19. Dynastie gefunden wurden<sup>146</sup>.

#### *Fundplätze der Bildostraka*

Die Publikationen der französischen Grabungen in Deir el Medineh geben in der Regel nicht klar die exakten Fundorte und archäologischen Kontexte für die unzähligen Bildostraka, die angetroffen wurden, an. In vielen Fällen ist es sicher schwer durchzuführen gewesen, die Mengen von Kleinfunden zu registrieren, und oft ist es sicher als ziemlich unwesentlich angesehen worden.

Den Eindruck, den man aufgrund der registrierten Fundplätze bekommt, ist, dass Bildostraka über die ganze in Frage stehende Gegend verstreut gefunden worden sind. Sie sind in Häusern, Kultkapellen und Gräbern gefunden worden<sup>147</sup>, aber auch ausserhalb solcher klar definierbarer Strukturen. Es ist nicht möglich, aus dem Zusammenhang Fundplatz — Bildmotiv irgend welche allgemeinen Schlussfolgerungen zu ziehen. Man könnte z.B. nur Bilder des Typs Votivgaben in Kapellen erwarten, aber dies ist nicht der Fall. In Gräbern andererseits fanden sich Ostraka, die man kaum an die Darstellungen dort anschliessen kann; in dem Falle aber ist es nicht unnatürlich, dass man dort verschiedene Bilder wegge­worfen hat, die während des Ganges der Arbeit auf die Scherben gekritzelt worden waren. Der allgemeine Eindruck, den man erhält, ist, dass diese Bild-

ostraka ziemlich unterschiedslos umhergeworfen wurden. Man hat dieses Material nicht für wert gehalten, damit sparsam oder vorsichtig umzugehen. Deutlich sieht man dies bei dem sogenannten „*grand puits*“, der um 1950 untersucht wurde, einem sehr tiefen Schacht ausserhalb des Dorfes, der vielleicht ein Versuch, einen Brunnen zu finden, darstellt<sup>148</sup>. In ihm sind etwa 5000 Ostraka mit Bildern oder Texten gefunden worden, die jedoch grösstenteils noch unpubliziert sind<sup>149</sup>. Hier gibt es also etwas das ein grosser Abfallplatz zu sein scheint, was zeigt wie wertlos dieses Material wirklich gewesen ist.

Ein paar Beispiele für Funde in Gräbern, Kapellen und Häusern können eine Auffassung von der Heterogenität der Bilder im Verhältnis zum Fundort geben.

Was die Gräber anbetrifft, so gibt es ein Ostrakon das an einem Ort gefunden worden ist, der genau angegeben ist. Es handelt sich um das Bild eines Mannes, der mit Messern in den Händen vor eines Opfertisch sitzt<sup>150</sup>. Durch eine Inschrift wird bezeugt, dass der Dargestellte mit dem Besitzer des in Frage stehenden Grabes identisch ist. Dieses Ostrakon wurde hinter einer Stele gefunden, die im Grabe aufgestellt war. Dieser Platz könnte vielleicht eine magische Funktion andeuten, eine Art Palladium, doch schliesst B. Bruyère nicht die Möglichkeit aus, dass das Bild zufällig dorthin gelangt sei.

Ein interessanter Fund ist das Bild einer Frau auf einem Bett, der zwei Frauen aufwarten<sup>151</sup>. Diese Darstellung gehört zu der Wochenlaubegruppe, die eine sichere Verbindung zur Hausmalerei hat. Die Deutung dieser Ostraka mit Wochenlaubeszenen ist oben erwähnt worden. Damit rührt man an die Frage, in wie weit Gräber Plätze sind, an die man Votivgaben bringen kann — die Deutung dieser Ostraka als Votivgaben ist eine offene Möglichkeit. Oben wurde dieses im Zusammenhang mit Ostrakonfunden bei den Königsgräbern angedeutet. Es ist folgerichtig, dass dieselbe Hypothese auch hinsichtlich der Privatgräber gültig sein könnte. Es dürfte kein nennenswerter Unterschied zwischen Kapellen und Tempeln einerseits und Gräbern andererseits bestanden haben, was die religiöse Geladenheit angeht; alle diese Orte müssen eine ähnliche numinose Bedeutung gehabt haben. So hat man in Gräbern Votivbilder an z.B. Thoth und Meretseger<sup>152</sup>, an Ptah<sup>153</sup> und Hathor<sup>154</sup> angetroffen. Doch gibt es auch Beispiele für Funde von Ostraka mit Tierfabelmotiven<sup>155</sup> oder mit Hieroglypheninschriften<sup>156</sup> in Gräbern.

Die Publikationen von Bruyère erwähnen oft Funde von Bildostraka, geben aber nicht eine vollständige Beschreibung, auch nicht immer eine Klassifizierung. Deshalb kann die Erwähnung mehrerer Ostrakonide in Privathäusern<sup>156</sup> keine Vorstellung von ihrer Art geben. Es kann sich um Votivbilder handeln, wie im Falle des Krokodilgottes Sobek<sup>157</sup>, es kann sich um die Skizze eines Stieres<sup>158</sup> handeln — mehr kann man kaum aus Bruyères Rapporten herauslesen.

Besser ist es bestellt mit der Möglichkeit, einen Überblick über die Bilderwelt auf den Ostraka zu bekommen, wenn sie in oder bei Kapellen gefunden worden sind. Unter diesen befinden sich zahlreiche Votivbilder<sup>159</sup>, aber auch reines Skizzen- und Übungsmaterial<sup>160</sup>. Die Fundumstände sind z.B. stratigraphisch nicht klar dargelegt<sup>161</sup>, und ausserdem war es wahrscheinlich nicht möglich, zu unterscheiden, was primär in den Kapellen vorhanden war und was später hineingelangt ist. Der Eindruck, dass man in einem alten Dorf hier hemmungslos Scherben und deren Abfall überall herumgestreut hat, ist ziemlich stark. Obwohl die Votivbilder in dem Material in den Kapellen deutlich dominieren<sup>162</sup>, wird es niemals klar werden, wie sie ursprünglich verteilt waren, und auch nicht, ob einige von ihnen vielleicht reine Skizzen waren, Vorstadien von Votivbildern, die nie zu ihrer bestimmten religiösen Anwendung gelangt sind.

### *Bildthematika*

Es ist ein äusserst umfangreicher und heterogener Motivschatz, der auf den Ostraka, die meistens aus französischen Ausgrabungen stammen, erhalten ist, die J. Vandier d'Abbadie veröffentlicht hat<sup>163</sup>. Ein Teil ihrer Bilder ist zwar unsicherer Herkunft, jedoch wird er el Medineh zugeschrieben.

Es ist leicht zu sehen, wie begrenzt der Motivkreis ist und wie er, abgesehen von nur wenigen aber markanten Ausnahmen, die radikal abweichen, zum Repertoire der Grabmalerei gehört. Die Bilderwelt der Gräber scheint vorzuherrschen und damit auch die ikonographischen Schemata, die für zahlreiche Gegenstände funéraires Typs aus verschiedenen Materialien wie z.B. Uschebtikästen, Stelen, Särge usw. gültig sind. Es ist vielleicht nicht richtig, gerade die Gräber als normgebend hervorzuheben. Die Bilder gehören einer religiösen Welt und einem mythischen Denken an, die ihren Niederschlag in Darstellungen auf allen denkbaren, hierfür geeigneten Flä-

chen und Gegenständen, die die Leute im Dorfe umgaben, fanden. Von den Gräbern ausgehend aber als den grössten und besterhaltenen Exponenten dieser Motive, können wir am besten Umfang und Art dieses Bildschaffens studieren. Es handelt sich dabei nicht nur um die typischen Deir el Medineh-Gräber der 19. und 20. Dynastie, sondern auch um eine Bilderwelt, die vor allem in den Beamtengräbern der 18. Dynastie zu Hause ist. Es ist bemerkt worden, dass eine Anzahl der Motive auf Ostraka — besonders solche mit Szenen aus dem Alltagsleben — gar nicht mit den Gräbern der Ramessidenzeit korrespondieren<sup>164</sup>. Hier könnten die Motive der 18. Dynastie traditionell überliefert und Bestandteil einer für die Künstler kanonischen Ikonographie sein. Doch gibt es in einigen Fällen auch die Möglichkeit, dass die Bilder einer direkten Inspiration entstammen, vielleicht durch Besuche in älteren Gräbern angeregt<sup>165</sup>, Besuche, die in Kopien, Erinnerungsnotizen und Reflexen der Wanderungen in der Gräberstadt resultierten<sup>166</sup>.

Kurz können wir hier J. Vandier d'Abbadies Zusammenfassung der Eigenart des Materials referieren<sup>167</sup>. Einige Bilder korrespondieren mit solchen auf Monumenten wie Tempeln, Gräbern oder Wohnhäusern. Es existiert auch eine Beziehung zum Bilddekor der Kleinkunst. Die satirischen oder fabelhaften Darstellungen von Tieren schliessen sich an ähnliche auf Papyri an. Manche Bilder sind Übungen, reine Skizzen, die teilweise Aufzeichnungen zur Erinnerung sein können. Es gibt verschiedene Lehrlingsstücke. Motivwiederholungen, z.B. Zeichnungen des Meisters und Nachahmungen der Schüler, deuten auf eine interne Lehrtätigkeit. So gibt es auch lange Serien bestimmter Motive. Die Votivbilder sind oft sicher zu klassifizieren, u.a. aufgrund der Fundplätze. Sie bilden eine besondere Gruppe, klar abgegrenzt gegen das, was Zeitvertreib und Zerstreuung ist, was zustandekam, ohne auf einen besonderen Zweck ausgerichtet zu sein. J. Vandier d'Abbadie betont die Bedeutung der Amarna-Zeit hinsichtlich der Befreiung von den alten Traditionen, sie spricht auch von der Freiheit im Verhältnis zum Material — Papyrus kann wegen der Kosten und Empfindlichkeit abschreckend sein und damit freies Skizzieren hemmen.

Diese Gesichtspunkte zeigen etwas von der Vielfältigkeit dieses Materials, von den Deutungsschwierigkeiten und der Ambivalenz. Eine Analyse der von J. Vandier d'Abbadie publizierten Ostraka kann am

besten in erster Linie von der Bilderwelt aus vorgenommen werden, die in den thebanischen Gräbern repräsentiert ist, sowohl königlichen als auch privaten. Hier erscheint eine Bilderwelt teils profanen Inhalts, teils religiösen, mythologischen, wozu letzter zum grossen Teil mit dem Dekor, der auf funerären Gegenständen verschiedener Typen vorkommt, identisch ist. Hier können wir einen ganzen Komplex von Darstellungen isolieren, der recht eindeutig ist und keine grösseren Interpretationsschwierigkeiten bereitet.

Eine interessante Einteilung des französischen Materials könnte vorgenommen werden mit dem Ziel zu sehen, was sich ausserhalb dieser dominierenden Gruppe befindet. Die Votivbilder entsprechen in der Hauptsache ikonographisch den mythologisch geprägten Grabbildern; besonders ist dies der Fall bei der blossen Wiedergabe der Gestalt der angerufenen Gottheit oder Gottheiten. Dies gilt natürlich auch für die mythologischen Darstellungen der Kultkapellen oder Tempel, die, wenn sie auf den Ostraka repräsentiert sind, kaum von dem allgemeinen mythologischen Bildmaterial getrennt werden können, soweit nicht ganze Bildkompositionen oder besondere Details vorliegen, die bestimmte Attributionen erlauben.

J. Vandier d'Abbadie hat das Material nach den Motiven der Bilder gruppiert. Es kann vorteilhaft sein, diese Einteilung beizubehalten, Gruppe nach Gruppe durchzugehen und danach zu sehen, was als fremd ausgeschieden werden kann aus dem anscheinend dominierenden Bilderschatz, der zu der oben definierten Gruppe von Monumenten gehört, die in erster Linie durch die Gräber repräsentiert wird.

A. In mehreren Varianten liegt ein Bild von einem oder einigen Affen vor, die auf eine Palme, oft Dumpalme, klettern, um ihre Früchte zu sammeln<sup>166</sup>. Manchmal erscheinen Menschen als Wächter dieser Affen, die in einigen Fällen das Tier an einer Leine halten.

In anderen Bildzusammenhängen gibt es keine exakten Entsprechungen zum Motiv der dressierten Affen. Die nächsten finden sich unter den Tempelbildern — in ein paar peripheren Szenen ohne religiöse Implikation — und in der Kleinkunst<sup>167</sup>. Es gibt keine feste Bildtradition dieser Art in einer anderen Kunstgattung, die sich mit dem Umfang, den dieses Motiv auf den Ostraka hat, messen könnte. Es erscheint in mehreren Varianten, und es existiert

eine grosse Freiheit in seiner Gestaltung. Die lang Serie dieser Bilder, die grosse Anzahl deuten indes darauf, dass es mehr oder weniger kanonisch überliefert worden ist, dass es eine feste Verankerung in Bildschaffen in Deir el Medineh hatte. In der Regel sind diese Bilder nicht nur gezeichnet, sondern auch bemalt, was die besondere Sorgfalt zeigt, die man auf sie verwandt hat. Diese Darstellungen liegen definitiv ausserhalb der geläufigen mythologischen Sphäre, eine religiöse Implikation ist nicht wahrscheinlich<sup>170</sup>, stattdessen handelt es sich um ein Motiv aus der Alltagswelt, die die Leute im Dorfe umgab.

B. Dasselbe gilt auch von den Bildern von Affen zusammen mit einem Wächter; meist hält ein Nubier oder ein Neger das Tier an einer Leine<sup>171</sup>. In der Regel sind dies auch bemalte, polychrome Darstellungen. Das Thema kann ein wenig variiert werden. Meist schwingt der Wächter seinen Stock über den Affen, der am häufigsten auf allen Vieren geht. Manchmal kann er sich zu Tanz und Sprung aufrichten.

Es ist J. Vandier d'Abbadies Ansicht, dass diese Szenen nicht für einen bestimmten Dekorzweck allegorisch gesehen sind, sie sind nicht für Gräber bestimmt, könnten aber möglicherweise in der Hausmalerei vorzustellen sein<sup>172</sup>. Zwar kommen Affen als Tributgeführt von Wächtern, in Privatgräbern vor, doch sind diese Szenen andersartig und von formellerem Charakter<sup>173</sup>. Eine Verbindung zur Kleinkunst kann aufgezeigt werden, z.B. gibt es ein ähnliches Motiv auf einer Schale mit gezeichneter Darstellung<sup>174</sup>.

Die lange Serie gleichartiger Bilder deutet auf jeden Fall darauf, dass dies Thema ebenso wie die vorhergehende kanonischer Art ist. Das Motiv ist nicht auf Theben beschränkt, sondern kommt auch auf einer Stele, einem Fragment aus Amarna, vor<sup>175</sup>. Dies gehörte vielleicht zu einem nichtreligiösen Monument, möglicherweise einer Art von Künstlerlebensstück.

C. Das Motiv Hirten mit Rindern ist oft in Gräbern belegt<sup>176</sup> und ist im Ostrakonmaterial mit wenigen Varianten vertreten<sup>177</sup>. Das Vorführen von Stieren ist auch in unzähligen Tempeldarstellungen wieder gegeben, in denen die Tiere wie auch in den Gräbern Opfertiere sind<sup>178</sup>.

Die Bilder auf den Ostraka aber sind keine direkten Entsprechungen dieser grossformatigen Szenen. Sie sind Reflexe davon, freistehend gegenüber der



Tempel- und Grabbildern — vielleicht ungefähr die Affen der vorhergehenden Gruppe. Auch existieren lange Serien, die auf eine bewusste Wiederholung hinweisen. Es gibt gute Möglichkeiten, hypothetisch dieses Motiv an eine profan geprägte Malerei grossen Formats anzuschliessen. Mehrere Tierdarstellungen sind in der fragmentarisch bekannten Palastmalerei belegt, zwar nur einzelne Tiere wie Wächter<sup>179</sup>. Auch in diesem Fall gibt es ausserhalb die Möglichkeit, sich Parallelen in der Kleinkunst vorzustellen<sup>180</sup>.

Die Bilder von Rindern, oft nur einzelnen Tieren<sup>181</sup>, gehören eng mit der vorigen Gruppe zusammen; zu dieser bildet hier die Grabmalerei die nächste Parallele. Natürlich können die Bilder manchmal vielleicht eine religiöse Implikation gehabt haben<sup>182</sup>. Die Palastmalerei weist in diesem Falle nahestehende Entsprechungen auf, weshalb sie natürlich einen wichtigen Anknüpfungspunkt liefert, ebenso wie z.B. spezielle Gebiete innerhalb der Kleinkunst wie die Fayencemalerei<sup>183</sup>.

Auch was Pferde und pferdebespannte Wagen angeht, kann man feststellen, dass es Serien von Bildern desselben Typs gibt, z.B. den mit Pferden bespannten Wagen mit einem stehenden Wagenlenker. Daneben kommen auch Bilder einzelner Pferde und von Pferden mit Reitern vor<sup>184</sup>.

Ein interessanter Umstand, die Equipagen angeht, ist, dass es in der Grabmalerei meist der vorherrschende Mann ist, der auf seinem Wagen abgebildet ist, z.B. bei der Wüstenjagd<sup>185</sup> — gewissermassen ist diese Darstellung eine Kopie eines spezifisch königlichen Motivs. In den Privatgräbern ist diese Szene auch ein Ausdruck für den besonderen Status, den der Besitz von Pferd und Wagen verleiht. Es fällt auf, dass im Ostrakonmaterial ein einfacher Mann auf dem Wagen steht, ein Kutscher, oft nur mit einem Schurz bekleidet und manchmal mit kahlem Kopf, während der Herr in der Grabmalerei mit feinem Gewand und Perücke auftritt<sup>186</sup>.

Das Wagenmotiv gehört hauptsächlich zu den Darstellungen der 18. Dynastie, erscheint aber auch auf Monumenten wie Stelen<sup>187</sup>. Wir können eine Verknüpfung feststellen, wenn auf den Ostraka ramesseischer Zeit im Prinzip dasselbe Motiv vorkommt, aber mit einer anderen Person in der Hauptrolle. Diese Bilder, die wahrscheinlich keine Funktion mehr im Dekorprogramm in grösserer Skala wie in Grä-

bern gehabt haben. E. Brunner-Traut's Vorschlag, sie als Bestandteil der Hausmalerei zu betrachten<sup>188</sup>, verbleibt hypothetisch, solange es keine Belege dafür gibt. Natürlich könnten diese Ostrakonbilder — oft nur Fragmente — in direktem Anschluss an Grab-szenen der 18. Dynastie entstanden sein. Z.B. deutet ein Fragment mit typischem Wüstenjagdmilieu (VA 2162, vgl. 2167) darauf, dass mehr als das blosses Hauptmotiv Pferd-Wagen-Kutscher beibehalten ist. Die Wiederholungen des Hauptmotivs aber weisen auf eine feste ikonographische Tradition hin. Dagegen sind pferdebespannte Wagen, von einfach gekleideten Dienern gelenkt, in den Amarna-Gräbern nicht ungewöhnlich und damit wohl auch in Echnatons Tempelreliefs vorstellbar<sup>189</sup>. Weiterhin gibt es, wie unten ausgeführt werden soll, eine rein literarische Deutung des Motivs<sup>190</sup>. Das Motiv mit dem einfachen Mann als Lenker des Wagens ist in einem thebanischen Grab der 18. Dynastie belegt<sup>191</sup>. Die Szene ist jedoch nicht geläufig, und die einzelnen Bilder von Wagen mit Lenkern, die sonst in den Gräbern der 18. Dynastie erscheinen, geben nicht genau dieses auf Ostraka belegte einfache Motiv wieder<sup>192</sup>. Das identische Motiv mit dem feinen Grabherrn als Lenker seines Wagens verbleibt auch eine Seltenheit.

Eins der Bilder mit pferdebespanntem Wagen zeigt zwei Krieger (VA 2784), von denen der eine einen gespannten Bogen hält. Dies ist ein Beispiel, dessen Parallelen man in den grossen Tempelreliefs ramesseischer Zeit mit Schlachtschilderungen suchen möchte. Dies kann also ein Bild sein, dass ausserhalb des Kreises der Grabmalerei steht. In Darreßys Material gab es ja Darstellungen des Königs auf seinem Streitwagen mit deutlichen Parallelen im Tempeldekoration. Es ist klar, dass auch die Wiedergabe der Umgebung des Königs in solchen Szenen etwas klischeeartigen Charakters war und bildmässig auf eine Weise überliefert werden konnte, wie es dieses Ostrakon zeigt. Es ist wichtig, sich daran zu erinnern, dass das Motiv des Königs auf dem Streitwagen, umgeben von Kämpfern auf Wagen im Kunsthandwerk vorkommt<sup>193</sup>; das Motiv des Königs selbst auf dem Wagen erscheint in Deir el Medineh sogar in Miniaturdarstellungen wie auf Siegeln<sup>194</sup>.

Mit Hilfe der Kriterien, die H. A. Liebowitz vorgelegt hat<sup>195</sup>, die sich jedoch auf einen kleinen Sektor von Pferdedarstellungen beschränken, wird es auch klar, dass die meisten Bilder mit pferdebespannten Equipagen zum Typ der 18. Dynastie gehören (z.B. VA 2158, 2164, 2171, 2783). Indessen ist Liebowitz'

schematische Einteilung nicht generell richtig; er gibt selbst mehrere Ausnahmen an, und weitere für z.B. die 18. Dynastie können hinzugefügt werden<sup>194</sup>.

Die einzelnen Pferde, die auf den Ostraka vorkommen, können natürlich an die Grabmalerei der 18. Dynastie angeschlossen werden, in der ausgezeichnete Beispiele für avancierte Darstellungen dieser Tiere vorkommen. In meisterhaft einfachen und kühnen Linien, aber im Rahmen des üblichen Stils werden Pferde oft geschildert<sup>197</sup>. Ein paar Exempel unter den Ostrakonbildern zeigen indessen, wie dieses Medium gewissermassen eine Bedeutung für sich bekommen hat, wie man auf diesem Material Meisterwerke hervorgebracht hat<sup>198</sup>. Man hat nicht nur skizziert und etwas aus dem Fond traditioneller Motive wiedergegeben, sondern hat auch den Wunsch gehabt, originelle Bilder von ästhetischem Eigenwert zu schaffen und zu vollenden. Doch ist es wichtig, auf das Vorkommen von Pferdebildern in ganz anderem Zusammenhang hinzuweisen. Im Dekor von Keramikgefässen aus Deir el Medineh erscheinen nämlich solche<sup>199</sup>. Hier handelt es sich also um einen ganz andersartigen Anwendungsbereich für dieses Motiv, der, wie im Falle anderer Kunsthandwerksprodukte mit Pferdebildern<sup>200</sup>, natürlich Verbindungen zum Ostrakonmaterial hat.

In einigen Fällen kommen Pferde mit Reitern vor. Es ist nicht immer möglich gewesen, die Identität des Reiters zu bestimmen. Die vorhandenen Darstellungen, auch in anderen Ostrakonsammlungen als der hier aktuellen, hat Jean Leclant gesammelt und als Bilder der Göttin Astarte gedeutet<sup>201</sup>. Sie gehören nach ihm zu einer kleinen begrenzten Gruppe, ihre exakte Definition bleibt aber hypothetisch. Ihrer Identifikation ist nicht direkt widersprochen worden<sup>202</sup>. Es besteht jedoch die Möglichkeit, soweit das Geschlecht des Reiters bestimmt werden konnte, das Motiv als eine Darstellung des vorderasiatischen Gottes Reschef zu identifizieren<sup>203</sup>. W. Helck hat Einwendungen dagegen gemacht und meint, dass es sich um Wiedergaben der babylonischen Ishtar handle<sup>204</sup>. Es ist auch nicht möglich zu sagen, ob diese Bilder Votivgaben darstellen oder ob sie als Skizzen oder Vorlagen für grössere Darstellungen dienten. E. Brunner-Traut<sup>205</sup> — ebenso wie J. Leclant — meint, dass sie keine Votive seien. Sie könnten in grösserer Skala in der Bilderwelt der Paläste denkbar sein, da die Astarte-Verehrung in der Hauptsache einen exklusiven Charakter hatte und mit dem ägyptischen König verbunden war. Auf jeden Fall existiert die

Möglichkeit, einige dieser Bilder, auf denen ein Reiter oder eine Reiterin — das Geschlecht ist wie gesagt schwerbestimmbar — spezielle Attribute trägt als profane zu deuten<sup>206</sup>. Das identische Motiv in einer langen Reihe von Bildern bewirkt jedoch, dass man es sich im Rahmen eines bestimmten Genn denken muss. Mit Sicherheit kann gesagt werden, dass es definitiv ausserhalb des Bildprogrammes der Gräber und der funerären Sphäre liegt.

F. Die Bilder von Kleinvieh wie Ziegen und Schafe und in gewissem Masse von Gazellen der Wüste und Antilopen liegen im Ostrakonmaterial selten in festen Kompositionen vor<sup>207</sup>. Hauptsächlich sind einzelne Tiere dargestellt. Eine der wenigen komponierten Szenen zeigt, wie Ziegen Blätter einer Akazie fressen während ein Mann mit einem Stocke dabeisteht<sup>208</sup>. Analoge Motive gibt es in der Grabmalerei, aber auch in der Kleinkunst<sup>209</sup>. Ebenfalls ist es möglich, Bilder einzelner Tiere an die Grabmalerei anzuschliessen. In einem der Deir el Medineh-Gräber des Ipy aus der 19. Dynastie, erscheint z.B. eine Szene, in der Ziegen frei innerhalb eines Bildregisters angeordnet sind<sup>210</sup>; sie sind isoliert, aber trotzdem zu einer Ganzheit zugehörig. Gerade unter diesen gibt es mehrere, die nahe Parallelen zu den Ziegen auf den Ostraka sind. Eine Anzahl anderer Ostrakonbilder kann eher an die Wüstenjagdszene angeschlossen werden, die J. Vandier d'Abbadie als eine Sonderabteilung anführt. Ausserdem ist auch wieder die Kleinkunst, nämlich der Gefässdekor, ein möglicher Sektor für eine Verbindung<sup>211</sup>.

G. Katzen kommen allein vor — einmal mit einer Maus im Maul — oder zusammen mit Vögeln<sup>212</sup>. In erstgenannten Falle ist es natürlich, an die in den Gräbern beliebten Bilder der Hauskatze zu denken, die unter dem Stuhl des Grabherrn sitzt, manchmal mit dem Kopfe *en face* wie auf mehreren Ostraka<sup>213</sup>. Wenn die Katze zusammen mit Vögeln wiedergegeben ist, ist es vielleicht möglich, die Szene auf die Tiergeschichte<sup>214</sup> zurückzuführen; auf einem der Beispiele erinnert die Ikonographie auch an religiöse Darstellungen mit Katzen, z.B. in Papyrusilluminationen, aber auch in Gräbern<sup>215</sup>. Katzen kommen auch auf Stelen<sup>216</sup> und Keramik vor<sup>217</sup>.

H. Wüstenjagden erscheinen in den thebanischen Privatgräbern hauptsächlich nur während einer begrenzten Epoche der 18. Dynastie<sup>218</sup>. Auf den Ostrakon

ldern spiegelt sich diese Motivgruppe nicht in grösseren Kompositionen wieder, sondern in Details, die in diesem Zusammenhang geholt sein dürften<sup>290</sup>. Es handelt sich in allen Fällen um Wüstentiere wie Gassen, Antilopen, Löwen, Hyänen etc., manchmal mit subtilen psychologischen Charakterisierungen. Man findet eine Hyäne oder Gazelle an — oft wiederholt sich speziell das Jagdmotiv. Dieses braucht man nicht nur an die Wüstenjagdszenen der Ostrakonbilder anschliessen zu werden; es ist auch im Kunsthandwerk belegt<sup>291</sup>. Die Ostrakonbilder können in einigen Fällen Skizzen für die Erzeugnisse des Kunsthandwerks sein<sup>292</sup>, was ein Ostrakon illustriert, das einen typischen Jagdszenendekor trägt, der für eine Truhe bestimmt war, was aus den rein ornamentalen Elementen hervorgeht<sup>293</sup>. Einige Bilder des Ostrakonmaterials können also derartige Wiedergaben bestimmter traditioneller Motive aus Grabmalerei und Kunsthandwerk sein, Motive, die ihren Ursprung in der 18. Dynastie haben. Teilweise könnten Wüstenjagdbilder aber eine besondere Gattung innerhalb des Tempeldekors ausmachen, was z.B. die Jagden in Medinet Habu zeigen. Andere Bilder, in denen Tiere kunterbunt durcheinander gezeichnet sind, sind zweifellos spontan entstandene, manchmal in Einzelheiten ähnelnde Darstellungen.

Ebenso wie die Tiere der vorhergehenden Gruppe haben die Bilder von Schakalen<sup>294</sup> mit einer Ausnahme, bei der es sich um einen Schakal mythologischer Art (VA 2816) handeln könnte, keine religiöse Implikation. Es sind Wiedergaben einzelner Tiere oder von zweien in einer Gruppe, die man sich manchmal in den Wüstenjagdszenen der Gräber denken könnte. Es ist jedoch schwierig, eine deutliche ägyptische Tradition in diesen Bildern auf den Ostrakon zu sehen; sie können sehr wohl ohne Gedanken an einen speziellen Zusammenhang entstanden sein.

Unter der Rubrik „Animaux divers“ hat J. Vandier d'Abbadie eine Anzahl Bilder unterschiedlichen Charakters zusammengestellt<sup>295</sup>. Ein paar einzelne Motive sind von besonderem Interesse, andere sind Wiedergaben einzelner Tiere, deren nähere Einordnung in einen speziellen ikonographischen Zusammenhang schwierig sein kann.

Das gut ausgeführte und kolorierte Bild eines Löwen, der mit seinem Rachen den Kopf eines Negers frisst (VA 2226), ist eine interessante allegorische Darstellung, die Pharaos Macht über fremde bar-

barische Völker symbolisiert. Dieses Bild hat keine direkte Entsprechung in der Grabmalerei, sondern gehört seiner Art nach zur Welt der Tempelbilder. Man kann es mit einem Ostrakon aus Daressys Sammlung vergleichen, auf dem der Löwe Pharaos, der neben seinen Pferden einherschneit, einen Ausländer anfällt (D 25 124). Für dieses Motiv gibt es indessen noch weitere Belege. Eine fast exakte Entsprechung in Rundskulptur ist in ein paar Beispielen aus ramesseidischer Zeit angetroffen worden<sup>296</sup>. Der Unterschied ist, dass es in diesen Fällen Asiaten statt eines Negers sind, die der Löwe zu Boden wirft. Das Motiv auf dem Ostrakon muss zu der Kategorie gerechnet werden, die zu Tempelbildern Beziehung hat und die in Daressys Material repräsentiert ist. Dieses Motiv, das vielleicht auch eine mythologische Implikation hat<sup>297</sup>, ist nicht auf Ägypten beschränkt. Ein Meisterwerk vorderasiatischer Kunst ist eine Elfenbeinplakette aus Nimrud, auf der dieselbe Art von Szene obwohl in kleinem Format monumentales Gepräge bekommen hat<sup>298</sup>.

Andere Löwen können einen mythologischen Hintergrund haben (VA 2818) und sich z.B. an Totenbuchillustrationen<sup>299</sup> und damit auch an Grabbilder anschliessen<sup>300</sup>. Sonst können sie noch einzeln in Skizzen ohne besondere bestimmbare Verbindung auftreten.

Ein Ostrakon trägt Darstellungen eines Schakals, eines Krokodils und eines Fisches (VA 2228). Das Bild kann wahrscheinlich als der Tiergeschichtegruppe zugehörig klassifiziert werden<sup>301</sup>, einer Gruppe, die J. Vandier d'Abbadie ansonsten separat gesammelt hat.

Dann gibt es zahlreiche Beispiele für eine reiche Tierwelt auf Bildern, die manchmal nicht auf einen bestimmten Zusammenhang zurückgeführt zu werden brauchen. Es ist wichtig, sich bei vielen von diesen daran zu erinnern, dass auch die Kalligraphie eine hervorragende Rolle gespielt hat, die Bilder stilistisch zu prägen. Gerade bei Tierbildern beeinflussen die hieroglyphischen Normen oft die Darstellung. Dies kann man deutlich an z.B. Krokodilbildern (z.B. VA 2237) sehen. Die vorkommenden Tiere brauchen nicht immer einen mythologischen Hintergrund zu haben — und haben ihn auch nicht immer. Sie brauchen deshalb auch nicht von einer traditionellen Ikonographie belastet zu sein. Ausser Krokodilen kommen auch Hyänen vor, Bilder, die aber auch möglicherweise als Bären<sup>302</sup> gedeutet werden könnten, eine Fledermaus, eine Giraffe, weiter

Chamäleon<sup>88</sup>, Eidechse, Skorpion, Grashüpfer, Schildkröte und Hase. Gewiss können mehrere dieser Tiere als zur Grabmalerei gehörig betrachtet werden, in der sie manchmal erscheinen wie z.B. der Grashüpfer<sup>89</sup>, die Giraffe<sup>90</sup> oder, obwohl selten, die Fledermaus<sup>91</sup>. Doch ist es nicht notwendig, auf diese Weise einen Motivschatz zu begrenzen, der auch in anderem Zusammenhang gültig sein konnte. Das Vorkommen eines Phantasietieres wie z.B. des Greifen ist leicht mit dem Repertoire des Kunsthandwerks in Einklang zu bringen<sup>92</sup>.

K. Darauf, dass Ostrakonbilder Darstellungen innerhalb der Kleinkunst zugrunde liegen können, ist oben mehrmals hingewiesen worden. Es kann deshalb wichtig sein, im Zusammenhang mit J. Vandier d'Abbadies Gruppe von Fischbildern<sup>93</sup> auf ein Ostrakon im British Museum hinzuweisen, auf dem um einen Kreis arrangierte Fische wiedergegeben sind<sup>94</sup>. Dieses Motiv kann direkt mit den auf Fayenceschalen des Neuen Reiches oft vorkommenden Fischdarstellungen kombiniert werden<sup>95</sup>. Auf ähnliche Weise können vielleicht weitere Ostrakonbilder im Prinzip zum Kunsthandwerk in Beziehung gesetzt werden, obwohl sie sich nun meist nicht näher definieren lassen, wenn die Fische z.B. in einzelnen Exemplaren ohne Zusammenhang auftreten. Übrigens sind Fische natürlich auch in der Grabmalerei oft in ausgesuchten Bildern dargestellt, in Genreszenen, die in den Papyrussümpfen spielen, wo sie unter anderen Tieren vorkommen, oder auch als Opfergaben<sup>96</sup>. Eine mythologische Implikation braucht nicht vorhanden zu sein.

L. Die Bilder von Vögeln<sup>97</sup> bieten keine Deutungsschwierigkeiten. Vielleicht ist hier der Einfluss vonseiten der hieroglyphischen Normen am stärksten. In den Hieroglyphen ist gleichsam die Ikonographie der verschiedenen Vogelarten vorgebildet. Einige der Beispiele hier können sehr wohl Hieroglyphen sein. Z.B. ist der w-Vogel mit darübergezeichnetem Quadratnetz (VA 2834) gewissermassen fertig proportioniert, um auf eine grössere Fläche übertragen zu werden. Vögel kommen so allgemein<sup>98</sup> in allen erdenklichen Zusammenhängen und auch in der Welt der Mythologie vor, dass diese Ostrakonbilder kaum näher bestimmt werden können.

M. Eine umfangreiche Bildergruppe bilden die Ostraka mit Darstellungen der Tiergeschichte<sup>99</sup>. Es handelt sich um Szenen, in denen Tiere in menschlichen

Rollen auftreten, in denen sie Akteure in oft dramatischen Handlungen, die zur Menschenwelt gehören sind. Diese verschiedenen Themata sind, wie oben erwähnt, von E. Brunner-Traut gründlich in mehreren Publikationen ausgewertet worden. Es ist ihr Verdienst, dass diese Themata bekannt geworden sind. Parallelen zu diesen Ostrakonbildern gibt es vor allem auf Papyrus, drei fragmentarische illuminierte Manuskripte befinden sich in London<sup>100</sup>, Turin<sup>101</sup> und Kairo<sup>102</sup>. Doch gibt es auch Parallelen auf gewisse kleinen Gegenständen wie rundplastischen Figuren und in gewissem Masse auf ein paar Tempelreliefs<sup>103</sup>. Mehrere Motive sind durch die Jahrtausende überliefert worden. Die Papyri stammen aus der ramessiden Epoche, sind also gleichzeitig mit den Ostrakon. Doch sind einzelne Motive bis in römische und koptische Zeit erhalten und kommen ausserdem in verschiedenen vorderasiatischen Literaturen vor.

E. Brunner-Traut's Schlussfolgerung ist, dass die verschiedenen Bilder auf Erzählungen zurückgehen, die ursprünglich einen religiösen mythologischen Hintergrund gehabt haben können<sup>104</sup>, dass sie Illustrationen zu Tiergeschichten sind, die gerade in diesem Material am frühesten nachgewiesen werden können. In mehreren Fällen kann gezeigt werden, wie in bedeutend späteren Epochen gewisse Motive literarisch belegt sind<sup>105</sup> und wie sie im vorderasiatischen Kulturkreis bis auf unsere Tage überliefert sein können<sup>106</sup>.

Eventuell können die Bilder an eine profane bildliche Malerei grösseren Formats angeschlossen werden, die jedoch für die pharaonische Zeit nicht belegt werden kann. Ein spätantiker Schriftsteller erwähnt, dass das oft auf den Ostraka wiederkehrende Thema vom Krieg der Katzen gegen die Mäuse als Wanddekor in allgemein zugänglichen Lokalen vorkomme<sup>107</sup>. E. Brunner-Traut tritt für die nicht undenkbare Hypothese ein, dass diese Bilder auf Hauswänden hätten erscheinen können<sup>108</sup>. Das Fragment einer Szene von einer Wand aus koptischer Zeit mit einem Bild aus dem Kampfzyklus der Katzen und der Mäuse könnte diese Annahme unterstützen<sup>109</sup>.

Indessen ist es nicht wahrscheinlich, dass die Darstellungen auf Ostraka nur Skizzenmaterial für eine Wandmalerei seien. Es ist nicht undenkbar, dass sie selbst als Illustrationen dienten, soweit sie komplex koloriert und elegant waren — einige sind ja nur grobe Skizzen. Sie könnten z.B. in einem Kreis von Zuhörern herumgereicht worden sein, wenn der Geschichtenerzähler mitten unter ihnen sass und das wunderbaren Abenteuer vortrug. Ebenso können die

apyrusmanuskripte Unterhaltungszwecken gedient haben und eine Art von „comic strips“ gewesen sein. Dass diese nicht für den illiteraten Teil der Bevölkerung hergestellt wurden, zeigt die — grösstenteils unpublishierte — erotische Partie des Turiner Papyrus, in der zwar die Bilder dominieren, aber hierarchische Texte sie begleiten<sup>14</sup>. Natürlich kann man sich die Ostrakonbilder als Skizzen für Papyrusillustrationen denken, wie J. Vandier d'Abbadie gemeint hat, die aber können nach ihr auch ohne die Absicht einer anderweitigen Verwendung gemacht worden sein<sup>15</sup>. Diese Gruppe exakt einzuteilen und zu definieren, lässt sich kaum durchführen.

Ein sehr wichtiger Umstand, der schnell beim Beachten dieses Bilderschatzes klar wird — der aber nicht zufriedenstellend beachtet worden ist — ist, dass die Bilder oft einander sehr nahestehen, wenn es nicht sogar, wie in vielen Fällen, identisch sind<sup>16</sup>. Dies ist ein bedeutsamer Beleg dafür, dass diese Darstellungen nicht spontane Einfälle, sondern dass sie anonymisch überliefert und zielbewusst geübt worden sind. Es ist selbstverständlich ein ikonographisch benutztes Repertoire, das vorkommt. Das Vorhandensein von ganzen Serien ikonographisch verwandter Bilder ist wichtig für die Beurteilung dieses Materials.

Dieses Repertoire ist ikonographisch gesehen stark von zwei Gruppen von Darstellungen beeinflusst. Es sind teils die profan betonten Bilder der Grabmalerei und teils die grossen Reliefzyklen der Tempel, in denen Feldschlachten und andere Kampfhandlungen vorkommen, die vielen Tierbildern zugrunde liegen. Für den ersten Fall können Beispiele genannt werden wie der Kater oder die Katze oder der Fuchs und Gänsehirt, wobei die Ikonographie der Gräber deutlich die Bilder geprägt hat<sup>17</sup>. Für den anderen Fall gibt es zahlreiche Beispiele aus dem Bildzyklus vom Katzen- und Mäusekrieg, in denen sich gerade die Schlachtschilderungen der 19. und 20. Dynastie wieder spiegeln, was ausserdem ein wichtiges Kriterium für die Datierung dieser Bilder liefert, da dieses Genre, obwohl sein Ursprung in der 18. Dynastie liegt, erst während dieser Epochen eine bedeutende Entwicklung erfahren hat. Dann kann es berechtigt sein zu fragen, inwieweit andere Bildgruppen die Ikonographie der Tierdarstellungen beeinflusst haben können. Es liegt nahe, an die Hausmalerei zu denken, und in einem Fall, eine Wochenlaubeszene betreffend, kann eine Verbindung wahrscheinlich gemacht werden<sup>18</sup>.

So kann man generell annehmen, dass diese Tierbilder ikonographisch stark von geläufigen thebanischen Bildthemata abhängen, dass sie hauptsächlich ein abgeleitetes Phänomen in der Folge von Themata für ganz andere Zusammenhänge sind. Eine Frage, die hier nicht beantwortet werden soll, ist dann natürlich, inwieweit diese Bilder bloss Illustrationen zu literarischen Themata sind, inwieweit die Tiergeschichten selbst vielleicht aus der Bilderwelt der thebanischen Kunst entstanden sind. Die Motive, die auf den Ostraka belegt sind, kehren häufig in den drei Papyrusmanuskripten wieder. Es wäre interessant zu wissen, inwieweit diese Motive auf Theben begrenzt sind oder auch an anderen Orten in Ägypten vorkommen. Die drei Papyri sind alle unsicherer Herkunft. Eine fragliche Angabe liegt z.B. für den in Kairo vor, er könnte aus Tuna el Gebel kommen<sup>19</sup>. Damit könnte vielleicht die Verbreitung der Motive belegt werden, obwohl ja der Fundplatz in diesem Falle keineswegs mit dem Herstellungsort identisch zu sein braucht.

Schliesslich muss indessen unterstrichen werden, dass man nicht generell alle Bilder dieses Typs als Illustrationen literarischer Themata anzusehen braucht. Es kann sehr wohl so sein, dass einige Motive ausserhalb dieser Gruppe stehen. Vielleicht bilden manche eine sekundäre Gruppe, welche von den literarischen unabhängige Gelegenheitsbilder umfasst, die jedoch ikonographisch von den Tiergeschichten-illustrationen beeinflusst ist. Hier eröffnet sich auch die Frage, inwieweit einige Bilder als Satiren aufgefasst werden sollten. H. Kischkewitz hat z.B. eine solche Einteilung vornehmen wollen<sup>20</sup>, und sie scheint berechtigt zu sein. Es ist eine selbstverständliche Notwendigkeit, diese Möglichkeit offen zu halten, obwohl es schwer für uns ist, den psychologischen Hintergrund der Bilder zu fassen.

N. Schon oben ist im Zusammenhang mit dem deutschen Material die Gruppe behandelt worden, welche die Frau und ihren Säugling zum Thema hat. Dies ist eine Gruppe, die durch zahlreiche Ostraka vertreten ist<sup>21</sup> und die dem Künstler nahe gelegen haben dürfte. Auch in dem französischen Material kommen im grossen und ganzen gesehen, obwohl es viele Varianten gibt, nur einige wenige Themata vor. Die langen Serien deuten die festen Traditionen an. Eine offene Frage bleibt, ob die Bilder Übungen und Skizzen für grössere Darstellungen innerhalb der Hausmalerei sind, an die sie ja offenbar anknüpfen, oder

<sup>14</sup> — Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin

ob sie Votivbilder sind oder möglicherweise beides. Auch die Fundumstände haben hier keine eindeutige Antwort darauf geben können.

O. Das Thema der tanzenden oder musizierenden Personen kommt oft in den Privatgräbern der 18. Dynastie vor. Im Ostrakonmaterial ist es mit einer Anzahl von Beispielen vertreten<sup>200</sup>, die meist mit den Darstellungen in den Gräbern verbunden werden können<sup>201</sup>. Vielfach sind es Frauen, aber manchmal auch Männer, die Instrumente wie Laute, Harfe oder Flöte spielen und Tänze aufführen. Diese Motive sind jedoch nicht auf die Grabmalerei beschränkt. Sie kommen auch auf den Erzeugnissen des Kunsthandwerks<sup>202</sup> vor, aber auch in der privaten Hausmalerei. In einem der Wohnhäuser in Deir el Medineh ist ja das Fragment einer Wandmalerei gefunden worden, das eine Flötenspielerin darstellt<sup>203</sup>.

Diese Ostraka können mit ziemlicher Sicherheit an diese grössere Malerei in Gräbern und Privathäusern angeschlossen werden. Ein interessantes Beispiel für den Skizzencharakter ist ein Ostrakon, das auf den beiden Seiten dieselbe Tänzerin zeigt<sup>204</sup>. Hier ist das eine Bild nicht richtig geglückt, weshalb man die Scherbe umgedreht und von neuem begonnen hat. Eine andere Möglichkeit ist natürlich, dass ein Meister die eine Seite bemalte und ein Lehrling das gute Vorbild zu kopieren versuchte. Was gerade dieses Bild einer Tänzerin betrifft, ist es interessant, um zu zeigen, wie die Motive oft fast völlig identisch sind, auf eine sehr nahe Parallele auf einem Ostrakon in Turin hinzuweisen, einem der Meisterwerke der Ostrakonmalerei<sup>205</sup>. Auch für diese Gruppe ist der ikonographische Rahmen eng, sind kanonische Themata vorhanden.

P. Opfer- und Anbetungsszenen sind Themata, die oft in funerären Zusammenhängen aller Art erscheinen, sowohl in Gräbern wie auf verschiedenen Gegenständen der Grabausrüstung, darüber hinaus auch auf Votivdenkmälern unterschiedlicher Art. J. Vandier d'Abbadie hat eine Anzahl Bilder zusammengestellt, die oft eine Privatperson vor einer Gottheit zeigen, Opfer darbringend oder ihre Arme beim Anrufen erhebend<sup>206</sup>. Die Bilder dieser Gruppe dürften in mehreren Fällen fertige Votive sein, in anderen aber nur Skizzen. Ein deutliches Beispiel für die Gruppe der Votivbilder ist die Darstellung eines Mannes vor einer heiligen Katze (VA 2882), wobei die Scherbe oben abgerundet ist und die charakte-

ristische Form einer Stele hat. Die Götter, die in dieser Gruppe vorkommen, gehören zu den häufigeren in der mythologischen Welt der Deir el Medineh-Bewohner.

Q. Zu einer besonderen Gruppe hat J. Vandier d'Abbadie Bilder von Privatpersonen in verschiedenen Haltungen zusammengefasst<sup>207</sup>. Das Material in dieser Abteilung kann grossenteils auf die Privatgräber zurückgeführt werden, doch ist es oft allgemeiner Art, so dass eine nähere Bestimmung nicht möglich ist. Es kann sich manchmal um ziemlich hastig und schlecht ausgeführte Skizzen handeln; sie brauchen nicht unbedingt für einen bestimmten Zweck hergestellt worden zu sein. Eins der Bilder gibt eine Szene ungewöhnlicheren Typs wieder: eine Schlägerei mit Stöcken zwischen zwei Männern (VA 2448), einen Kampf, der in einigen Fällen — mit oder ohne Stöcke — zeremoniell gedeutet werden kann<sup>208</sup>. Sie hat Parallelen in anderen Ostrakonfunden als dieser (D 25 132). Damit liegt wiederum ein Beispiel für die Wiederholung eines traditionellen Motivs vor. Dieses Kampfmotiv könnte Tempelbildern angeschlossen werden, wie Parallelen von Medinet Habu anzudeuten scheinen, indessen kommen ganz unzereemonielle Ringkämpfe und Schlägereien mit Stöcken auch in Privatgräbern der 18. Dynastie vor<sup>209</sup>, weshalb auch hier die Traditionen der Grabmalerei eine Rolle gespielt haben können.

R. In der Gruppe der Bilder von Menschenköpfen<sup>210</sup> gibt es eine Reihe von Darstellungen, die teilweise nur Fragmente grösserer sind (z.B. ein Genrebild wie den Schreiber mit seinen Utensilien VA 2507). Doch gibt es auch Skizzen einzelner Köpfe, ägyptischer oder ausländischen Typs. Oft kennzeichnen sie sichere Linien und eine treffende Charakteristik. Sie sind so allgemeiner Art, dass eine nähere Bestimmung kaum möglich ist. Es handelt sich fast ausschliesslich um Männerköpfe, und gewiss ist ihr allgemeiner Typ abhängig von den geläufigen Skizzen von Königsköpfen, die eine Gruppe für sich bilden. Ein Kopf *en face* (VA 2927) schliesst sich gut an eine bekannte mythologische Gestalt im Dekor der Königsgräber an<sup>211</sup>.

S. Die Bilder königlicher Personen<sup>212</sup> sind in der Regel konventionell, manchmal vielleicht recht stereotyp, aber durchgehend von guter Qualität. Mehrere von ihnen repräsentieren den Typ, der für

önigs- aber auch Privatgräber samt Darstellungen in  
 nderen Zusammenhängen geläufig ist. Die Möglich-  
 it, sie als zugehörig zu Tempelbildern zu deuten,  
 t auch offen. Ein paar Fragmente zeigen einen  
 önik auf der Jagd oder beim Niederschlagen seiner  
 einde (VA 2560, 2578), einmal steht er wahr-  
 heinlich dabei auf einem Wagen; ein anderes Bild  
 bt ihn in einer Sänfte wieder (VA 2958); sonst  
 ndelt es sich meist um Opfer- oder Adorations-  
 lder. Ein Bild eines Mannes mit einem Fischernetz  
 (VA 2553) zeigt ihn mit Uräus und müsste also einen  
 önik meinen. Diese einzigartige Szene ist vielleicht  
 er zufällig, möglicherweise ist das Kobradiadem  
 ar zum Scherz hinzugefügt.

. Auch im Künstlermaterial von ganz anderen Or-  
 n in Ägypten finden sich zahlreiche Beispiele da-  
 ir, dass Königsköpfe, und besonders deren Profile,  
 n sehr wichtiges Moment in der Übungstätigkeit  
 ldeten<sup>775</sup>. Königsköpfe — und eine Königin kommt  
 ebenfalls vor — sind natürlich auf diesen Bildostraka  
 präsentiert<sup>776</sup>. Sie sind allgemeinen Charakters. Ihre  
 ualität ist oft sehr gut. In mehreren Fällen stehen  
 e vielen Bildern in Daressys Material sehr nahe; es  
 önnnte sich natürlich manchmal um dieselben Künst-  
 r handeln<sup>777</sup>. Unter den Königsköpfen finden sich  
 enige einzigartige Beispiele für bärtige, unrasierte  
 besichter (VA 2568, 2569, 2972). Dies sind Zeich-  
 ungen, die jedoch nicht satirisch aufgefasst werden  
 öllen. Die Sitte, den Bart bei besonderen Gelegen-  
 eiten wachsen zu lassen, hat eine spezielle Bedeu-  
 ung, sie deutet Trauer an<sup>778</sup>.

J. Die Bilder von Gottheiten, die zusammengestellt  
 worden sind<sup>779</sup>, sind nicht alle desselben Typs. Ein  
 eil kann natürlich Votivgaben sein; bei einigen lie-  
 en Fundumstände vor, die dafür sprechen<sup>780</sup>. Andere  
 ind vielleicht nur Skizzen für Votive, ob diese nun  
 ls Ostraka oder als Stelen ausgeführt werden sollten.  
 konographisch gesehen weisen die Bilder keine  
 Merkwürdigkeiten auf. Ihrem allgemeinen Typ nach  
 önnen sie sowohl in Gräbern wie in Kultkapellen  
 ie auf anderen religiösen Denkmälern und auf Ge-  
 enständen aller erdenklichen Art vorkommen. Der  
 ikizzencharakter ist bei mehreren Bildern evident,  
 ind es gibt sogar Beispiele für die Anwendung eines  
 Quadratnetzes (VA 2601). Es ist die geläufige Schar  
 on Göttern, die erscheint; es gibt keine Abweichung  
 on dem für die thebanische Nekropole Üblichen.  
 Eine bemerkenswerte Darstellung bildet die eines

Osirisreliquiars mit Verbindung zu Abydos (VA  
 2603), die eine Konzeption im Zusammenhang mit  
 Monumentalreliefs in Tempeln ahnen lässt<sup>781</sup>.

V. Bilder von Schiffen und Booten kommen in vie-  
 len, sehr unterschiedlichen Zusammenhängen vor<sup>782</sup>.  
 Die Darstellungen auf Ostraka zeigen auch mehrere  
 verschiedene Typen von Schiffen, solche mit Segeln  
 und Papyrusnachen, nicht nur profane Fahrzeuge,  
 sondern auch solche religiös-zeremoniellen Typs mit  
 besonderen Charakteristika. Unter diesen Ostraka  
 finden sich Bilder, die ohne Zweifel eine Verbindung  
 zur Grabmalerei haben<sup>783</sup>. Eine Skizze, die, obwohl  
 fragmentarisch, eine Registereinteilung hat, zeigt,  
 dass man an einen grösseren Zusammenhang dachte  
 (VA 2668). Das Kunsthandwerk ist hier auch ständig  
 aktuell als Anwendungsbereich für die Bilder; so  
 können z.B. gravierte Metallgefässe Darstellungen  
 von Bootsfahrten im Papyrusdickicht tragen<sup>784</sup>.

Eine besonders interessante Serie Bilder eines Typs,  
 der selbständig zu sein scheint, sind Darstellungen  
 kleiner Papyrusnachen, in denen junge Frauen durch  
 das Papyrusdickicht der Sümpfe fahren. Dieses Motiv  
 erscheint, wie J. Vandier d'Abbadie gezeigt hat, im  
 Kunsthandwerk wieder<sup>785</sup> und kann mit mehreren  
 Beispielen belegt werden<sup>786</sup>. Indessen gibt es Anlass  
 anzunehmen, dass es auch in der Hausmalerei zur  
 Anwendung kommen konnte; ein Fragment aus  
 einem Hause in Deir el Medineh deutet auf die  
 Existenz einer analogen Szene<sup>787</sup>. Eine weitere Deu-  
 tungsmöglichkeit besteht darin, das Motiv mit lite-  
 rarischen Themata zu verbinden, worauf unten einge-  
 gangen werden soll. Wichtig ist hier — wie in so  
 vielen früheren Fällen — die Wiederholung des Mo-  
 tivs, sein kanonisches Vorkommen festzuhalten.

W. Pflanzen — einschliesslich Bäume — gehören zu  
 einer besonderen Bildgruppe im Ostrakonmaterial<sup>788</sup>.  
 Solche Motive kommen nicht nur als Details in grö-  
 sseren Darstellungen vor, sondern haben auch oft eine  
 dekorative Funktion und zeigen eine Tendenz zur  
 Stilisierung. Man trifft z.B. oft auf Blütendekor in  
 der Grabmalerei, aber auch im Kunsthandwerk z.B.  
 auf Keramik<sup>789</sup>. Bäume bilden eine besondere Grup-  
 pe, bei der die Grenze zwischen der Absicht, einen  
 Milieueindruck von einer bestimmten Lokalität zu  
 geben, und der rein dekorativen, zum Stilisieren ten-  
 dierenden Funktion schwer zu definieren sein kann.  
 Ein Beispiel dafür liefert eine Reihe von Bäumen,  
 die in einem bestimmten ikonographischen Zusam-

menhang in mehreren Gräbern in Theben wieder-  
kommt<sup>100</sup>.

X. Verschiedene dekorative Muster und einige Skizzen, die mit Architektur verbunden sind, beschliessen J. Vandier d'Abbadies Gruppierung des französischen Ostrakonmaterials<sup>101</sup>. Hier gibt es Skizzen vom Dekor auf Grabdecken, auch Zeichnungen wie eine Scheintür des Typs, der in Gräbern vorkommen kann, weiter auch Säulen (VA 2702, 2701, 3050). Derartige Material ist mit Planzeichnungen verwandt, die aus anderen Ostrakonfunden ja bekannt sind. Diese Entwürfe und Studien können für Modelle oder zur Proportionierung wichtig gewesen sein. Weiterhin erscheint in dieser Gruppe auch die Zeichnung eines Spielbretts; vielleicht handelt es sich um eine Scherbe, die zufällig als ein solches verwandt wurde wie auch eine ähnliche in Daressys Material (VA 3051; D 25 183).

## Auswertung und Zusammenfassung

Eine kurze Auswertung und Zusammenfassung dieser Gruppen des französischen Ostrakonmaterials, Gruppen, die alle relativ klar abgegrenzt sind — Bilder mit Kritzeleien sind eher eine Randerscheinung — ergibt zusammen mit dem Material der deutschen Ausgräber, dass die meisten Bilder mehr oder weniger an die thebanische Grabmalerei angeschlossen werden können. Nur in einigen wenigen Fällen kann man eigentlich mit Bestimmtheit ein für die Grabmalerei ganz fremdes Motiv feststellen; es gibt ja manchmal radikale Ausnahmen. Doch können mehrere der mit der Grabmalerei verbundenen Motive auch in ganz anderem Zusammenhang erscheinen, vor allem auf Erzeugnissen des Kunsthandwerkes. Weiterhin ist zu bemerken, dass eigentlich nur eine sehr beschränkte Anzahl Motive auf den Ostraka vorkommt. Im Verhältnis zur Mannigfaltigkeit der ikonographischen Themata in den thebanischen Gräbern sind es wenige. Die Szenen mit Verbindung zur Grabmalerei, die auf Ostraka erscheinen, sind oft sehr geläufige; direkt einzigartige sind selten. Auch kommen hauptsächlich isolierte Figuren oder Details vor, keine grösseren zusammenhängenden Kompositionen.

Was die zeitliche Einordnung des Materials angeht, so hat niemand an einer Datierung in die ramesidische Zeit gezweifelt, was den Hauptanteil der in Deir el Medineh gefundenen Ostraka betrifft. Dies

wird oft durch Details bestätigt, die besonders zeitgebunden sind, z.B. Kleider, und kann auch durch die Inschriften belegt werden, die entweder durch Namen und Titel sonst bekannter und datierbarer Personen zeitlich fixiert oder mit Hilfe der Paläographie bestimmt werden können. Es gibt keine schwerwiegenden Gründe, für den grössten Teil dieser Bildostraka von dieser Datierung abzugehen.

Schon die ersten Forscher, die sich mit den Bildostraka von Theben befassten, haben auf die Inkongruenz hingewiesen, die zwischen dem Typ der Bilder und ihrer Datierung besteht<sup>102</sup>. Man hat gezeigt, dass die hauptsächlich profan geprägten Themata, die auf einer grossen Anzahl Ostraka erscheinen und die ihre Heimstätte in den Privatgräbern der 18. Dynastie haben, schon veraltet sind, als diese Bildostraka entstehen. Man hat den starken thematischen Umschwung im Bildprogramm hervorgehoben, der die Gräber beim Übergang von der 18. zur 19. Dynastie trifft. Da haben nun Künstler von Deir el Medineh gegessen und Bilder aus einem Repertoire gezeichnet, das keine Verbindung mehr zu täglich vorkommenden Arbeitsaufgaben hatte.

Wahrscheinlich muss man aber in gewissem Ausmasse von der starken Bindung der Ostrakonbilder an die Grabmalerei absehen. Eine auffallende Beobachtung ist, dass diese Darstellungen, die zur Thematik der Gräber in Beziehung gesetzt werden können, fast nie exakt durch Parallelen in den Gräbern belegt werden können. Im Prinzip dürfen im übrigen die Skizzen nicht in erster Linie mit den fertigen Resultaten verglichen werden, sondern mit den Vorzeichnungen, die den fertigen Grabbildern vorausgehen. Die Ostrakonbilder haben eine ziemlich freie Stellung den fertigen Grabbildern gegenüber. Sie paraphrasieren, sie scheinen selten direkte Skizzen oder Vorlagen für ein in der Ausführung befindliches Projekt gewesen zu sein, sondern sie sind Bilder, die mit den traditionellen Themata als Hintergrund zustande gekommen sind. Sie wirken am ehesten wie freie, mit Lust ausgeführte Übungen, wie ein spielerisches Schaffen aus einem Fond kanonisch überlieferter Motive heraus. Und diese Freiheit kann wohl auch damit zusammenhängen, dass man nicht gezwungen war, diese Motive in täglich vorkommender Arbeit, bei der Berufstätigkeit anzuwenden. In den Ostraka aus Deir el Medineh kann man nicht dieselbe Steifheit und dieselbe Strenge finden, die so deutlich die Ostraka aus dem Tal der Könige prägen, um nicht von der Motivaus-



hl zu sprechen, die dort einseitiger ist. Oft kann ch ein Vergleich mit ständig wiederkehrenden Mo- en wie Götter- oder Königsdarstellungen durchge- irt werden, die durchgehend weniger frei im Stil d, was natürlich teilweise zur Natur der Darstel- ig gehört. Der Unterschied tritt aber deutlich her- r. Betrachtet man andererseits das Kunsthandwerk, gibt es dort viele Berührungspunkte. Der Dekor t Bilddarstellungen in der Kleinkunst ist oft freierer t als die monumentalere Malerei, sei es nun in übern oder in anderen Zusammenhängen.

Man kann weiterhin beobachten, dass die Bilder f den Ostraka sehr selten die grossen und bedeutun- n Szenen aus dem Repertoire der Privatgräber wie- geben. Die beliebten Gruppierungen mit dem Grab- rtm im Mittelpunkt der Ereignisse, z.B. Jagd, In- ektionen usw., sind selten vertreten. Es sind nicht aristokratischen, sondern die einfacheren und all- licheren Szenen, die vorwiegend repräsentiert sind, t, selten der vornehme Grabherr auf seinem mit erden bespannten Wagen, dagegen aber der ein- che Kutscher auf dem Wagen des Herrn. Man kann h dem Gedanken nicht verschliessen, dass die be- sste Auswahl der auf Ostraka erscheinenden The- ta teilweise den Alltag widerspiegelt, der die instler umgab, dass man naheliegende Szenen ab- dete. Damit ist auch die Möglichkeit gegeben, viele Bilder als eine Art „snap-shots“ zu deuten, als ogenblicksbilder, in denen das Gesehene hauptsäch- n mit Hilfe der kanonisch überlieferten Ikono- phie wiedergegeben wird. Der ägyptische Künstler rafft nicht nach einer unmittelbar gesehenen Wirk- keit, er arbeitet nicht nach lebenden Modellen, dern er baut auf einen festen traditionellen Grund t Elementen, die nach bestimmten Richtlinien teinander kombiniert werden können. Erst die narna-Zeit zeigt eine einzigartige Abweichung mit en Versuchen, visuelle Erfahrungen wiederzuge- 1“.

Hiermit tangiert man auch eine Eigentümlichkeit r Ostrakonbilder, nämlich die Tatsache, dass sie ten völlig unik sind. Ein durchgehender Zug in hreren der Bildgruppen ist, dass man lange Serien n denselben Motiven belegen kann. Gewiss gibt oft bedeutende Varianten, im Grunde aber ist es erhalb der verschiedenen Gruppen oft dasselbe ema, das wieder und wieder auftaucht. Gerade die ufigkeit eines und desselben Motivs kann eine rke Evidenz dafür liefern, dass es sich nicht um fällige Bilder handelt, sondern stattdessen um The-

mata, die Gegenstand bewusster Übung waren.

Eine Art von Schultätigkeit muss innerhalb der Künstlergruppe von Deir el Medineh vor sich gegang- en sein. Man konnte vielleicht ein bestimmtes Thema vorgelegt bekommen. Dieses wurde mit in- dividuellen Variationen ausgeführt. Es ist nicht un- wahrscheinlich, dass mehrere der Ostrakonbilder, die an die Motivwelt der Gräber der 18. Dynastie an- knüpfen, just Übungen dieser Art sind. Hier gibt es einen Fond von Motiven, der noch aus einer grossen Epoche der thebanischen Malerei traditionell vorhan- den war und der zu einem bestimmten pädagogischen Ziel angewandt wurde. Natürlich kann man auch an- nehmen, dass ein Teil der Motive, die nicht in der Grabmalerei belegt sind, die aber wiederholt auf dem Ostrakonmaterial vorkommen, ebenfalls Lehrlings- oder Übungsstücke der hier beschriebenen Art bildet. Themata wie der Mann mit dem Affen, Affen auf einer Palme usw. erscheinen in langen Serien, was zeigt, dass es sich nicht um Gelegenheitsbilder han- delt. Sie können hier Schulthemata sein, sie brauchen im Prinzip nicht mit Bildzusammenhängen innerhalb eines speziellen Bereichs verbunden zu sein, obwohl eine solche Möglichkeit nicht ganz ausgeschlossen werden kann.

Es sind verhältnismässig sehr wenige Motivgruppen, die an eine grossformatige Malerei in profanem Zu- sammenhang, in Palästen und Wohnhäusern, ange- schlossen werden können. Die Hauptgruppe bilden die Wochenlaubeszene, die zusammen mit einzel- nen Bildern, z.B. von Musikantinnen, mit Privat- häusern in Deir el Medineh in Beziehung gebracht werden konnten. Andere, deren Zusammenhang aber unsicherer ist, sind Motive wie Affen, Stiere, Pferde, und Schiffe. Dazu kommen noch Bilder so allgemei- nen Charakters, dass sie nicht näher bestimmt wer- den können, Details wie Königsköpfe, Gesichter oder Göttergestalten, die legio sind. Eine weitere Anknüp- fungsmöglichkeit für die Ostrakonbilder an eine Malerei in grösserer Skala besteht in den Kultkapel- len, die aus Deir el Medineh bekannt sind. Aus der Übersicht oben geht hervor, dass ihr Dekor dem der Gräber sehr nahesteht und kaum davon zu unter- scheiden ist. Eine spezielle Beziehung zur Palast- malerei scheint nicht vorzuliegen; die vorhandenen Parallelen sind zu allgemeiner Art, um eine eindeu- tige Bestimmung zuzulassen. Die einzige grosse Bild- gruppe, die zu keiner der erhaltenen Monumentgrup- pen in Verbindung gesetzt werden kann — ausser

den sehr verwandten Papyrusilluminationen — sind die Darstellungen aus der Welt der Tiergeschichte. Sie stehen allein, und nur hypothetisch kann man für diese Epoche annehmen, dass sie eine Rolle für Dekor in grösserem Format spielten.

Man kann auch Anknüpfungspunkte zwischen den Ostrakonbildern und Dekor in kleinerer Skala suchen. Mehrmals ist auf die Erzeugnisse des Kunsthandwerks hingewiesen worden, die oft figuralen Schmuck tragen, der vielen der Motive auf den Ostraka nahesteht<sup>104</sup>. Eine besondere Gattung innerhalb des Kunsthandwerks, die A. Hermann speziell behandelt hat, bilden Holztruhen für das Verwahren von Papyrusmanuskripten<sup>105</sup>. Es ist ihm gelungen, eine Anzahl Bilder, die derartige Truhen, ebenso wie Fayencekacheln, die zu Aufbewahrungsbehältern für Papyrus gehört haben, dekorieren, abzugrenzen. Er nimmt an, dass zwischen dem äusseren Dekor und dem Buch oder den Büchern, die in dem Kasten oder Behälter aufbewahrt wurden, eine Relation besteht. Die Motive, die er abgrenzen kann, sind: eine Antilope und eine Sykomore, ein über Wasser galoppierendes Stierkalb, ein Mann auf einem mit Pferden bespannten Wagen, eine Doppeltür samt dem Motiv „Spaziergang im Garten“. Das letzte, das auf einem Gegenstand in Tutanchamuns Grab vorkommt, verbindet er hauptsächlich mit der Liebesliteratur. A. Hermanns Annahme, dass es sich um Buchillustrationen handele, könnte, was das spezielle Motiv des Mannes auf dem Wagen betrifft, eine weitere Bestätigung durch J. Caparts hypothetische Verbindung von diesem mit einem literarischen Thema erfahren<sup>106</sup>. Ausserdem gibt es ein Bild auf einem Ostrakon in Turin, das man gern mit demselben Genre verknüpfen möchte, nämlich die Darstellung eines zwischen Papyrus, Lotus, Fisch und Vogel schwimmenden nackten Mädchens<sup>107</sup>, ein Motiv, das sonst schwer mit den dominierenden Themata innerhalb der geläufigen Malerei zu verbinden sein könnte. Die nächste Parallele dazu bilden Erzeugnisse des Kunsthandwerks, vor allem Schalen, die L. Keimer zitiert hat, der das genannte Ostrakon publiziert hat. Diesem Bildtyp stehen ja auch die oben genannten Darstellungen auf Ostraka mit einer Frau in einem Nachen im Papyrusdickicht nahe; auch diese haben einen Bezug zum Kunsthandwerk, was keineswegs literarische Assoziationen ausschliesst. Sicher gibt es für mehrere Bildtypen noch offene Möglichkeiten für eine nähere Bestimmung. Es ist jedoch schwierig, das Material mit literarischen

Themata zu verbinden, ohne sich auf blosser Vermutungen einzulassen. Was A. Hermann schon getan hat, möge eine Andeutung sein, in welcher Richtung eine solche Studie unter Zugrundelegung der Ostrakonbilder ausgeführt werden kann, wie sie bereits E. Brunner-Traut für die Tiergeschichtebilder vorgenommen hat. Doch wäre es nicht richtig, z.B. alle Bilder des Typs, den A. Hermann belegen wollte, nur an dieses spezielle Genre zu binden. Es gibt natürlich viele Möglichkeiten. Bei Klassifizierungsversuchen ist es jedoch wichtig, diesen Zweckbereich für gewisse Motive mit zu berücksichtigen.

Hier ist der Versuch unternommen worden, die Weite anzudeuten, die das Bildrepertoire haben kann, und am Rande auch die Gebiete zu notieren, die nicht durch erhaltene Monumente gut belegt sind. Eine Ahnung von dem unerhörten Reichtum von Motiven, oft ganz neu für uns und bei archäologischen Untersuchungen der letzten Jahre entdeckt, der im Kreis der thebanischen Künstler existiert hat, geben die vielen Relieffragmente von Echnatons Heiligtümern in Karnak<sup>108</sup>. Wenn auch viele der Motive einzigartig für Echnatons kurze Periode als Erneuerer der ägyptischen Kunst sein können, so zeigen sie doch eine allgemeine Neigung zu einem neuen Schen bei ihren Urhebern, sie lassen ein Beobachtungsvermögen und eine Sensibilität erkennen, die einen Höhepunkt in der ägyptischen Kunst bilden. Dabei haben auch die dramatischen Arrangierungen, die nuancierten Gruppierungen der Szenen eine grosse Rolle für die Schaffung ganz neuer und kühner Bilder gespielt, die definitiv mit der alten Tradition brechen. Doch kann man, obwohl die ästhetische Bedeutung der ägyptischen Bilder während der 18. Dynastie zugenommen hat, nicht eindeutig feststellen, dass die Ägypter dieser grösseres Gewicht beimassen — sie verbleibt eine Randerscheinung, und die Zeit Echnatons bringt keine Befreiung in ästhetischer Hinsicht mit sich.

Es ist klar, dass die Spannweite, welche die Kunst in der Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts hatte — während dieser kurzen Zeit Echnatons — nicht spurlos vorübergehen konnte. Sie hat das ägyptische Kunstschaffen geprägt und ihm eine neue Freiheit gegenüber dem Alten und Traditionellen gegeben. Etwas davon findet sich als ein Nachklang im Ostrakonmaterial — und in gewissem Umfang in einigen Gräbern von Deir el Medineh — doch ist es erstaunlich, wie variationsarm, regelmässig und traditionell belastet die

Ostrakonmaterial ist trotz der scheinbaren Mannigfaltigkeit. Der zwar begrenzte, aber doch auffallende leutliche Individualismus, den man in der Kunst der Amarna-Zeit wahrnehmen kann, konnte die Barriere nicht durchbrechen, die die uralte Tradition bildete; diese hat alle anderen, ästhetischen, sozialen oder psychologischen Voraussetzungen für das Kunstschaffen überschattet.

Zu Echnatons Zeit treten einige einzelne Künstlergestalten in Dokument und Werk hervor<sup>300</sup>, was ziemlich einmalig in der ägyptischen Kunst ist, die in der Regel das Produkt einer Gemeinschaftsarbeit ist. Die Deir el Medineh-Gruppe macht keine Ausnahme von der Anonymität, die die ägyptische Kunst überhaupt prägt<sup>300</sup>. Nur in wenigen Fällen sind Ostraka gefunden worden, die den Hersteller zu erkennen geben. Natürlich gibt es die — ziemlich sichere — Möglichkeit, dass viele Motivbilder mit der Aufschrift „gemacht von“ plus Namen wirklich von der genannten Person hergestellt worden sind. Ein Ostrakon, das keine Motivgabe sein kann, hat die Inschrift „*ir.n Ipwj*, gemacht von Ipuj“<sup>301</sup>. Diese Inschrift könnte eine richtige Signatur des Herstellers sein. Eine Namensangabe auf einem bei J. Vandier d'Abbadie nicht abgebildeten Ostrakon ist unsicherer (VA 2460). Die Herausgeberin hat die Inschrift als Signatur gedeutet und davon ausgehend ein ganzes kleines Corpus von Werken des vermeintlichen Künstlers aufgebaut<sup>302</sup>. Doch könnte der Name nur die Person meinen, die auf dem Ostrakon abgebildet ist. Es ist klar, dass man durch eingehende Studien Ostraka finden könnte, die sich um einen bestimmten anonymen Künstler gruppieren liessen, dass man mehrere Bilder zusammenstellen könnte, die unzweifelhaft aus derselben Hand stammen. Dies hat jedoch kaum entscheidende Bedeutung für das Verständnis des Materials als Ganzheit, nicht zuletzt da die Identifikationen niemals ganz sicher sein können.

Schliesslich ist es nicht ganz uninteressant, im Zusammenhang mit den Bildostraka einen Blick teils auf Skulpteurskizzen, teils auf Graffiti zu werfen. In Deir el Medineh sind mehrere Bildhauerlehrstücke gefunden worden, die von einer Tätigkeit auf auch diesem Gebiete zeugen<sup>303</sup>. Es ist in einigen Fällen schon darauf hingewiesen worden, wie Ostrakonskizzen manchmal skulptural bearbeitet, wie die gezeichneten Linien eingeritzt werden können, z.B. auf einer Motivgabe<sup>304</sup>. Auch reine Übungsskizzen sind in Deir el Medineh gefunden worden, die jedoch ziemlich

selten sind und deren Themata auch nur wenige sind. Es kann sich um Reihen von Hieroglyphen handeln, um einen Königskopf, einen Falken, ein menschliches Gesicht. Leider ist das Material unvollständig publiziert. Was zugänglich ist, reicht indessen, um zu konstatieren, dass es offenbar keine grössere skulpturale Tätigkeit innerhalb der Deir el Medineh-Gruppe gab<sup>305</sup>. Zeichnung und Malerei waren anscheinend die Hauptbeschäftigungen. Die Themata, die auf den Skulpteurskizzen vorkommen, scheinen übrigens überhaupt charakteristisch zu sein, sie sind nicht auf Deir el Medineh beschränkt<sup>306</sup>. Für derartige Übungen hat es nie ein motivmässig reichhaltiges Repertoire gegeben.

Eine ganz andere Gruppe bilden die Graffiti, die sich im thebanischen Bergterrain befinden. Hier und da kommen eingeritzte Namen und Titel vor, hier und da gibt es mit numinöser Kraft geladene Plätze, an denen man es für bedeutsam befunden hat, den Gottheiten seinen Tribut durch Bilder und Inschriften, die man ihnen weihte, darzubringen. Die Bild-Graffiti im westlichen Theben, die speziell mit Deir el Medineh verbunden sind, haben hauptsächlich Motivcharakter<sup>307</sup>. Es handelt sich um anbetende Personen vor Gottheiten, um Einzelne im Adorationsgestus oder um Gottheiten allein. Das Material aus Westtheben, das W. Spiegelberg gesammelt hat<sup>308</sup>, hat auch denselben Charakter. Jedoch gibt es hier auch einzelne Bilder von z.B. Pferden und Schiffen, die sicher keine religiöse Implikation haben<sup>309</sup>. Im Prinzip kann ja fast alles in kritzeleiartigen Einritzungen vorkommen, wobei natürlich auf die Schwierigkeit, auf rauhen Bergwänden Bilder anzubringen, Rücksicht genommen werden muss. Ein paar Beispiele von verschiedenen Stätten in Ägypten können noch angeführt werden. In Gebel Achmar erscheinen einzelne Figuren wie Löwen, ein Boot, ein Affenkopf, ein Stier- oder Kuhkopf samt menschlichen Gestalten<sup>310</sup>. Es ist also ein dem Ostrakonmaterial nahestehendes Repertoire, das gerade die Kritzeleifunktion gewisser Teile dieses Materials andeuten kann, welches doch nicht immer zu ernst genommen und mit Strenge in bestimmte Bildzusammenhänge verwiesen werden darf. Es handelt sich ja um Motive, die auf einzelnen Ostraka sehr früher Zeit schon vorkommen können, z.B. ein Stier und ein Affe auf einem Ostrakon aus Hemakas Grab<sup>311</sup>. Ebenso kann man sehen — um nach Theben zurückzukehren — wie rein kritzeleiartige Skizzen in z.B. einem mehr oder weniger fertigen Privatgrab vorkommen können. Ein Beispiel zeigt

Bilder eines Pferdes, eines Vogels, eines Königs samt Namenskartuschen, die alle ohne inneren Zusammenhang skizziert sind<sup>112</sup>. Weitere Beispiele von einer ganz anderen Stätte liefern die Graffiti, die sich im Innern der Pyramide Sesostri's III. in Daschur befinden<sup>113</sup>. Wieder und wieder sind Männerköpfe grob und kantig auf das Mauerwerk gezeichnet, manchmal erscheint eine ganze Menschengestalt, einmal ein Falke.

Natürlich variiert die künstlerische Qualität der Graffiti wie auch der gekritzelten Skizzen in verschiedenen Zusammenhängen sehr, meist ist sie recht mittelmässig. Wenn man die Bildostraka mit den meist groben und unförmigen Zeichen, die auf Keramik als Besitzer- oder Herstellerangabe<sup>114</sup> z.B. eingritzelt sind, mit den Kritzeleien auf Bergwänden oder auf Mauerwerk, mit den Graffiti vergleicht, sieht man auch den grossen Unterschied zwischen den Herstellern dieser Bilder und den professionellen Zeichnern und Malern, die in Deir el Medineh tätig waren. Was das Ostrakonmaterial angeht, so haben

wir es mit einer Elitegruppe von Künstlern zu tun. Deshalb ist dieses Material so wertvoll für die Möglichkeit, Einblicke in ein durch Generationen andauerndes Bildschaffen in Verbindung mit Pharao, dem zentralen Auftraggeber in Ägypten, zu gewinnen.

So haben wir hier in den Ostrakonfunden aus Deir el Medineh selbst ein komplexes Material, das viel abwechslungsreicher als das aus dem Tal der Könige ist, das ganz andere Voraussetzungen als Hintergrund hat. Die Bilderwelt im Dorfe ist reicher. Neue Motivgruppen treten hervor, die keinen Platz in dem im Königsgräbertal dominierenden Bildprogramm haben. In Deir el Medineh sind wir im Mittelpunkt des künstlerischen Schaffens, dort wo Traditionen weitergeführt wurden und wo neue Generationen von Künstlern nach einander mit der Bilderwelt rangen und ihr manchmal neue Impulse und Einschläge gaben. Nun ist es aber Zeit, weiter in der thebanischen Nekropole herumzuwandern und zu sehen, was in den Tempeln und Gräbern an Bildostraka gefunden worden ist.

# Bildostrakonfunde aus Tempeln und Privatgräbern in Theben-West

## Funde in Tempeln

Auch aus ganz anderen archäologischen Zusammenhängen als den bisher erwähnten können Bildostraka kommen. Vor allem mit den Tempeln war eine Schultätigkeit verbunden, und es ist einleuchtend anzunehmen, dass man bei den Tempeln ebenfalls lebende Bildtraditionen pflegte. Diese waren natürlich mit anderen Gebieten verknüpft als die, mit denen die Künstler aus Deir el Medineh zu tun hatten, die eine ganz besondere Gruppe bildeten. Freilich liegen nur wenige Funde aus Tempeln in Theben vor, die auf eine derartige Schultätigkeit hindeuten können.

Bei dem grossen Totentempel Ramses' II., dem Ramesseum, sind bei Ausgrabungen am Ende des ersten Jahrhunderts Ostraka gefunden worden, von denen einige in verschiedenen Zusammenhängen publiziert worden sind. J. E. Quibell fand während der Grabungssaison 1895—96 eine Anzahl sehr interessanter hieratischer Ostraka<sup>1</sup>. Die Bildostraka dagegen, die zutage traten, sind nicht mehr als Kritzeleien ohne grössere Kunstfertigkeit, Tierbilder wie ein Grashüpfer, eine Schlange, ein Krokodil usw. oder Wiedergaben von Menschenköpfen; die einzige Szene zeigt einen Mann vor einem Opfertisch<sup>2</sup>. W. L. F. Petrie grub 1896 in demselben Gebiet. Aus seiner Publikation lernt man einige wenige Bildostraka kennen<sup>3</sup>, einen Männer- und einen Frauenkopf; bei dem letzten befindet sich ausserdem ein Affe, der aus Spass dazugezeichnet zu sein scheint; alles Bilder ohne grössere Bedeutung. Von dem wirklichen Umfang der Funde von Bildostraka beim Ramesseum bekommt man aber aus den Publikationen keine richtige Vorstellung<sup>4</sup>.

Bei den langjährigen britischen Untersuchungen der Tempel von Deir el Bahri im nordwestlichen

Theben ist eine kleine Gruppe Bildostraka zutage getreten. Ihre Motive sind in keiner Weise bemerkenswert, und ihre Qualität ist nicht besonders hoch. Einige Darstellungen sind ohne Zweifel Skizzen oder vielleicht Kopien in Verbindung mit Bildern in Privatgräbern: ein Grabherr auf einem Stuhl, unter welchem sich ein Affe befindet (dieses Bild ist mit einem Quadratnetz versehen), oder Muster eines Deckendekors. Andere schliessen sich mehr oder weniger lose an ikonographisch geläufige Szenen oder Details an, die nicht unbedingt in einen speziellen Zusammenhang eingeordnet werden müssen: ein anbetender Mann, der sich zu Boden geworfen hat, ein Mann mit einer Blume, weiter ein Stier und ein Falke. Ausserdem gibt es eine Architekturskizze<sup>5</sup>. Diese Bilder wurden in einer Kolonnade des Tempels der 11. Dynastie in Deir el Bahri gefunden<sup>6</sup>. Doch stammen sie unzweideutig aus einer bedeutend späteren Epoche. Sie gehören wahrscheinlich in die Zeit Ramses' II., als Reparaturen im Tempel vorgenommen wurden. Es ist von Interesse, das Vorkommen von Graffiti derselben Zeit auf Bauelementen des Tempels zu notieren. Diese zeigen, dass Künstler sich an Ort und Stelle befanden und sich nicht enthalten konnten, Bilder und Inschriften zu kritzeln. Unter diesen Graffiti befinden sich Wiedergaben von Schiffen, eines Stieres, einer Schlange und von menschlichen Gestalten<sup>7</sup>. Wahrscheinlich stammen die Bilder der Ostraka aus demselben Geist.

Auch bei den amerikanischen Ausgrabungen in Deir el Bahri, in Hatschepsuts Tempel, wurden Ostraka gefunden<sup>8</sup>. Es war nicht möglich, sie mit Hilfe der Fundumstände exakt zu datieren, doch gehören sie wahrscheinlich in die 18. Dynastie. Drei der vier publizierten Bilder sind deutlich hieroglyphischen Charakters: eine Gans, eine Schwalbe und eine

Gruppe von drei Hieroglyphen mit Quadratnetz versehen. Ein viertes Bild stellt ein Nilpferd dar, auch dies im Prinzip hieroglyphisch aufgefasst und den Vogelbildern verwandt. Alle diese Darstellungen haben mit ihrer präzisen Arbeit und ihrem etwas enthaltenisam-ausführlichen Stil eine deutliche Verbindung mit der Kunst der früheren 18. Dynastie.

## Bildostraka aus Privatgräbern

Bei der starken Anknüpfung an die Bildthematika der Privatgräber, welche für das Ostrakonmaterial erwiesen worden ist, wäre es erstaunlich, wenn man keine Bildostraka in der Nähe der Gräber gefunden hätte. Dies ist jedoch auch der Fall. In und bei Privatgräbern hat man Bildscherben gefunden, die sich im Prinzip an den Dekor im Innern der Gräber anschliessen lassen. Sie scheinen vor allem Produkte der Arbeit an den Gräbern zu sein; sie sind entstanden, während man mit dem Dekorieren beschäftigt war. Doch ist es auch möglich, in ihnen eine Kopiertätigkeit aus einer Zeit nach der Entstehung der Gräber zu erblicken.

Bei amerikanischen Ausgrabungen in Theben während einiger Kampagnen in den dreissiger Jahren dieses Jahrhunderts ist ein Ostrakonmaterial von grossem Interesse sichergestellt worden<sup>9</sup>, als man im Kurna-Gebiet das Grab des unter Hatschepsut so bedeutenden Beamten Senmut untersuchte<sup>10</sup>. Eine Anzahl Ostraka wurde entdeckt, hauptsächlich in „the fill of the artificial terrace before the tomb“<sup>11</sup>. Da klar gezeigt worden ist, dass diese Ostraka — sowohl die mit Bildern als die mit Inschriften — grösstenteils in Beziehung zu Senmuts Grab und seinem Dekor stehen, haben sie eine mit Daressys Material aus dem Königgräbertal vergleichbare Bedeutung. Hier können wir sehen, was im Zusammenhang mit einem bestimmten Projekt gezeichnet wurde, und bekommen einen Eindruck der verschiedenen Aspekte des Materials. Gleichzeitig ist dieser Fund sicher datiert und bildet die älteste geschlossene Gruppe von Bildostraka, die wir kennen.

Diese Ostraka, die W. C. Hayes 1942 publizierte, können in zwei Gruppen eingeteilt werden: eine mit direktem Bezug zum Grabe, preliminäre Skizzen für den Dekor einschliesslich der Inschriften, und eine andere mit Augenblicksbildern, von den Arbeitern gemacht „for their own entertainment“, wie Hayes sagt<sup>12</sup>. Beide Typen sind nach der Anwendung oder

sobald sie nicht mehr von Interesse waren, einfach weggeworfen worden. Meistenteils sind sie in der Schutt hineingeraten, der als Füllmaterial verwendet wurde.

Die Dekorskizzen sind manchmal nur hastig gemacht, um die Komposition und die Verteilung der Motive auf den Wänden anzugeben (z.B. H 6). Manchmal sind sie jedoch sorgfältiger ausgeführt u.a. mit Farben (H 7, 11). Die Technik weicht nicht von der üblichen ab: oft eine rote Skizze, mit schwarzer Farbe verbessert. Menschliche Köpfe und Figuren neben Tierbildern beherrschen das Material. Es gibt Szenen vom Opferempfang (H 6, 7, 23), von Begräbnisritualen (H 8, 10) und Feldarbeiten (H 12). Unter den Tierbildern erscheinen Rinder und Vögel. Stiere, die sich mit den Hörnern stossen (H 15, 16), Vögel, die auffliegen (H 21). Oft kann die Grenze zu den rein als Hieroglyphen aufgefassten Tieren schwierig zu ziehen sein. Das Fehlen von Götterbildern ist auffallend. Nur einige wenige Ostrakonbilder zeigen eine Einbeziehung der mythologischen Welt: das Schiff des Gottes Month (H 20), Details eines Falkenkopfes (H 19) und eine Sphinx (H 14), vielleicht eine Skizze für eine Skulptur. Sowohl profane als auch mythologische Darstellungen schliessen sich gut an den Dekor des Grabes an. In einigen Fällen konnten die Übereinstimmungen aufgezeigt werden, in anderen können Parallelen leicht in anderen Gräbern gefunden werden. Noch weitere Ostraka sind direkt mit Senmuts Grab verbunden. Zwei geben Pläne des Grabes wieder (H 3, 32), „layouts“ des Typs, der auch in anderen Ostrakongruppen vertreten ist, und eine Anzahl andere sind Studien zum Deckendekor (H 24—30).

Den Gelegenheitsbildern fehlt alle artistische Eleganz. Sie sind grob und stillos. Es dürften wohl kaum dieselben Personen gewesen sein, die diese und die feinen Skizzen für den Grabdekor ausgeführt haben. Es muss sich um eine andere Gruppe handeln, vielleicht um die Lehrlinge, die auch auf den hieratischen Ostraka Spuren von sich hinterlassen haben, „immature schoolboy scrawls of the literary texts“<sup>13</sup>, die sich an Bild Darstellungen versuchten. Diese enthalten Menschen und Tiere (H 33—42). Nur eine von ihnen zeigt einen Zusammenhang, der uns erlaubt, das Motiv einer bestimmten ikonographischen Gruppe zuzuordnen. Es ist das Bild eines sitzenden Mannes mit einer stehenden Person vor sich (H 33), was sehr wohl eine Opferszene herkömmlichen Typs sein kann. Eine Gazelle und ein Nilpferd befinden sich un-

n Tieren (H 37, 42), sonst dominieren die Rinder. Die Gazelle, in fliegendem Galopp wiedergegeben, ist von etwas besserer Qualität als die übrigen Tiere; sie kann natürlich mit den Wüstenjagdszenen der Privatgräber verbunden werden; möglicherweise gehört dieses Bild zu der früher genannten Gruppe von Wandskizzen, obwohl keine Jagdszene im Grab erhalten ist.

Einem anderen thebanischen Grab des 15. Jahrhunderts, aus der Zeit Thutmosis' III., dem des Priesters Puyemre<sup>14</sup>, sind ebenfalls Bildostraka gefunden worden, obwohl nicht viele. Eine Zeichnung auf einer Tonscherbe<sup>15</sup>, eine Strichzeichnung ausgeprägten Skizzenscharakters, gab eine Partie des Wandtors des Grabes wieder. Ein anderes Bild mit einem auf einem Opfertisch sitzenden Paar<sup>16</sup> war bedeutend besser ausgeführt; dies könnte eine Skizze oder eine Kopie sein wie die erste Zeichnung. Ein drittes Ostrakon stellt die Göttin Hathor sitzend dar, menschengestaltig mit ihrem üblichen Kopfschmuck. Die Scherbe hat eine bestimmte Form, sie ist dreieckig. Es wäre nicht undenkbar, sie als Votivgabe zu deuten, wobei die dreieckige Form an den heiligen El Kurn-Berg der thebanischen Nekropole erinnern könnte<sup>17</sup>. N. de G. Davies, der in seiner Beurteilung nicht soweit geht, meint, dass die Scherbe nicht als das Grab sei, vermutlich ramessidisch<sup>18</sup>, weshalb es nicht unmöglich ist, dass sie einmal als Votivgeschenk an die heilige Stelle gebracht wurde, das das Grab sein konnte.

Bei der Aufräumung eines für die Grabkunst der 18. Dynastie bedeutungsvollen Grabes, nämlich dem des Cheruef im Assasif<sup>19</sup>, wurde in der Nähe eine Anzahl loser Gegenstände gefunden, die zwar nicht mit voller Sicherheit mit dieser Anlage verbunden werden konnten, die aber zum Teil von künstlerischer Aktivität bei ihr zeugen können. Unter diesen Gegenständen befanden sich einige Bildostraka mit Skizzen in rot und schwarz<sup>20</sup>.

Die Darstellungen enthalten keine einzigartigen Motive. Hier erscheinen die üblichen Königsköpfe in grosser Menge, auch einzelne mythologische Gestalten wie ein schakalköpfiger Gott, Falken mit Doppelkronen oder Sphingen. Die Menschenfiguren — z.B. stehende oder sitzende — können alle leicht an die traditionellen Themata der Grabmalerei angeschlossen werden. Die Bilder, die meistens von ziemlich gleichmässiger Qualität sind, machen den Eindruck,

als gehörten sie in die ramessidische Epoche. Es ist möglich, dass Schreiber und Künstler hier Zeit damit verbracht haben, traditionelle Motive zu skizzieren, vielleicht vom Schmuck der Gräber inspiriert. An einigen Stellen im Grab befanden sich Graffiti mit Namen von Schreibern und Zeichnern, die eine solche Anwesenheit andeuten<sup>21</sup>. Ein weiteres Indiz kann vielleicht der Holzkasten mit Malerfarbe in Tablettenform bilden, der bei einer späteren Aufräumung im Grabe angetroffen wurde<sup>22</sup>, wobei auch weitere Ostraka zutage traten, einige vielleicht sogar aus römischer Zeit. Diese letzteren sind aber nicht publiziert. Ihre vom Ausgräber vorgenommene Datierung bewirkt, dass man auch die vorhergehende Gruppe nicht unbedingt einheitlich datieren kann, die Ostraka können aus verschiedenen Epochen stammen.

Während das Ostrakonmaterial von Deir el Medineh, das sich im Metropolitan Museum of Art befindet, nur andeutungsweise von W. C. Hayes beschrieben worden ist<sup>23</sup> — soweit jedoch daraus hervorgeht, befinden sich darunter keine einzigartigen Motive, auch keine grösseren Bildzusammenhänge — sind immerhin vier der Ostraka publiziert, die bei einem saitischem Grab im nördlichen Teil der thebanischen Nekropole gefunden wurden<sup>24</sup>. Diese Anlage des Bürgermeisters und Wesirs Nespekschuti stammt frühestens aus der Mitte des 7. Jahrhunderts vor Christus<sup>25</sup>. Es ist aber ungewiss, ob die Ostrakonbilder auch in diese späte Epoche gehören oder ob sie früher sind. Die exakten Fundumstände sind nicht angegeben, und an der Stelle in seinem „The Scepter of Egypt“, an der Hayes diese Bilder erwähnt, behandelt er sie zusammen mit den übrigen Ostraka aus dem Neuen Reich, ohne sie besonders zu datieren<sup>26</sup>. Wahrscheinlich ist es nicht möglich, sie zeitlich exakt zu fixieren. Sie weichen stilistisch nicht von den ramessidischen Ostraka ab. Ihre Motive sind die geläufigen, ein Löwe, ein Harfenspieler, ein Stierkalb und ein Pferd. Das Pferdebild, das zu den allerbesten dieser Art gehört<sup>27</sup>, ist eine ungewöhnliche Studie, die über die üblichen Normen für Pferdedarstellungen hinausgeht. Wenn dieses Material wirklich aus der Spätzeit stammt, gäbe es einen wichtigen Hinweis auf eine starke und beständige Linie im thebanischen Kunstschaffen, die dann nicht mit dem Ende des Neuen Reiches abgebrochen wäre.

## Zusammenfassung

Auf den verhältnismässig wenigen Bildostraka, die bei Tempeln und Gräbern in Westtheben gefunden worden sind, herrschen sehr geläufige und in der Regel einfache Motive und Details vor, die sich im grossen und ganzen vor allem an die Grabmalerei anschliessen lassen. Die grösste und interessanteste Gruppe bildet der Fund bei Senmuts Grab, der zeigt, wie ein Ostrakonmaterial aussieht, das in direkter Verbindung zu einem in der Ausarbeitung befindlichen Grabdekor steht. Es ist auffallend, dass es in dem gesamten hier präsentierten Material keine eigenartigen, abweichenden Bildgruppen gibt. Themata wie Tiergeschichte und Wochenlaube z.B. fehlen ganz wie auch Ostraka mit ausgearbeiteten Szenen. Auch Votivbilder sind fast gar nicht vertreten. Es wird deutlich, dass dieses Material ein ganz anderes Gepräge, einen weitaus zufälligeren Charakter hat als die Bilder aus dem Tal der Könige und aus Deir el Medineh. Es gibt keine Indizien dafür, dass gerade Künstler von Deir el Medineh für diese Darstellungen verantwortlich gewesen sein sollten. Es ist selbstver-

ständlich, dass man, was Qualität und Typen angeht, dieselbe Art von Bildern unter denen aus Deir el Medineh wiederfinden könnte. Wichtig ist jedoch die Struktur des Materials zu berücksichtigen, wie es sich nach Inhalt und Stilart definitiv von der dominierenden Struktur der Produktion der Künstler von Deir el Medineh unterscheidet. Andererseits muss man bedenken, dass der grössere Teil des Deir el Medineh-Materials just aus dem Dorfe stammt, das es sich vielleicht hauptsächlich um Bilder handelt, die zustandekamen, wenn keine ermüdenden Arbeiten die Hersteller belasteten, während das Material aus Tempeln und Gräbern „im Feld“ entstand und das Nebenergebnis einer harten Arbeit ist. Auch im Tal der Könige ist ein auffälliges Fehlen solcher Motive, die nicht direkt mit Mythologie und königlicher Ikonographie zu tun haben, festzustellen. Nur in Deir el Medineh existiert ein wirklicher Motivreichtum mit einem bedeutenden Anteil detailliert ausgearbeiteter, oft polychromer Bilder. Dieses Dorf muss das pulsierende Zentrum, ein Herzpunkt für einen grossen Teil des künstlerischen Schaffens in der thebanischen Nekropole gewesen sein.



# Sammlungen von Bildostraka aus Theben

verschiedenen Museen befinden sich Sammlungen an Bildostraka, die nicht aus dokumentierten Ausgrabungen stammen. Vielfach kann man jedoch ihren Herkunftsort als Theben präzisieren, entweder aufgrund der Erwerbsumstände oder auch aufgrund von Inschriften mit Titeln und Namen, die mit Theben verbunden werden können. Besonders in deutschen Museen befinden sich zahlreiche Ostraka. Die wichtigsten Museen in Brüssel haben ebenfalls eine umfangreiche Gruppe, sonst gibt es, soweit aus Publikationen hervorgeht, nur wenige in anderen Museen — die noch nicht publizierten Deir el Medineh-Ostraka in Turin sind schon erwähnt worden. In diesem Kapitel sollen vier Publikationen über Bildostraka behandelt werden; dabei soll das Material in der Absicht analysiert werden, zu sehen, ob es neue Erkenntnisse liefern kann über die hinaus, die die Ostraka aus den Ausgrabungen gaben. Abschliessend wollen wir einen hastigen Blick auf die künstlerische Tätigkeit in Amarna werfen, um die Eigenart des thebanischen Materials abzugrenzen zu versuchen.

## Norman de G. Davies über fünf Ostraka

Schon 1917 richtete Norman de G. Davies seine Aufmerksamkeit auf die Monumentgruppe, die die Bildostraka bilden. Mit den fünf Ostraka als Ausgangspunkt, die er selbst in Theben gesammelt hat, versucht er, ihre Bedeutung für die schöpferische Tätigkeit der Künstler zu zeigen<sup>1</sup>. Er weist auf Theben als Zentrum künstlerischer Aktivität hin, aber nicht auf die Bedeutung des Materials; gerade in Theben sind die Kalksteinscherben in reichem Masse vorhanden. Dieses Material hat die Kunst beeinflusst. Die Technik, welche es erfordert, hat das Skizzen-

hafte, das Flüchtige in diesen Bildern zur Folge. Es ist wichtig, die Qualität der Zeichnungen wahrzunehmen, die sicheren und treffenden Linien in den schnellen Skizzen. Die profan betonten Motive kontrastieren auch stark gegen die funerären und mythologischen. Es wird deutlich, wie Davies in einer anderen Publikation erwähnt hat<sup>2</sup>, wie gewisse nur mehr seltene Szenen alltäglichen, genrehaften Charakters in der ramessidischen Grabmalerei das Interesse des Künstlers auf ganz andere Weise als die religiösen Darstellungen gefangen genommen haben.

Eins der Ostraka, die Davies präsentiert, kommt von Deir el Medineh. Von den übrigen sind zwei nach Kurna lokalisiert worden, während die beiden anderen ohne Herkunftsangaben sind. Aus Deir el Medineh stammt das Bild eines Fuchses mit einem Blumenstrauß, ein Fragment einer Szene, die zur Tiergeschichte gehört<sup>3</sup>. Von Kurna kommt die Darstellung eines Hundes, der einen Ibex anfällt, eine Szene, die offenbar zu den Wüstenjagdbildern der Privatgräber gehört, und ein Männerkopf, der mit seinem archaisierenden Stil an die Kunst des Mittleren Reiches erinnert und vielleicht an den Anfang der 18. Dynastie gehört. Die zwei anderen Bilder sind ganz anderer Art. Das eine ist eine Skizze mit zwei verschiedenen Motiven<sup>4</sup>: ein Wächter mit einem zahmen Affen samt zwei Vögeln; von diesen gehört das erste zu der oben behandelten wohlbelegten Affenwächtergruppe aus Deir el Medineh. Das andere Ostrakon trägt eine auf einem Pferd reitende Gestalt, also das Motiv, das als Astarte gedeutet worden ist und das im Material von Deir el Medineh mehrere Parallelen hat<sup>5</sup>.

## Ein Blick in das Lager der Antiquitätenhändler

Im Jahre 1941 publizierte L. Keimer 59 Ostraka\*, die vermutlich zum allergrössten Teil thebanischen Ursprungs waren. Diese hat Keimer in der Regel in den dreissiger Jahren bei verschiedenen Antiquitätenhändlern in Ägypten, die im allgemeinen eine ungefähre Herkunftsangabe machen konnten, erworben oder gesehen. Der Hauptteil dieser Gruppe scheint gut mit dem sonstigen thebanischen Material übereinzustimmen. Hier wie wohl auch sonst dürfte Deir el Medineh der Ursprungsort für die meisten sein. Mit Rücksicht auf den grösstenteils schlechten Zustand der Bilder ist es nicht immer möglich, sich eine klare Vorstellung von allen zu bilden — in einigen Fällen kann die Datierung von der für den grössten Teil ohne Zweifel richtigen, nämlich der ramessidischen Zeit vielleicht abweichen. Eine Herkunft aus Deir el Medineh wird durch die Ostraka bestätigt, die Personennamen und Titel (z.B. K 20, 39) tragen, aber auch durch Götterbilder mit besonderer Beziehung zu Deir el Medineh, z.B. Ptahs vom Tal der Königinnen (K 41) oder der Meretseger (K 43—48).

### *Bilder aus dem Motivkreis des Grabdekors*

Reinen Skizzencharakter haben in grossem Ausmasse solche Bilder, die man gern auf den Motivkreis der Grabmalerei zurückführen möchte. Hier wie oft ist es schwierig, exakte Definitionen anzugeben, da die vorkommenden Szenen relativ allgemeiner Art sind und ihre Motive aus dem Alltagsleben schöpfen. Es ist nicht möglich, eine Grenze zwischen Bildern zu ziehen, die ohne direkten Anschluss an geläufige Themata hergestellt sind, und solchen, die als Skizzen oder Vorlagen, auch vielleicht Kopien, für Grabmalereien gedient haben. In dieser Gruppe kann man Genreszenen finden wie die Vogeljagd mit einem Netz im Papyrusdickicht (K 10), Ruderer in Papyrusnachen (K 50—51) — vielleicht können eben diese Bilder eine besondere religiöse Implikation haben — oder den Hirten mit einem widerspenstigen Stier (K 1). Die meisten anderen Bilder können oft nicht auf eine bestimmte Gruppe zurückgeführt werden. Es kann sich um stehende, sitzende oder anbetende Privatpersonen (K 22—24, 20[?]) handeln, um Details wie Gesichtsprofile oder eine Hand (K 26, 3) und um die üblichen Übungen von Königsköpfen (K 30—32). Weiterhin können einzelne Tiere wie

Stiere, Ziegen oder eine Katze (K 2, 6—8) dargestellt sein. Und natürlich können Bilder wie das einer Frau mit einem Brotkorb (K 18), die vor einem Opfertisch sitzende Person (K 19) oder Opfergaben (K 53) auch zu dieser Gruppe gehören, obwohl hier auch kleinere Monumentgruppen wie Stelen als andere Zweckbereiche angeführt werden können.

### *Bilder mythologischen Inhalts*

Zu den Skizzen mit mythologischen Motiven, die an der Grenze zur Gruppe der Votivbilder stehen, aber nicht klar dieser zugewiesen werden können — Grabbilder sind auch denkbar — gehören Darstellungen des Kopfes des Gottes Amun, der Göttin Amentet der Westgöttin, und eines heiligen Schiffes (K 35, 52).

Eindeutigere Votivbilder sind dagegen einige Ostraka, die durch ihre Inschriften oder ihre spezielle, den Stelen entlehnte Form leichter gruppiert werden können. Hierhin können Bilder von Göttern, die in der Regel in Theben wohlbekannt sind, gewiesen werden: Amuns Widderkopf (K 36), Hathor als Kuh (K 37), Ptah, allein oder zusammen mit Thoth (K 38, 39) [diese Nr. jetzt in Stockholm, MM 14 054], 40, 41, Sobek (K 42), Meretseger (K 43—48) und Thoth (K 49, 59). Ein Pferd mit Reiter kann zu der mehrmals zitierten Astartegruppe gehören (K 5). Ein Löwe, der auf einem Naos liegt (K 49), kann lose mit dieser Gruppe verbunden werden, doch kann hier auch ein Beispiel aus der Ikonographie des Totenbuches vorliegen<sup>1</sup>.

### *Tempelbilder*

Ein von Pfeilen verletzter Löwe (K 9) ist ein Detail, das am ehesten zu den Tempelbildern gehört. In der Medinet Habu in den Jagddarstellungen Ramses' II. findet sich eine Parallele<sup>2</sup>. Wie Keimer schon gezeigt hat, existieren nahe Vergleichsstücke in Darestempelmaterial aus dem Königsgräbertal. In Privatgräbern gibt es auch ein paar Beispiele, in denen der König auf der Jagd auftritt<sup>3</sup>. Bei einem von diesen handelt es sich um eine Löwenjagd, obwohl nicht mit Pfeil und Bogen<sup>4</sup>, weshalb man natürlich die Möglichkeit einer Attribution an die Privatgräber offenhalten muss.

reszenen mit Affen gehören zu einer eher freistehenden Gruppe im Ostrakonmaterial, worauf oben Zusammenhang mit den Deir el Medineh-Funden gewiesen worden ist. Sie nehmen eine freie Stellung gegenüber den Affenbildern in den Privatgräbern ein. Was die Bilder von z.B. musizierenden Affen angeht, so ist die Grenze zur Gruppe der Tierchichte schwer zu definieren. In Keimers Material scheint ein Affe mit einem Sack Nüsse (K 11) und einer, der Doppelflöte spielt (K 12)<sup>11</sup>, während eine Person zu dieser Musik tanzt. Ein schlecht erhaltenes Bild mit einem Pavian ist schwerer zu benennen (K 57).

Aus der Wochenlaubegruppe kommt ein Bild vor, eine auf einem Bett sitzende Frau mit einem Säugling (K 13).

Eine Anzahl obszöner Bilder (K 14—17) gehört zum Typ an, der nicht in anderen Ostrakonsammlungen vertreten ist. Sie weichen nicht von der Mentalität ab, die in obszönem Material anderer Epochen Ägypten geläufig ist, vor allem aus hellenistischer Zeit. Die Motivgruppe hat indessen gerade in der ramesseidischen Epoche einen Durchbruch erfahren, nicht in anderen Medien als auf Kalksteinscherben. Der „erotische“ Papyrus in Turin<sup>12</sup>, schon oben erwähnt, zeigt, wie derartige Darstellungen systematisiert wurden und eine geschlossene Folge bildeten. Die Ostrakonbilder dagegen sind ohne Zweifel freilebende ephemäre Produkte, die nicht mit ganzen Zusammenhängen verbunden sind.

Unter den übrigen Darstellungen befinden sich eine detaillierte Wiedergabe der Hieroglyphe, die ein menschengesicht *en face* abbildet (K 28), die auch auf einem Quadratnetz trägt wie andere Bilder mit Hieroglyphen, die oben erwähnt wurden. Weiterhin gibt es ein Fragment einer ramesseidischen Kartusche (K 54) und Inventarlisten (K 54—55), in denen Gegenstände abgebildet sind, eine Gruppe, die an der Grenze zwischen Bildostraka und solchen mit Inschriften steht.

Technisch weist dieses Material keine Abweichungen von dem Üblichen auf. Bemerkenswert sind die Anwendung von Quadratnetz und auch die skulpturale Bearbeitung einiger Scherben, entweder durch Einziehung (K 40—42) oder durch Abarbeitung der die Vorderumgebenden Partien (K 31).

Man kann sehen, dass dieses seiner Herkunft nach

nicht ganz sicher bestimmte Material die zwei Gruppen umfasst, die in allen Ostrakonsammlungen zu dominieren scheinen. Das sind die Bilder mit Verbindung zu den Gräbern — und vor allem den privaten in diesem Fall — und das sind die Motivbilder. Ein paar Bilder grenzen an die Tiergeschichtegruppe, wenige Beispiele gibt es für Wochenlaub- und Tempelszenen. Einzigartig in Keimers Material sind die obszönen Bilder, die sonst entweder nirgends zutage getreten oder auch aus Taktgründen nie publiziert worden sind.

## Thebanische Ostraka in deutschen Sammlungen

Unter den Ostraka, die sich in deutschen Sammlungen befinden und die E. Brunner-Traut zugänglich gemacht hat, soweit sie nicht schon durch H. Schäfers kurze Präsentation von 1916 bekannt waren, befindet sich eine Anzahl aus dem Neuen Reich und besonders der 19. und 20. Dynastie, die aus Theben stammen soll, obwohl nicht aus dokumentierten Ausgrabungen. Bei einem Blick auf die Struktur dieses Materials kann man sehen, dass es nicht von den Gruppierungen abweicht, die man für den Ostrakonfund der deutschen Grabungen in Deir el Medineh aufstellen konnte. Einige andere Scherben, die Brunner-Traut publiziert hat, kommen vielleicht ebenfalls aus Theben. Diese sind nicht in diese Übersicht einbezogen worden; soweit sie besonders interessante Züge aufweisen, sind sie in anderem Zusammenhang zitiert.

### Aus dem Motivkreis der Gräber

Die Bilder, die an den Grabdekor anknüpfen, sind nicht zahlreich. Eine der wichtigsten Szenen ist die Darstellung eines Königs in einem Erscheinungsfenster (BT 26), die zum Repertoire der Privatgräber vor allem der 18. Dynastie gehört<sup>13</sup>. Andere Bilder haben meist Parallelen in dem deutschen oder französischen Deir el Medineh-Material, wie der Kutscher auf dem mit Pferden bespannten Wagen (BT 103) und die Opferstiere (BT 109, 111, 116). Sonst handelt es sich meist um Details, die aus einem grösseren Zusammenhang stammen können, z.B. ein Fisch (BT 138), der zu Teichdarstellungen gehören kann, ein Teil eines Prozessionsthrones (BT 30), der sich an Bilder des Königs in der Sänfte anschliesst,

oder gut ausgeführte Hieroglyphen, die Übungen für Inschriften sein können (BT 158, 160, 167, 168). Eine interessante Skizze eines Türsturzes, eines Bogenfeldes (BT 146), gehört definitiv zum Dekor der Königsgräber, ist also hier ein vereinzelt Beispiel für ein „Arbeitsbild“, was wiederholt in Daressys Material zu finden ist.

Skizzen von Königsköpfen (BT 35, 40), eines Männerkopfes (BT 56) oder von Mädchen (BT 64) grenzen manchmal an Kritzeleien.

### *Votivbilder*

Mehrere Götterdarstellungen in dieser Sammlung sind offensichtlich Votivbilder, was oft aus den Dedikationsinschriften hervorgeht. Manchmal handelt es sich nur um Fragmente, und der Votivcharakter tritt nicht völlig eindeutig hervor. Die Götter, die vorkommen, sind die üblichen, obwohl einige ikonographische Details ungewöhnlich sind. Es sind Amun (BT 2), Osiris-Djed (BT 6), Ptah (BT 10), Hathor (BT 14), Astarte (BT 16), Amun als Widder BT 77—79), Thoth als Affe (BT 82) und die Schlangengöttin, die in den meisten Fällen mit Meretseger identisch ist (BT 86, 87, 89, 90). Ausserdem kann das Bild von Amuns Prozessionsbarke (BT 18, 20, 21) dieser Gruppe zugerechnet werden, wie mit Parallelen in Möllers Deir el Medineh-Material geschehen ist.

### *Aus der Tiergeschichte*

Ein einziges Bild, das klar zur Tiergeschichtegruppe gehört, ist hier vorhanden. Es ist die Darstellung einer Katze und einer Gans, die miteinander sprechen (BT 94)<sup>14</sup>. Andere Bilder derselben Gruppe finden sich auch bei Brunner-Traut, jedoch ohne Herkunft.

Schliesslich soll ein Fragment einer der häufigen Szenen mit einem Affenwächter (BT 119) erwähnt werden, die ja nicht klar zu gruppieren sind, da sie ein Eigenleben zu haben scheinen.

## Die Brüsseler Sammlung

Die Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire in Brüssel besitzen eine umfangreiche Sammlung Bildostraka. Diese Scherben stammen nicht aus Ausgrabungen, sondern sind nach und nach, vor allem in den dreissiger Jahren dieses Jahrhunderts im Kunst- und An-

tiquitätenhandel erworben worden. Marcelle Werbrouck hat in einer Reihe von Artikeln im Bulletin der Museen das Material in loser Folge präsentiert<sup>15</sup>. Sie nimmt generell an, dass die Sammlung aus Theben stamme<sup>16</sup>, eine Zuschreibung, die stimmen dürfte. Dieses Material ist eine Mustersammlung der meisten Typen, die in anderen Ostrakonkollektionen angetroffen wurden. Eine kurze Analyse des Gesamtmaterials mag ausreichen, um einen Eindruck davon zu erhalten.

Motive, die vor allem an die Privatgräber angeschlossen sind, vertreten mehrere Aspekte. Es gibt Skizzen von typischen Deckenmustern<sup>17</sup>, auch einen flüchtigen Entwurf einer Grabwand mit drei Registern<sup>18</sup>, beide vergleichbar mit ähnlichen, die bei Senmuts Grab gefunden wurden. Weiterhin erscheinen verschiedene Anbetungs- und Opferszenen<sup>19</sup>, die mehr oder weniger lose mit dem Bildprogramm der Privatgräber verbunden werden können, und eine Anzahl Genreszenen, deren Inhalt vor allem in den Privatgräbern vorkommt. Hier gibt es die Szene mit dem Mann auf dem mit Pferden bespannten Wagen<sup>20</sup>, hier gibt es Ringkämpfer<sup>21</sup>. Rinder werden dem Grabherrn vorgeführt, oft von einem Hirten, der kann sein Tier unter Kontrolle halten kann<sup>22</sup>. Überhaupt nehmen die Tierbilder, solche ohne mythologische Anklänge, einen grossen Platz in der Sammlung ein. Fisch<sup>23</sup>, Gazelle<sup>24</sup>, Gans<sup>25</sup>, Hyäne<sup>26</sup>, Pferd<sup>27</sup> und Löwe<sup>28</sup> sind in einzelnen Exemplaren vorhanden, während andere Tiere in Genreszenen vorkommen. Das Mädchen, das mit einer Katze spielt<sup>29</sup>, wie auch die Darstellung eines Vogelfanges<sup>30</sup> sind ungewöhnlich, während das Bild von einem Kinde mit einem Affen oder einer Antilope<sup>31</sup> häufiger ist.

Man gelangt so zu den Szenen mit Affen wie dem mit einem Sack Nüsse<sup>32</sup> — das Fragment einer Dufalpalme<sup>33</sup> gehört vielleicht hierhin — oder denen, die eine Flöte oder Harfe spielen<sup>34</sup>, Bildern, die über das zu Grabdekor gehörende Bildprogramm hinausgehen. Sie grenzen, wie mehrmals oben gesagt ist, an die Bilder aus der Tiergeschichte, die in Brüssel zu finden sind, durch die Mäusedame, der eine Katze aufwartet, der Fuchs mit einem Joch oder als Gänsehüten und der Affen als Gärtner<sup>35</sup> vertreten sind.

Anderer informeller Art sind in Dekorprogrammen ausserhalb von Gräbern und Tempeln vorkommende Bilder. Die Wochenlaubeszenen gehören hierhin, die nur sparsam in Brüssel vertreten sind<sup>36</sup>. Ein Bild der Sammlung zeigt eine junge königliche Person, durch den Uräus gekennzeichnet, die unbekleidet auf eine

ischen Kissen sitzt<sup>37</sup>. Dieser „*pharaon enfant*“ kann interessante Parallelen angeschlossen werden. In Kairo befindet sich die Skizze einer Amarna-Prinzessin<sup>38</sup>, in Kopenhagen eine verwandte Darstellung<sup>39</sup>, beide einem Bild in einem Amarna-Palast nahe, nämlich dem Fragment mit der königlichen Familie, das sich jetzt in Oxford befindet<sup>40</sup>. Wie oben geführt, gibt es sogar aus den Königsgräbern ein Beispiel, das verwandt ist<sup>41</sup>.

Gegen diese Bilder bilden diejenigen einen Kontrast, die sich eng an die offiziellen Darstellungen der Tempel anschließen. Eine sehr feine Zeichnung zeigt Ramses II., wie er seine Feinde niederschlägt<sup>42</sup>, eine Skizze, die eine gute Parallele in einem Ostrakon in Theben hat, das aus dem Tal der Könige stammt<sup>43</sup>, auf dem Ramses IV. die Hauptfigur ist. Gewisse andere Ostrakonbilder könnten auch auf den Tempelbezirk zurückgeführt werden, z.B. ein gebundener Ausländer<sup>44</sup> oder Reihen stehender Götter<sup>45</sup>, wenn es nicht so verhielte, dass diese natürlich auch in Königsgrab- oder Privatgrabkontext passen würden. Dasselbe gilt für manche Götterbilder, die klar an ein mythologisches Programm der Gräber anknüpfen, obwohl einige auch als Votivgaben möglich sind. B. Amun-Min<sup>46</sup>, Hathor<sup>47</sup> und Meretseger<sup>48</sup> kommen hier vor. Ein wahrscheinlicher Gedanke ist jedoch, dass die Votivbilder eine sekundäre Entwicklung der mythologischen Tradition der Grab- und Tempelbilder sind, dass ihre Ikonographie aus der in Gräbern und Tempeln geläufigen Tradition übernommen worden ist. Zu der etwas für sich stehenden Gruppe von Astarte-Bildern, der Göttin auf dem Farn, gehört ein Beispiel in Brüssel<sup>49</sup>.

Diese Brüsseler Sammlung spiegelt also gut die Zusammensetzung aus verschiedenen Bildgruppen wider, die für das thebanische Material aus Deir el Medineh typisch zu sein scheint. Hier gibt es Bilder, die sich an die Privatgräber anschließen, jedoch kaum an die Königsgräber, hier gibt es Tierbilder, die etwas von einem Eigenleben haben, manchmal mit Verbindung zu den Tiergeschichtebildern, die auch repräsentiert sind. Hier gibt es wenige Bilder, die mit privater Malerei verknüpft werden können — die Wochenlaubgruppe — und ebenso wenige, die direkten Bezug zu Tempeln haben. Götterbilder und damit Votivbilder sind nicht ungewöhnlich. Den Hauptteil des Materials nimmt eindeutig gerade die Bilder ein, die für die Funde in Deir el Medineh typisch sind; strukturell gibt es hier eine Identität.

## Theben und Amarna

In mehreren verschiedenen Zusammenhängen haben wir nun den Charakter des thebanischen Materials studieren und seine Zusammensetzung sehen können. Es kann von Interesse sein, nun zu betrachten, wie das Skizzenmaterial, das bei Ausgrabungen in Amarna zutage trat, aussieht, das einzige in etwa vergleichbare Material überhaupt, obwohl von bedeutend geringerem Umfang als das thebanische. Da wir für Amarna mit einer sehr umfangreichen künstlerischen Tätigkeit rechnen müssen, mit einer unwürdigen Neugestaltung sowohl ikonographisch als auch technisch, dürfte ein interessantes Künstlermaterial mit Skizzencharakter nicht fehlen.

Es ist erstaunlich, wie gering und qualitativ schlecht das Material aus Amarna ist, was Bildostraka anbelangt. Unter den Funden befinden sich zahlreiche Skulpteurskizzen<sup>50</sup>, und diese zeichnen sich in der Regel durch eine den gezeichneten oder gemalten Bildern weit überlegene Qualität aus. Gewisse Ostraka mit Bildern, die man in Amarna fand, sind wahrscheinlich nichts anderes als begonnene Bildhauerskizzen; mit schwarzen Linien hat man das gezeichnet, was in den Stein eingraviert werden sollte, womit man niemals anfang — es gibt auch Beispiele für unvollendete Gravierungen<sup>51</sup>.

Die vorkommenden Bildostrakonmotive sind ziemlich einförmig. Ein Pferdekopf und ein heiliger Falke auf einem Bild sind die einzigen wirklich guter Qualität<sup>52</sup>. Sonst sind ein weiblicher Kopf<sup>53</sup>, ein Gefäß<sup>54</sup>, ein Königskopf und eine Hand<sup>55</sup>, ein hieroglyphisch aufgefasstes menschliches Gesicht<sup>56</sup>, das Fragment einer Frauengestalt<sup>57</sup>, ein paar hastig gekritzelte Figuren auf einem Bild<sup>58</sup> und ein elegant gezeichneter Pavian<sup>59</sup> repräsentiert.

Eine besondere Gruppe bilden einige Darstellungen mit deutlichem Votivcharakter. Sie gehören ja zu den interessanteren Funden aus Amarna, da sie zeigen, dass Aton nicht der einzige Gott an diesem ihm geheiligten Orte war. Schon die deutschen Ausgräber fanden ein Ostrakon mit der Abbildung eines Widdergottes (BT 80). Wegen der auf derselben Scherbe erscheinenden Darstellungen eines knienden Mannes bzw. eines Gefäßes braucht dieses jedoch nicht als Votivbild klassifiziert zu werden. Die Kalksteinplatten in Form einer Stele mit anbetenden Personen vor der Nilpferdgöttin Thoeris<sup>60</sup> oder mit dem sitzenden Pavian<sup>61</sup>, einer Gestalt Thoeths, dürften ebenso wie das Bild eines heiligen Stieres<sup>62</sup> einfache

private religiöse Monumente sein.

Man kann also, was Amarna angeht, die einfachen und allgemeinen Darstellungen auf Ostraka nicht an bestimmte Themata anschliessen und sie auf Monumentgruppen wie Tempel, Gräber oder profane Bauten klar verteilen. Es gibt indessen Anlass anzunehmen, dass ein umfangreiches Skizzenmaterial auch hier vorhanden war. Wir kennen ja die intensive künstlerische Aktivität so wohl, was die Rundskulptur in Amarna angeht, Thutmoses Werkstatt mit ihren Modellen und unvollendeten Arbeiten. Die Ursache für das Fehlen von Ostrakonbildern dort beruht darauf, dass das Material nicht zugänglich war, dass die Sandsteinberge in der Umgebung nicht solche für Zeichenzwecke geeigneten Splitter liefern konnten wie die Kalksteinberge in Theben. In Amarna hat man mit anderem Material gearbeitet, es dürfte sich um Papyrus oder auch Holztafeln gehandelt haben. Dieselbe Ursache dürfte dem äusserst sparsamen Vorkommen von Bildostraka an anderen Stellen in Ägypten als Theben zugrundeliegen. Andererseits hat man den Eindruck, dass die Kunst der Amarna-Zeit in vielem von einem freier schaffenden Künstler geprägt sei. Sie wird von einer Souveränität

bestimmt, die bedeuten könnte, dass Künstler in grossem Ausmasse sich z.B. fertiggestellte Mauerflächen vornahmen und ihre Darstellungen direkt auf sie skizzierten, dass man mehr nach Gespür und aus einer überfliessenden Spontaneität die Kunstwerke hervorbringen liess. Die Künstler in Amarna bildeten nur eine Generation, es gab keine ortsgebundenen Jahrhunderte langen Traditionen hier. In gewissem Grade werden aber diese sozusagen improvisierten Leistungen durch unsere Kenntnis der umfassenden Arbeitsprozedur, die in Amarna bei der Bildhauerei angewandt wurde, widerlegt.

Die Ostrakonbilder sind gewiss eine typisch thebanische Erscheinung. Es dürfte auch, nachdem wir nun die Funde und Sammlungen durchstreift haben, angemessen sein zu sagen, dass diese Kunst vor allem von der Deir el Medineh-Gruppe getragen wurde, dass sie ihr schöpferisches Zentrum in dem kleinen Dorf mitten in der thebanischen Nekropole, von den numinosen Gebirgen, die die Grabkammern der Ewigkeit bargen, umgeben, hatte. Hier befinden wir uns nun bei einer Hauptader der ägyptischen künstlerischen Tradition während einiger Jahrhunderte.

# Die Gayer-Anderson-Sammlung von Bildostraka in Stockholm

Die bisher unpublizierte Sammlung Bildostraka befindet sich im *Medelhavsmuseet* in Stockholm. Diese ist in ihrer Gesamtheit ein Geschenk des britischen Majors R. G. Gayer-Anderson Pascha<sup>1</sup>, der sie 1935 an die ägyptische Sammlung in Stockholm übergab. Gayer-Anderson hatte während einer Reihe von Jahren in enger Verbindung mit dieser ägyptischen Sammlung gestanden, die sich unter der Leitung des damaligen Kronprinzen, König Gustaf Adolfs, im Aufbau befand. Gayer-Anderson hatte mehrere Sektionen seiner grossen ägyptischen Kollektion Stockholm überlassen, ehe er 1935 beschloss, das zu geben, was er selbst als das Beste unter seinen Altertümern betrachtete, seine Bildostraka.

Es gibt keine direkte Herkunftsangabe für diese Bildostraka. Gayer-Anderson nennt Luxor und Deir el Medineh; in einigen Fällen weiss er, dass verschiedene Scherben zusammen gefunden worden sind. Es dürften indessen keine Zweifel an dem thebanischen Ursprung dieser Sammlung herrschen. Beim Studium ihrer Struktur und Einzelheiten wird deutlich, dass wir es hauptsächlich mit Material aus Deir el Medineh zu tun haben und dass die Datierung in die spätere Hälfte des Neuen Reiches gut mit den Ostraka von diesem Ort, die oben präzisiert wurden, zusammenpasst. Gewiss können einzelne Bilder, vor allem solche, die nur grobe Kritzeleien sind, aus ganz anderer Umgebung und aus ganz anderen Epochen stammen; solche sind indessen nur peripher und oft so unspezifisch, so dass man sie sich fast in jedwelchem Zusammenhang vorstellen kann, wo ein Mensch sich mit einem Pinsel und Zeichnmaterial beschäftigte. So kann man das eventuelle Vorhandensein von moderneren Produkten manchmal vielleicht nicht ausschliessen, was natürlich bei allen Gegenstandsgruppen ohne fixierte Umstände ein Problem ist.

In dem Katalog, der hier folgt, haben wir vorgezogen, das Material nicht strikt nach hypothetischen Zweckbereichen zu gruppieren, wie es z.B. mit Dares-sys Fund geschah. Stattdessen werden wir es, um diese Bilder oft sehr ambivalenten Charakters nicht allzu fest zu binden, nach dem Hauptinhalt einteilen. Das, was sich im Zentrum der Aufmerksamkeit des Künstlers befand, das, was die dominierende Vorstellung in seinem Bewusstsein bildete, als die Zeichnungen entstanden, soll die Richtlinie für eine Gruppierung sein. So finden wir in diesem Material eine um den König zentrierte Sphäre, eine Sphäre der Götter und eine, in der diese Elemente nicht vorkommen, eine private, die in mehrere Gruppen unterteilt werden kann. Diese verschiedenen Sphären können manchmal ineinander übergehen. Wie früher angedeutet wurde, können keine klaren Grenzen gezogen werden, kann ein Bild oft nicht eindeutig mit einem bestimmten Zweckbereich oder in diesem Falle mit einer bestimmten Sphäre verknüpft werden. So können Darstellungen der königlichen Sphäre Verbindungen zu Königsgräbern und Tempeln oder vielleicht sogar zur Palastmalerei und manchmal zu Privatgräbern und Kultkapellen haben. Darstellungen der mythologischen Sphäre können teilweise ebenfalls mit diesen Zweckbereichen zusammenfallen, aber ausserdem zu funerären Gegenständen gehören oder Votive sein. In der privaten Sphäre befinden sich Bilder, die mit dem Privatgräberprogramm zu tun haben, von Genreszenen bis zu Details wie Tieren oder Hieroglyphen — die teilweise auch in ganz anderem Zusammenhang denkbar sind — doch erscheinen hier auch spezielle Gruppen wie Wochenaufgaben und Tiergeschichte und andere, die ein gewisses Eigenleben haben, ohne an einen bestimmten uns bekannten Dekorsektor angeschlossen werden zu können. In den einzelnen Fällen werden wir

oft eine nähere Bestimmung vornehmen, das Wahrscheinliche bei einer Verbindung mit einem Zweckbereich suchen, wobei man sich jedoch ständig dessen bewusst sein muss, dass es in vielen Fällen mehrere Bestimmungsmöglichkeiten geben kann. Das wichtigste ist vielleicht, die Motivkreise zu bestimmen, zu sehen, wie die Gestaltungsfreiheit des Künstlers an eine relativ begrenzte Anzahl Themata gebunden ist. Ein Ausbruch aus der Tradition hat im Prinzip nicht stattgefunden, sondern der Künstler ist stark von seinen Aufgaben und von dem Schulprogramm mit einer manchmal zurückblickenden Bindung an überliefertes Bildgut beeinflusst.

## Katalog

### *Die königliche Sphäre*

Die Gruppe umfasst vor allem Bilder, in denen der König die Hauptperson ist. Der König zusammen mit Göttern, der König im Streit oder bei der Ausfahrt im Wagen, der König allein samt Details seiner Gestalt sind Bilder, die mit ganz verschiedenen Dekorprogrammen in Verbindung gesetzt werden können. Nicht nur die Bilderwelt der Tempel und Gräber ist hier aktuell. Einige Bilder können zusammen mit allegorischen Darstellungen mit königlicher Symbolik vielleicht hypothetisch an ausserhalb der Tempel und der Gräber liegende Zweckbereiche, z.B. Palastmalerei geknüpft werden. Die künstlerische Qualität der Bilder variiert; einige sind offenbar grobe Übungsstücke, andere haben eine elegante Linienführung. Keins von diesen Bildern hat eindeutigen Votivcharakter.

#### 1. MM 14 001 — Kalkstein — 10,1×11,5 cm

Drei von den Kanten sind abgeschliffen, eine Kante ist abgeschlagen. Auf der einen Seite der Scherbe eine Zeichnung in schwarzbrauner Farbe.

Links steht ein König, nach rechts gewandt, bekleidet mit einem Königsschurz, der mit Gürtel, Schwanz und einem Mittelteil mit zwei Schlangen am unteren Abschluss versehen ist. Er trägt ausserdem ein plissiertes Kopftuch mit einem Uräus, einen Halskragen und Armbänder.

Rechts steht, nach links gewandt, eine Göttin, die mit ihrer einen Hand das linke Handgelenk des Königs umfasst. Sie trägt eine Krone mit Sonnen-

scheibe, Kuhhörnern und möglicherweise Uräus, weiterhin Halsschmuck (*Menat*), samt Armbändern an den Oberarmen und den Handgelenken. Das Gewand ist eng. Die grosse Perücke ist ebenso wie die Sonnenscheibe der Krone mit derselben Farbe wie die Konturlinien gefüllt. Mit ihrer linken Hand hält sie ein Lebenszeichen an die Nase des Königs.

Eine Umrahmungslinie befindet sich hinter der König. Oberhalb der Figurengruppe stehen zwei vertikale Inschriftzeilen mit dem fragmentarischen Text: — 𓆎 𓆑 𓆒 𓆓 ... [𓆔 𓆕]. Links von der Kartusche steht ein 'nh-Zeichen, das wahrscheinlich zu einer Gruppe di 'nh gehört hat.

Der Name des Königs ist Amenophis. Es kann sich hier um eine Darstellung des vergöttlichten Amenophis I. handeln, der zusammen mit Hathor abgebildet wäre. Diese beiden haben eine enge Verbindung mit der thebanischen Nekropole<sup>3</sup>. Auch unter dem Aspekt als Schutzgöttin des Königs muss hier Hathor betrachtet werden<sup>4</sup>. Das Motiv, dass eine Gottheit einem König Leben spendet, ist in Gräbern und Tempeln sehr geläufig. Die besondere Verbindung des deifizierten Königs und der Nekropolengöttin könnte einen speziellen Hintergrund in dem religiösen Denken der Deir el Medineh-Gruppe haben. Die Identifizierung des abgebildeten Königs ist aber nicht eindeutig; die Göttin könnte auch als Isis gedacht werden. Die Inschriftzeile rechts könnte sich auf die Göttin beziehen und sie als Herrin des Himmels und Schützerin erwähnen. Eine ursprüngliche Stelenform der Scherbe ist denkbar.



#### 2. MM 14 125 — Kalkstein — 11×10,6 cm

Die Scherbe hat zwei abgeschliffene Kanten, die anderen zwei sind Bruchkanten. Vielleicht war die Scherbe stelenförmig. Auf der einen Seite ein fragmentarisches Bild in roten und schwarzen Linien, das teilweise in den Stein eingeritzt worden sind. Inschrift in schwarz.

Das Bild zeigt die Köpfe eines Königs und einer Gottes. Links der nach rechts gewandte Königskopf, der die blaue Krone mit Uräus trägt, dazu aber noch zwei einfassende Federn und eine Sonnenscheibe oben darauf. Der Gott scheint seinen Arm um den Hals des Königs zu legen. Sein Kopf ist nach links gewandt. Es ist ein Männerkopf mit Bart und eng anliegender Haube. Es dürfte sich um Ptah handeln. Um seine charakteristische Haube hat man jedoch auch zwei Federn plazierte, die mit roter Farbe aus-



gefüllt zu sein scheinen, zwischen denen sich vielleicht eine Sonnenscheibe befand.

Oberhalb der Köpfe steht eine doppelte Kartusche mit dem Namen Ramses' IV.  Rechts davon befinden sich ein paar Hieroglyphen  ... in einer senkrechten Spalte, die schwer zusammenhängend zu deuten sind. Die senkrechte Linie links gehört zur Struktur der Scherbe.


Kronen dieser Art sind für den König und Ptah m Neuen Reich belegt\*. Die intime Szene, in welcher der Gott den König umarmt, ist sehr interessant, da sie nicht ganz geläufig ist. Möglicherweise hat dieses Motiv einen Hintergrund in Darstellungen der Amarna-Zeit, obwohl es schon früher belegt ist. Einige Stelen zeigen Mitglieder der Königsfamilie in Amarna in ähnlicher Haltung\*. Dieses ziemlich informelle Motiv sollte hier berücksichtigt werden.

MM 14 071 — Kalkstein — 11,4×8,4 cm

Die Scherbe hat überall unregelmässige Kanten. Auf einer Seite sitzt ein Feuersteinkügelchen. Auf dieser Seite gibt es eine Darstellung in rot und schwarz. Die ursprüngliche Bildfläche ist etwas reduziert. Ein Teil des Bildes scheint absichtlich zerstört worden zu sein.

Abgebildet sind ein König und ein Gefolgsmann. Ungefähr in der Mitte des Bildes ist der König in schwarzen Umrisslinien mit rot bemalten Gesicht, Hals und Beinen wiedergegeben. Er trägt eine kurze Perücke mit Uräus und Stirnband samt einem kurzen Bart. Seine Bekleidung besteht aus einem Hemd, das die obere Partie des Oberkörpers bedeckt und das durch zwei Zipfel, die über der unteren Partie des Brustkorbes geknotet sind, befestigt ist. Es hat kurze Ärmel und ist eine Art von Panzerhemd; da es geknöpft ist, soll vielleicht Leopardenfell als Material gedeutet werden. Die Kleidung wird vervollständigt durch einen plissierten Schurz mit einem mit zwei Fräsen, die Sonnenscheiben auf den Köpfen tragen, geschmückten Mittelstück. Auf dem Rücken des Königs hängt ein Köcher, der stellenweise schwarz geknöpft ist, was darauf deutet, dass er teilweise mit Leopardenfell überzogen ist. Zwei herabhängende Bänder links von Köcher gehören zur Perücke. Das rechte Handgelenk trägt ein Armband, am linken Arm befinden sich vielleicht Spuren eines Armbands. Der König erhebt den rechten Arm, um mit einem Krummschwert den oder die Feinde oder das oder die Tiere zu vernichten, die er in der linken Hand

hält. Sein Opfer ist jedoch nicht mehr sichtbar, da die Scherbe hier absichtlich zerstört worden ist.

Oberhalb vom linken Arm des Königs befinden sich Reste einer vertikalen Inschrift. Die Hieroglyphen sind kaum noch leserlich, doch scheint es sich um einen Teil der Königstitulatur zu handeln; der Anfang ist offenbar , „der starke Stier“.

Der Gefolgsmann ist ebenso wie der König nach rechts gewandt. Er ist in ein weites gebauschtes plissiertes Gewand und Perücke gekleidet. Er trägt über der Schulter einen Bogen und in der linken Hand ein Krummschwert oder eine Axt. Er ist kleiner dargestellt als der König, teilweise von der Wertperspektive bedingt, teilweise aber auch von dem links vom König zur Verfügung stehenden Raum.

Der König nimmt eine klassische pharaonische Pose ein, für die es an Belegen auf Ostraka nicht fehlt\*. Meistens schlägt er auf diesen Bildern ausländische Feinde nieder, aber auch auf Jagdbildern kommt dieselbe Haltung vor. So gehört z.B. das Ostrakonbild mit einem König auf Löwenjagd zu demselben ikonographischen Thema\*. In diesem letzten Bild ramessidischen Datums erscheint übrigens dieselbe Kleidung des Pharaos. Es dürfte aber ungewöhnlich sein, dass der König in dieser Pose zusammen mit einem Gefolgsmann dargestellt ist. Die Szene ist etwas informell, was auch durch die „Feldkleidung“ des Königs betont wird. Der symbolische Charakter des Motivs ist vielleicht sekundär, hier wird primär etwas Momentanes ausgedrückt, nicht eine feierliche rituelle Handlung. Die nächsten Parallelen wären in den Kriegs- und Jagddarstellungen der ramessidischen Tempelbauten zu suchen.

Die anscheinend absichtliche Zerstörung eines Bildteiles ist aus dem Gesichtspunkt interessant, dass sie uns eine Andeutung von dem magischen Gehalt des Bildes geben kann. Diese Bilder, die in Deir el Medineh oder anderswo gezeichnet worden sind, sind nicht bloss Abbilder, sondern lebendige Erscheinungen der dargestellten Gestalten. Dies ist natürlich nicht immer im Bewusstsein des Künstlers oder des Betrachters des Bildes eine dominierende Vorstellung, kann aber manchmal eine vorherrschende Rolle spielen.

4. MM 14 114 — Kalkstein — 6,5×5,8 cm

Die Scherbe hat überall unregelmässige Kanten. Auf einer Seite Zeichnung in rot und schwarz. Die Bildfläche ist beträchtlich reduziert.

Zwei nach rechts gewandte Personen stehen auf einem mit Pferden bespannten Wagen. Die rechte ist ein König, bekleidet mit einem weiten plissierten Gewand von halbdurchsichtigem Stoff. Er trägt einen breiten Halskragen, einen Bart und eine kurze Perücke mit einem verzierten Stirnband, an dem sich ein Uräus befindet. In beiden Händen hält er die rot gezeichneten Zügel, die Schleifen oberhalb der Hände aufweisen. Die Person hinter ihm ist eine Frau. Sie ist auch in ein plissiertes halbdurchsichtiges Gewand samt Halskragen gekleidet. Sie trägt eine dreiteilige Perücke und darauf eine Krone, die aus zwei Federn und einer Sonnenscheibe auf einer Basis besteht, an der sich anscheinend ein Uräus befindet, dessen Kopf rechts vor der Sonnenscheibe sichtbar ist. Dieser Kronentyp wird häufig von Königinnen des Neuen Reiches getragen.

Vom Wagen ist nur die obere Partie erhalten, in der sich ein ovales Loch befindet, ausserdem rechts ein Köcher, der zur Standardausrüstung dieser Wagen gehört. Der Wagen ist dekoriert, sein unterer Teil und der Köcher sind rot bemalt. Um das ovale Loch herum läuft ein Muster schwarzer Punkte, und rote befinden sich an der linken Kante (Vgl. VA 2783). Das oder die Pferde sind nicht mehr erhalten, nur ein schwarzer Strich deutet vielleicht einen Schwanz an.

Das Bild zeigt einen König und eine Königin auf einem Wagen, der vom König selbst gelenkt wird. Es handelt sich um eine sehr ungewöhnliche Darstellung. Nach der Art der Gewänder zu urteilen, stammt das Bild aus ramessidischer Zeit. In dieser Epoche wird der König meistens allein in seinem Wagen abgebildet, obwohl er in Wirklichkeit einen Wagenlenker hatte<sup>8</sup>. Es gibt einen ideologischen Hintergrund für den Wunsch, den König allein im Wagen entweder auf dem Schlachtfeld oder bei der Jagd darzustellen. Es gibt jedoch eine Gruppe Bilder aus dem 14. Jahrhundert, auf denen der König von der Königin im selben Wagen begleitet wird. Es sind Szenen aus der Amarna-Zeit, die in Gräbern in Amarna belegt sind<sup>9</sup>. Aber in Theben selbst ist das Motiv auch belegt. Echnaton und Nefertiti fahren im pferdebespannten Wagen mit dem König als Lenker aus. Diese Szene kann nun belegt werden durch die Rekonstruktion von Wandfeldern von Echnatons Aton-Tempel in Karnak. Eine Darstellung dort bietet eine genaue Parallele<sup>10</sup> zu diesem Ostrakon. Wir sind geneigt, dieses Ostrakonbild als einen Beleg für eine Tradition anzunehmen, die nach der Amarna-Zeit, in

welcher eben dies Motiv vielleicht seine Entstehung hatte, vor allem *neben* dem Tempel- und Gräberdekor überliefert wurde. Es kann für z.B. die Palastmalerei ganz eigene Traditionen geben, die wir jetzt nicht mehr verfolgen können; es ist wichtig, mit dieser hypothetischen Möglichkeit zu rechnen. Eine Darstellung in einem Privatgrab der Zeit Ramses' II., in der der König zusammen mit der Königin bei einer Zeremonie auf unkonventionelle Weise wiedergegeben ist<sup>11</sup>, erweist, dass vielleicht solche informelleren Motive manchmal die Traditionen anderer Dekorationskreise durchbrechen konnten.

##### 5. MM 14 012 — Kalkstein — 19,5×19,3 cm

Überall ziemlich unregelmässige Kanten. Einige kleinere Bruchstellen auf der Bildseite. Zeichnung erst in roten, dann in schwarzen Konturen.

Das Bild stellt einen König in einer Sänfte dar. Die Zeichnung dürfte unfertig sein, eine detaillierte Behandlung des Körpers fehlt. Der König sitzt nach rechts gewandt. Er trägt die blaue Krone mit Uräus. In der rechten Hand hält er ein Herrscherszepter und eine sog. Geissel, während er die linke ausstreckt. Ein paar sehr schwache Linien deuten an, dass das Bild des Königs in seiner jetzigen Ausführung nicht das ursprüngliche ist. Der linke Arm war in analoger Haltung wie der rechte wiedergegeben, die Hände lagen nebeneinander auf der Brust und hielten je ein Attribut. Ebenso gibt es schwache Spuren — nur in rot — eines plissierten Gewandes.

Der König sitzt auf einem Kissen, das auf dem Throne liegt, dessen Seite von einer Sphinx gebildet wird. Zwischen ihren Beinen sind die Löwentatzen der Beine des Thrones sichtbar. Links an der Rückseite des Thrones ist die Tragstange angebracht.

Dieser König in der Sänfte<sup>12</sup> könnte nicht um wahrscheinlich Amenophis I. sein, dessen Statue bei Festen herumgetragen wurde<sup>13</sup>. Eine solche tragbare Statue wäre dann hier dargestellt. Die Sphinx ist ein königliches Schutz- und Machtsymbol, die oft neben dem Löwen ein Element in der Konstruktion eines Tragsessels ist. Vor allem ist dieses Bild für die Deutung der el Medineh-Gruppe aktuell. Vielleicht wäre eine Verbindung denkbar, sonst ist die Verbindung mit der Grabmalerei offenbar.

##### 6. MM 14 009 — Kalkstein — 12,6×22,6 cm

Die Scherbe hat unregelmässige Kanten. Die un-

prüngliche Bildfläche ist etwas reduziert. Auf beiden Seiten Bilder und Inschriften in schwarzen Konturen. Die Oberfläche ist stellenweise abgesplittert.

Auf der einen Seite ist ein König in einem weiten Gewand dargestellt, u.a. mit einer Quaste an einem vorne herabhängenden Teil (nun zum grossen Teil abgesplittert). Die Füsse sind mit Sandalen bekleidet. Der König trägt eine kurze Perücke mit einem Uräus und Armbänder an Oberarm und Handgelenk. Der rechte Arm ist durch Absplittierung nicht mehr vorhanden. Er wendet sich nach rechts und streckt seinen linken Arm aus. In der Hand hält er auf einer Unterlage, die ein *nb*-Zeichen ist, einen Falken. Links vom König befindet sich eine Titulatur, von einer Namenskartusche gefolgt:  $\downarrow \text{𓆎} = \text{𓆎} \text{𓆎}$ , „Der König von Ober- und Unterägypten, Der Herr der Beiden Länder...“. Die Zeichen in der Kartusche sind sehr unleserlich und schwer leserlich. Die erste Hieroglyphe dürfte ein *r*-Zeichen sein, die letzte ein *stp*, weshalb es sich um einen ramessidischen König handeln kann.

Die andere Seite weist in der Mitte eine vertikale Inschriftzeile auf. Die Hieroglyphen sind grösstenteils verwischt und kaum leserlich. Eine Königskartusche befindet sich darunter. Rechts oben von der Zeile ist ein Falke mit der Doppelkrone gezeichnet, unter ihm die Titulatur *nb ꜥwy*, „Der Herr der Beiden Länder“, von einer Kartusche mit jetzt unleserlichem Namen gefolgt. Links von der Zeile sind von oben nach unten ein Schakalkopf, eine Eule (die Hieroglyphe *m*), eine Hornvipera (die Hieroglyphe *j*) und ein strausenartiger Vogel wiedergegeben. Zwischen den beiden letztgenannten gibt es schwache Spuren eines weiteren Vogelbildes.

Wir haben hier ein typisches Übungsstück vor uns, dessen Bilder und Inschriften hauptsächlich zu der königlichen Sphäre gehören: König, Fragmente von Königstitulaturen, Kartuschen samt dem Falken mit Doppelkrone. Die Haltung des abgebildeten Königs ist die eines Opfernden. Der Falke ist eine Erscheinungsform des Königs und verkörpert das Königtum.

7. MM 14 117 — Kalkstein — 5,6×10,1 cm

Scherbe mit zwei abgeschliffenen und zwei unregelmässigen Kanten. Auf beiden Seiten Darstellungen und Schriftzeichen in schwarz.

Mitten auf der einen Seite steht auf einer fragmentarischen Basislinie ein König, der als Silhouette wiedergegeben ist. Er ist nach rechts gewandt und trägt die blaue Krone mit Uräus und herabhängen-

dem Band und einen kurzen Schurz, an dem ein Schwanz befestigt ist. In der rechten Hand hält er über der Schulter ein Herrscherszepter und eine sog. Geissel, in der linken eine Feder. Über diesem Bild erscheint eine Sonnenscheibe mit zwei Uräen. Links stehen die zwei Zeichen *nswt bit*, „Der König von Ober- und Unterägypten“ und darunter eine Kartusche mit dem Namen Ramses' IV. Rechts befinden sich weitere Hieroglyphen: *bꜥdy*, „der von Edfu“ und ein Geier mit Flagellum, der Muts Name repräsentieren könnte.

Auf der andern Seite erscheint in der Mitte ein nach rechts gewandter kniender König. Er ist als Silhouette auf einer Basislinie wiedergegeben. Er trägt einen niedrigen Helm oder eine kleine Perücke mit Uräus und einem Band, das hinten herabhängt. Er ist mit einem Schurz bekleidet, der einen dreieckigen Mittelteil aufweist. Er hält ein Herrscherszepter und eine sog. Geissel über der Schulter — möglicherweise ist aber seine Geissel mit dem herabhängenden Band identisch. Unten befinden sich einige etwas verwischte Hieroglyphen, links ein *nh*-Zeichen, rechts die Gruppe *wn* und darunter eine Schwalbe.

Diese Übungen sind um den König, den Königsnamen und um Zeichengruppen, die teilweise zu geläufigen königlichen Zusammenhängen gehören, zentriert. Die Feder des stehenden Königs ist als die der Maat zu deuten.

8. MM 14 020 — Kalkstein — 13,7×17,4 cm

Scherbe mit unregelmässigen Kanten. Beide Seiten sind für Zeichnung bzw. Inschrift verwendet, beide in schwarz.

Die Zeichnung zeigt zwei Profile von Männern, ein grosses und ein kleineres. Das grosse ist in kräftigen stereotypen Linien ausgeführt. Nase, Mund und Auge sind detailliert wiedergegeben. Eine Linie deutet die Stelle für den Beginn einer Kopfbedeckung an, zwei Linien skizzieren die rechte Schulter. Das kleinere Profil besteht aus schwächeren Linien; besonders Form und Details der Nase sind abweichend. Nur der vordere Teil dieses Profils ist erhalten.

Diese Zeichnung muss, wie mehrere, die hier unten folgen, obwohl sie manchmal keine königlichen Attribute tragen, im Zusammenhang mit den unzähligen Ostrakonbildern gesehen werden, die Profile oder Köpfe von Königen wiedergeben. Sie gehört zu der Reihe von sehr geläufigen Übungen, das klischeehafte Königsbild darzustellen.

Die andere Seite zeigt eine hieratische Inschrift, die eine Liste von afrikanischen Ortsnamen ist. Sie ist separat veröffentlicht worden<sup>14</sup>.

9. MM 14 022 — Kalkstein — 16×11,8 cm.

Für die verso-Seite, s.u. Nr. 110

Überall unregelmässige Kanten. Auf beiden Seiten Darstellungen und Hieroglyphen in schwarz. Die ursprüngliche Bildfläche ist reduziert. Auf einer Seite befinden sich ein paar gelbe Farbflecken.

Die eine Seite wird von einem Männerkopf in Rechtsprofil beherrscht. Er trägt eine kurze Perücke, die eine Innenzeichnung aus Strichen und Punkten aufweist. Um den Kopf herum sind ohne innere Ordnung Bilder eines Löwen und eines Schakals sowie Hieroglyphenzeichen verstreut. Ganz links befindet sich ein fragmentarisch erhaltener Schakal, nur Ohren, die obere Partie des Kopfes und eine Schulter sind sichtbar — es handelt sich wahrscheinlich um ein Bild des Anubis. Oberhalb davon befindet sich ein Löwenkopf mit kurzer Mähne und offenem Maul. Teilweise über den Löwen, aber in entgegengesetzter Richtung ist die Hieroglyphengruppe  $\text{𓆎}$ , also „Löwe“, geschrieben. Unter dieser Gruppe steht die Hieroglyphe, die einen sitzenden Mann darstellt. Über dem die Bildfläche beherrschenden Kopf sieht man die Eule, die Hieroglyphe für *m*. Rechts vom Kopf befindet sich ein Bild eines heiligen Auges, die Gruppe  $\text{𓆎}$  „sagen“, die Hieroglyphe für  $\text{𓆎}$ , und unten die Gruppe  $\text{𓆎}$  *tm*. Es gibt ausserdem sehr schwache Spuren weiterer Zeichen.

Auf der anderen Seite erscheint eine Darstellung eines Affen. Die Scherbe ist ein typisches Übungsstück mit sehr geläufigen Hieroglyphen und Bildern. Der Männerkopf, der das Hauptbild ist, ist leicht in die Typenreihe der Königsköpfe einzuordnen.

10. MM 14 024 — Kalkstein — 12×20 cm.

Für die verso-Seite, s.u. Nr. 70

Scherbe mit unregelmässigen Kanten. Teilweise beträchtliche Absplitterungen. Die Scherbe war in drei Stücke zerbrochen und ist nun zusammengeklebt. Auf beiden Seiten Zeichnungen in erst roten, dann schwarzen Umrisslinien, einige Details nur in schwarz.

Rechts auf der einen Seite finden sich schwach aber deutlich sichtbar zwei Männerprofile. Oben ist es ein Königsprofil mit Uräus an der Stirn. Die Details sind fast ganz verschwunden. Der König hat

keine Krone, sondern eine Perücke getragen. Der untere Kopf ist besser erhalten und sehr sicher und elegant ausgeführt in schöner weicher Linienführung. Nur das vordere Profil ist noch vorhanden; ein Uräus kommt hier nicht vor.

Eine Person mit einem Messer ist auf der anderen Seite dargestellt. Bei beiden Köpfen ist der Übungscharakter dieser Scherbe offenbar.

11. MM 14 025 — Kalkstein — 12,4×14,4 cm

Überall unregelmässige Kanten. Auf der einen Seite ist die Bildfläche beträchtlich durch Absplitterung beschädigt. Auf beiden Seiten Zeichnungen in schwarzen Konturen, die teilweise Verbesserungen von einer Zeichnung in rot sind.

Die eine Seite zeigt zwei Männerköpfe im Profil, den einen nach rechts, den anderen nach links gewandt. Der linke gibt einen König mit unterägyptischer Krone und Uräus wieder, der rechte einen Mann mit kurzer Perücke und kurzem Kinnbart. Ein Mann, der wahrscheinlich auch als ein König aufzufassen ist. Mehrere Halslinien sind gezeichnet, die wohl Korrekturen sind.

Die andere Seite hat auch ein Profil getragen, nach links gewandt. Durch Beschädigung ist eigentlich nur noch die Perücke erhalten.

Diese groben Übungszeichnungen haben eine Parallele in Nr. 18 unten.

12. MM 14 026 — Kalkstein — 13,6×12 cm

Die Scherbe hat unregelmässige Kanten. Eine grosse Partie der Bildflächen fehlt. Auf beiden Seiten Darstellungen, zum Teil eingeritzt. Zeichnungen in roten dann schwarzen Linien.

Die eine Seite zeigt einen Königskopf. Die Fläche war mit einem Quadratnetz aus roten Linien überzogen. Die Quadrate messen 1,9×1,9 cm. Der Kopf ist nach rechts gewandt. Er trägt die blaue Krone und hat einen doppelten Halsring. Die Lippen sind rot gemalt. Die Profilinie ist in den Stein eingeritzt. Eingeritzt sind auch Braue, Auge und Mund.

Auf der andern Seite findet sich oben links ein nur teilweise erhaltenes, nach links gewandtes menschliches Profil. Es ist gänzlich in den Stein eingeritzt. Auch auf dieser Seite sind Reste eines roten Quadratnetzes feststellbar. Es ist dies der Typus des Königskopfes mit Perücke.

3. MM 14 027 — Kalkstein — 10,2×9,3 cm

Unregelmässige Kanten. Die ursprüngliche Bildfläche durch Absplitterung teilweise reduziert. Auf der einen Seite ein Bild in schwarzen Umrisslinien.

Das Bild zeigt einen Königskopf, nach links geneigt. Es ist von konventioneller Ausführung mit Kopftuch und Uräus. Das Ohr ist durchbohrt (für Ohrschmuck).

4. MM 14 028 — Kalkstein — 5,9×10 cm

Unregelmässige Kanten. Zeichnung und hieratische Schrift in schwarz auf der einen Seite.

Das Bild zeigt einen nach links gewandten Menschenkopf. Allein die Umrisslinien des Gesichtes und der Perücke sind noch gut erhalten. Spuren von Auge und Mund sind schwach zu erkennen.

Unten befindet sich eine Liste mit den Zahlen 24, 20, 20 in hieratischer Schrift.

5. MM 14 029 — Kalkstein — 7,1×5,4 cm

Die Kanten der Scherbe sind relativ gerade Brüche. Auf einer Seite Bild in schwarz und rot, auf der anderen der Rest einer Inschrift in schwarz.

Das Bild zeigt einen Königskopf, mit schwarzen Umrisslinien gezeichnet. Der König trägt die blaue Krone. Ein Halsring ist doppelt gezeichnet. Im Winkel zwischen Kinn und Hals befindet sich ein deutlich gezeichneter Doppelstrich. Das Gesicht war vielleicht in roter Farbe gemalt; was wie Farbe aussieht, dunkel und braunschwarz, könnte eine Schmutzschicht sein.

Auf der anderen Seite befinden sich vier schwarze vertikale Linien, die drei Kolumnen für eine Inschrift bilden. In der linken ist die Hieroglyphe <sup>3</sup> enthalten, und über dieser hat sich ein weiteres Zeichen erhalten, das in pseudohieratischer Schrift geschrieben ist.

6. MM 14 033 — Kalkstein — 8,9×5,2 cm

Fragmentarische Scherbe mit unregelmässigen Kanten. Zeichnung in schwarzen Linien auf der einen Seite.

Das Fragment zeigt ein Menschenprofil, Nase, Lippe, Auge und ein Teil der Augenbraue. Obwohl ohne Attribut gehört das Bild zu der Reihe von Profilprofilen. Zu dem unproportioniert grossen

Auge gibt es eine gute Parallele in dem französischen Ostrakonmaterial (VA 2938).

17. MM 14 126 — Kalkstein — 8,3×13,2 cm

Eine anscheinend geglättete Kante, sonst unregelmässige Kanten. Auf der einen Seite Zeichnung in schwarz, auf der anderen eine hieratische Inschrift in rot und schwarz.

Ein Männerkopf ist in schwarzen Umrisslinien gezeichnet, die in den Stein eingeritzt worden sind. Die Zeichnung ist grob und ungeschickt, sie zeigt den Mann mit Kopftuch oder Perücke.

Die Inschrift ist eine Liste von Häusern und Einwohnern von Deir el Medineh. Sie wird hier nicht veröffentlicht.

18. MM 15 382 — Kalkstein — 26,2×12,9 cm

Mit einer Ausnahme hat die Scherbe regelmässige, teilweise abgeschliffene Kanten. Auf einer Seite Bilder in rot und schwarz, auf der anderen Spuren von Bildern in schwarz.

Auf einer Seite zeigt mehrere Darstellungen menschlicher Köpfe. Rechts findet sich ein Königskopf mit Kopftuch, in roten und schwarzen Linien gezeichnet. Ebenso gezeichnet ist der Kopf links davon, ein Königskopf mit der blauen Krone und Uräus. Zwischen diesen beiden befindet sich ein kleiner Kopf in schwarz. Die linke Partie der Scherbe weist noch einen weiteren Königskopf mit blauer Krone auf, nur in schwarz. Über diesen ist ein karikaturartiger Kopf in rot gezeichnet, und ganz links erscheint ein weiterer in rot, der ein Gesicht mit Bart und Stirnband zeigt, den konventionellen Typus eines Ausländers aus Vorderasien. Unten in der Mitte der Scherbe ist eine Hand in roten und schwarzen Linien gezeichnet.

Auf der Rückseite kann unter den schwachen schwarzen Spuren nur die Zeichnung eines Auges festgestellt werden, die eines heiligen Auges.

19. MM 14 145 — Kalkstein — 11,8×8,5 cm

Scherbe mit unregelmässigen Kanten. Auf beiden Seiten Bilder in schwarzen Umrisslinien. Die ursprüngliche Bildfläche ist reduziert.

Auf der einen Seite befindet sich eine Hand, deren Zeigefinger ausgestreckt ist und die Nasenspitze eines Gesichtsprofils berührt, das links erscheint. Es gibt eine Parallele aus dem Deir el Me-

dineh-Material: ein sitzender Mann hält seine Hand vor seine Nase (VA 2471); möglicherweise könnte dieses Bild so emendiert werden. Die Zeichnung der Hand ist sehr sensibel. Hände dieser Art erscheinen besonders in der Amarna-Zeit<sup>14</sup>.

Auf der anderen Seite befindet sich das Fragment eines Gesichtes mit Bart. Oben sieht man Mund und Kinn, nach rechts gerichtet. Der Bart ist geflochten und von traditionellem Typ. Das Bild hat wahrscheinlich einen Königskopf dargestellt.

20. MM 14 106 — Kalkstein — 13,2×21,6 cm

Wahrscheinlich war die Scherbe rechteckig mit regelmässigen, teilweise abgeschliffenen Kanten. Nur eine Kante ist nun unbeschädigt. Auf der einen Seite gibt es ein Bild in schwarz und schwarzbraun, ein paar gelbe Flecken sind unbeabsichtigt. Die Bildfläche ist etwas durch Absplitterung reduziert.

In zwei Bildfeldern, die von einem architektonischen Rahmen umgeben sind, sind ein Falke und ein Greif dargestellt. Die Einrahmung ist in schwarzen, die Tiere sind in schwarzbraunen Linien ausgeführt. Diese sind auch in derselben Farbe laviert. Hinter dem Falken befinden sich zwei Fächer.

Der architektonische Rahmen ist wie ein Erscheinungsfenster geformt. Dieses Fenster, das an einer bestimmten Stelle im königlichen Palast vorkam, ist von vor allem Darstellungen aus dem Neuen Reich von der Zeit Amenophis' IV. bis zu den Ramessiden bekannt und sonst in Medinet Habu gut erhalten<sup>15</sup>. In diesem Fenster zeigte sich der König — und manchmal andere Mitglieder der königlichen Familie — bei bestimmten Gelegenheiten, u.a. um Belohnungen auszuteilen. Vielfach waren diese Fenster mit allegorischen Bildern geschmückt, die teilweise apotropäischen Charakter gehabt haben mögen. Die Darstellung hier gibt nur die wesentlichen Züge des Aufbaus. Der obere Teil bildet das eigentliche Fenster, der untere muss als Fassade betrachtet werden. Eine ähnliche Konstruktion ist in Neferhoteps Grab in Theben abgebildet<sup>17</sup>.

Anstelle des Königs erscheint hier ein Falke mit ausgebreiteten Flügeln, einer Sonnenscheibe auf dem Kopf und *šn*-Zeichen in den Fängen. Der Falke ist eine der häufigsten Darstellungsformen des Königs neben seiner menschlichen Gestalt. Die Sonnenscheibe deutet den kosmischen Aspekt an, Horus als Licht- und Himmelsgott<sup>18</sup>. Auch die Fächer gehören zur Darstellung des Königs oder königlicher Symbole<sup>19</sup>.

Unten in dem niederen Bildfeld ist ein Greif wiedergegeben, bestehend aus Löwenkörper mit Falkenkopf, dieser mit einem Kopftuch geschmückt. Der Greif ist ebenfalls ein allegorisches Königsbild, mit Sphinxvorstellungen verwandt. Eben Sphinxdarstellungen gehören manchmal zu Bildern von Erscheinungsfenstern<sup>20</sup>.

Auch auf einem Ostrakon in Berlin kommt ein Erscheinungsfenster vor (BT 26). Das Stockholmer Bild ist aber einzigartig. Die allegorische Bedeutung scheint klar. Ist das Bild mit Wanddekor in Palästen zu verbinden?

21. MM 14 075 — Kalkstein — 17×10,2 cm

Scherbe mit unregelmässigen Kanten. Bild auf einer Seite in rot und schwarz samt gelb. Oberfläche beschädigt durch Salzausfällung.

Auf einer schwarzen Basislinie ist ein Stier dargestellt, der von einem Löwen angefallen wird. Der Stier ist schwarz gezeichnet, und das Fell ist durch schwarze Flecken angedeutet; die ausgesparten Partien hat man an einigen Stellen mit rot gefüllt. Der Schwanz ist hoch erhoben, und die Quaste ist rot gemalt. Der Löwe ist in roten Konturen gezeichnet. Er fällt von rechts den von links kommenden Stier an. Der Schwanz des Löwen ist zwischen den Hinterbeinen sichtbar. Die Beine und ein Teil des Körpers sind gelb bemalt.

Dies ist eine allegorische Szene, die den Kampf zwischen gut und böse schildert, den Kampf zwischen Horus und Seth. Der König wird herkömmlich durch einen Löwen repräsentiert, er ist der traditionelle Horus<sup>21</sup>, während die bösen sethischen Kräfte von Wildstier verkörpert werden, der in der Opfersymbolik mit Seth identifiziert werden konnte<sup>22</sup>.

Das allegorische Motiv könnte vielleicht als Dekor in königlichen Zusammenhängen gedacht werden. Aber es erscheint auch im Kunsthandwerk, z.B. auf einer Schale aus einem thebanischen Grabe<sup>23</sup>. Entsprechende Motive kommen von ältester Zeit an in der mesopotamischen Kunst als ein fester Typus vor<sup>24</sup>, etwas ähnliches könnte für Ägypten angenommen werden.

22. MM 14 101 — Kalkstein — 8,1×5,1 cm

Unregelmässige Kanten. Auf einer Seite Zeichnung in schwarzen Umrisslinien. Fragment einer grösseren Scherbe, Bildfläche beträchtlich reduziert.

Auf einer schwarzen Basislinie ist ein Löwenhinterbein mit Hinterbeinen und dem Schwanz dazwischen sichtbar. Über diesem Löwen befinden sich Mittel- und Hinterpartie eines Stieres. Das Fell ist wenig schwarz gefleckt. Teilweise überschneidet die Zeichnung des Stieres die des Löwen. Der Stier lässt seinen Kot fallen.

Es ist möglich, dass diese Darstellung einen Kampf zwischen Löwe und Stier wiedergegeben hat, vielleicht ohne allegorische Bedeutung. Das Fragment muss in Verbindung mit dem vorhergehenden Bild Nr. 21 betrachtet werden.

### *Die mythologische Sphäre*

Die Götter vor allem sind die Bilder dieser Gruppe zentriert. Götter allein oder zu mehreren, Götter, von Adoranten angebetet, sind Themata für diese Darstellungen, feste Typen, die oft eindeutig Motivbilder sind, obwohl Bilder in Gräbern oder Tempeln und auf verschiedenen oft funerären Gegenständen gleichartig sind. Nur selten sind ausführliche Szenen dargestellt; eine interessante Szene, die nur an Grab-, aber auch Tempelbilder anknüpft, zeigt Amuns heilige Barke, die auf dem Nil bugsiert wird.

Eine geschlossene Bildgruppe, die unter diese Gruppe aufgenommen worden ist, bilden private Stele, die an der Grenze zwischen Ostrakonbildern und sorgearbeiteten Denkmälern stehen und die oft einem Verstorbenen zugeeignet sind, der allein oder mit einem Opfernden vor sich dargestellt sein kann. Diese Denkmäler sind religiöser Art und haben im Prinzip dieselbe Funktion wie die Votive an verschiedene Götter; der Verstorbene ist ja auch Osiris.

Mehrere Bilder könnten abgeschlossene Werke, religiöse Denkmäler darstellen, andere sind offenbar Bruchstücke.

### **24. MM 14 002 — Kalkstein — 7,9×9,7 cm**

Reformiert wie eine Stele mit abgerundetem oberem Abschluss. Die gerade untere Kante ist mehrfach bekränzt. Abgeschliffene Längskanten. Die Bildfläche ist durch Absplinterung beschädigt.

In schwarzen Konturen ist ein Gott mit Ibskopf, der auf einer Basislinie nach rechts gewandt steht, gezeichnet. Er ist in ein eng anliegendes Gewand kleidet und trägt einen Halskragen und ein Kopf-

tuch, ausserdem eine Krone, die wahrscheinlich aus Mondscheibe und Mondsichel zusammengesetzt ist. In der linken Hand hält er ein Szepter (*w³s*).

Auf der Bildfläche gibt es auch Spuren einer früheren Darstellung, die ausgelöscht worden ist. Links von dem Gotte sieht man die Skizze wohl eines Vogels.

Der Gott ist Thoth. Seine Darstellung ist konventioneller Art. Dieses Ostrakon sollte als eine Votive stele interpretiert werden.

### **24. MM 14 073 — Kalkstein — 13,1×8,7 cm**

Unregelmässige, vielleicht ein wenig begradigte Kanten. Bild in rot und schwarz.

Das Bild ist anscheinend erst in roten Umrisslinien ausgeführt worden, die dann mit schwarzen überzeichnet sind. Details der Körper der Götterfiguren sind schwarz und rot gemalt. Das Bild zeigt ein Fahrzeug mit hohem Bug und Heck. Am Heck befindet sich ein Gestell mit Steuerruder. Links sitzt ein nach rechts gewandter ibisköpfiger Gott mit einer Krone, die aus einer Mondscheibe in einem Hörnerpaar, weniger wahrscheinlich in einer Mondsichel, besteht. Rechts steht dem Ibisgott zugewandt ein Pavian aufrecht auf den Hinterpfoten. Er hält ein heiliges Auge in den Vorderpfoten. Das Rechteck unter dem Boot soll die Himmelsflut wiedergeben.

Die Darstellung zeigt den Mondgott Thoth in einem Schiff, das analog zum Sonnenschiff aufgefasst werden muss. Auch Thoth durchfährt wie Re den Himmel in einem Schiff; dies ist schon in den Pyramidentexten belegt<sup>26</sup>. Thoth kommt hier in ibisköpfiger Gestalt vor, aber auch der Pavian ist einer seiner Aspekte. Dieser bringt das Mondauge, das linke Auge des Himmelsgottes dar; damit spielt das Bild auf mythische Geschehnisse an. Das Vorkommen von zwei Aspekten desselben Gottes muss gegen den Hintergrund von Bildern des Sonnenschiffes gesehen werden, in dem Re zusammen mit seinem Wesir Thoth thront, dieser oft in Paviangestalt<sup>27</sup>. Wie der Pavian, obwohl er nicht immer als mit Thoth identisch angesehen werden kann, Begleiter des Herrn des Sonnenschiffes ist, so ist er es auch beim Herrn des Mondschiffes. Die dominierende Vorstellung vom Sonnenschiff dürfte die Ikonographie des Mondschiffes beeinflusst haben.

Dasselbe Motiv ist auf einer Stele aus Deir el Medineh belegt<sup>27</sup>. Dort ist der Ibisgott als „Iah-Thoth“, also „Mond-Thoth“ bezeichnet, während der Pavian

als „Thoth, der Herr der Ewigkeit, der die Ewigkeit macht“ gilt.

25. MM 14 003 — Kalkstein — 6,5×10 cm

Die rechte Kante der Scherbe besteht aus einem geraden Bruch, die übrigen Kanten sind unregelmässig. Die Zeichnung, die sich auf der einen Seite befindet, ist erst in roten, dann in schwarzen Konturen, die die roten korrigieren, ausgeführt.

Zwei Gottheiten, nach links gewandt, stehen auf einer Basislinie. Der linke, falkenköpfige Gott ist in einen eng anliegenden Schurz gekleidet. Er trägt einen Halskragen und ein Kopftuch, darauf eine Sonnenscheibe mit einem Uräus. In der rechten Hand hält er ein Szepter (*w's*), um das ein Lotusstengel mit einer Blüte und Knospe gewunden ist. Die linke umfasst ein Lebenszeichen.

Die Göttin rechts hat ihre eine Hand auf die Schulter des Gottes gelegt, während die andere ein Lebenszeichen hält. Sie trägt ein eng anliegendes knöchellanges Kleid, einen Halskragen und eine Perücke mit Stirnband, das hinten zu einer Rosette geknotet ist. Die Krone besteht aus Sonnenscheibe und Kuhgehörn.

Der Gott ist der Sonnengott Re-Harachte. Ein interessantes ikonographisches Detail bildet das Szepter mit dem Lotusstiel. Das *w's*-Szepter ist konventionell, aber der herumgewundene Lotusstengel deutet die besondere kosmogonische Vorstellung von der Geburt dieses Gottes auf einer Lotusblume an<sup>27</sup>. Die Göttin dürfte Hathor sein, die oft die Begleiterin des Sonnengottes ist<sup>28</sup>.

26. MM 14 004 — Kalkstein — 9,2×13 cm

Die linke Kante ist gerade, die übrigen sind abgeschlagen und unregelmässig. Die Bildfläche ist wegen der Beschädigungen reduziert. Die Zeichnung auf der einen Seite ist in schwarzen Konturen ausgeführt.

Dargestellt ist ein falkenköpfiger Gott, der, nach rechts gewandt, auf einer Basislinie steht. Er trägt ein eng anliegendes Gewand mit Achselband und Gürtel, einen Halskragen, Armbänder an Oberarmen und Handgelenken und ein Kopftuch. Oberhalb des Kopfes schwebt eine Sonnenscheibe mit Uräus. Die Mitte der Scheibe ist mit einem kleinen Kreis markiert. In der rechten Hand hält der Gott ein Lebenszeichen, in der linken ein Szepter (*w's*).

Vor ihm befindet sich eine fragmentarische Inschrift:  $\text{𓂏𓂛𓂏𓂛}$ , „[Re]-Harachte, der grosse Gott“. Das letzte Zeichen könnte möglicherweise als  $\text{𓂏}$  gelesen werden, dann also „der gute Gott“. Am wahrscheinlichsten ist jedoch die Lesung  $\text{𓂏}$ , also „gross“. Dieser Gott kann auf Stelen vorkommen, z.B. auf einer aus Deir el Medineh in Turin<sup>29</sup>, wo er den Titel „der grosse Gott, der Herr des Himmels“ trägt. Eine Parallele in Daressys Ostrakonmaterial (O 25 043 verso), die wahrscheinlich ein Votivbild ist, macht es möglich, dieses Bild als ein Votiv anzusehen. Die Darstellung des Gottes ist aber in vielen anderen Kontexten denkbar.

27. MM 14 006 — Kalkstein — 9×11,5 cm

Sehr dünne, flache Scherbe. Alle Kanten abgeschlagen, so dass die Bildfläche nur fragmentarisch erhalten ist. Die Scherbe ist in zwei Stücke zerbrochen, die zusammengeklebt sind. Zeichnung und Hieroglypheninschrift in schwarzer Farbe.

Das Bild zeigt eine nach rechts gewandte Frau, die in einer Kapelle sitzt und einen Säugling stillt. Sie trägt eine Götterkrone, eigentlich nur den Unter- teil einer Krone, eine dreiteilige Perücke mit einem Stirnband, das hinten zu einer Rosette geknotet ist, einen Halskragen samt Armband. Ihr Gewand ist nicht näher zu bestimmen. Das Kind ist nackt; sein Haar ist zu einer Seitenlocke zusammengefasst. Zwei Säulen tragen das Dach der Kapelle. Dieses weist vier Reihen Ornamente und eine Abschlussleiste mit vertikaler Strichelung auf.

Die Inschrift vor der Kapelle besteht aus zwei vertikalen Zeilen:  $\text{𓂏𓂛𓂏𓂛}$  ...  $\text{𓂏𓂛𓂏𓂛}$  „... Platz der Wahrheit, der Vorsteher *Imn-ḥtp* ... Platz der Wahrheit *P(ḥ)-n-ḥ-wr(t)* ...“.

Die senkrechte Inschriftzeile vor der Göttin gibt ihren Namen an:  $\text{𓂏𓂛𓂏𓂛}$ , „Die grosse Isis, die Herrin des Himmels, Gott ... (vielleicht: Gottesmutter)“. Die Zeichengruppe links von ihrem Kopf  $\text{𓂏}$  gehört wohl auch zu ihren Epitheta: „Die Herrin der Beiden Länder“. Auf der Rückseite sind Spuren einer Inschrift vorhanden.

Klar sind Isis und Horus hier dargestellt. Die Inschriften mit Erwähnung von Namen von Privatpersonen aus Deir el Medineh könnten andeuten, dass es sich um ein Votivbild handelte. Das ikonographische Thema ist, obwohl im religiösen Denken sehr geläufig, nicht sehr gewöhnlich auf Deir el Medineh Denkmälern. Sehr naheliegend sind indessen Darstel-



gen der Göttin Meretseger oder Renenut, die in thebanischen Gräbern vorkommen<sup>21</sup>. Das Bild könnte Anlehnung an herkömmliche Darstellungen einer untergöttin dargestellt sein; es ist aber auch wichtig, daß an die Gruppe von Wochenlaubebildern zu erinnern.

Das Bild der Göttin weist Anzeichen einer besten Zerstörung auf; man hat versucht, es auskratzen.

1. MM 14 010 — Kalkstein — 10,3×12,5 cm

Die Bildfläche der Scherbe ist etwas reduziert durch einen geraden Bruch links, die übrigen Kanten sind auch etwas abgeschlagen. Auf der einen Seite eine Zeichnung in schwarzen Konturen.

Das Bild gibt einen Gott des Bes-Typs wieder. Er steht mit krummen Beinen in Frontalansicht auf einer Basislinie. Das breite Gesicht ist nicht ganz deutlich erhalten, es scheint von einer Löwenmähne eingegrenzt zu sein und trägt einen herabhängenden Bart. Der Gott ist mit Hängebrüsten dargestellt und in den kurzen, schwarz gepunkteten Schurz mit länger herabhängendem Mittelteil gekleidet. Auf dem Kopf trägt er eine Federkrone, die nicht vollständig erhalten ist, und um das rechte Handgelenk ein flatterndes Band. Das Band, welches bei der linken Hand herabhängt, ist nicht sichtbar am Gelenk befestigt. Ausserdem ist der Gott mit zwei grossen, nach unten und aussen gerichteten Flügeln mit Innenzeichnung versehen. Auf seinen Händen hält er zwei symbolische Gruppen von Hieroglyphen empor,  $\overline{\text{III}}$  und  $\overline{\text{S}}$ , Gruppen, die als Amulette eine klare Schutzfunktion haben. Sie scheinen besonders mit Darstellungen des flügelten Bes verknüpft zu sein. Die Flügel haben auch eine Schutzfunktion neben ihrer Andeutung der kosmischen Implikation des Gottes.

Darstellungen von Bes sind ja mehrmals im Dorf Deir el Medineh belegt. Sein Vorkommen in der Ausmalerei ist wichtig festzustellen. Die Scherbe scheint aber keine Skizze für Wanddekor zu sein, sondern kann an sich ein religiöses Monument sein.

2. MM 14 011 — Kalkstein — 21,3×20,7 cm.

Zusammen mit MM 14 013 gefunden (unten Nr. 30)

Die Scherbe ist oben grob abgerundet wie eine Stele. Die untere Kante ist gerade. Die rechte untere Ecke ist abgeschlagen, die linke etwas abgesplittert. Zeich-

nung in schwarzen Konturen, Hieroglyphen auch schwarz.

Auf einer Basislinie steht ein Thron, auf dem eine nach rechts gewandte Göttin sitzt mit einem Tisch vor sich. Rechts vom Tisch auf zwei separaten Linien liegen zwei Gazellen der Göttin zugewandt. Über die Rückenlehne des Thrones mit fast quadratischer Seitenfläche hängt ein Tuchstück. Die Göttin trägt ein eng anliegendes Kleid mit Achselbändern und Gürtel, das unter den Brüsten beginnt und an den Knöcheln mit drei waagerechten Streifen abschliesst, einen Halskragen, Ohrschmuck und eine Kappe mit hinten herabhängendem Band, auf der sich fünf Federn erheben. In den Händen hält sie ein Lebenszeichen bzw. ein Szepter, vermutlich  $\overline{\text{w}}\overline{\text{d}}$ . Die Inschrift rechts von ihrem Kopfschmuck gibt ihren Namen an  $\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{U}}\overline{\text{K}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{S}}$ , „Anukis, die Herrin von Sehel“. Der Tisch besteht aus einem geschweiften Pfeiler mit einer Platte, auf der sechs runde Brote und Pflanzen Platz finden. Auch die konischen Gebilde können Brote sein. Über jeder der beiden Gazellen steht  $\overline{\text{G}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{S}}\overline{\text{W}}\overline{\text{T}}$ , bei der unteren offenbar ohne  $\overline{\text{t}}$ , also  $\overline{\text{ghs}}\text{'wt}$ , „Gazelle“. Unterhalb der Basislinie befindet sich eine waagerechte Zeile:  $\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{T}}$ , „... der Diener am Platz der Wahrheit *Imn-m-ip[t]*“.

Die Göttin Anukis ist eine von den Gottheiten der elephantinischen Triade. Diese Götter aus dem Süden Ägyptens genossen den besonderen Kult der Deir el Medineh-Gruppe. Ihre Denkmäler in Theben sind vor allem bei dieser Gruppe häufig<sup>22</sup>. Die Verbindung von Anukis mit der Gazelle ist aber in den thebanischen Monumenten selten belegt. Es gibt jedoch ein Ostrakonbild, auf welchem Anukis als Gazelle erscheint, das aus Deir el Medineh stammt<sup>23</sup>. Der Hauptort für ihre Verehrung als Gazelle scheint Komir gewesen zu sein<sup>24</sup>. Eventuell ist Anukis, die hier jedoch deutlich als Herrin von Sehel markiert ist, auch als Göttin von Komir in Theben verehrt worden. Die Doppelzeichnung der Gazellen, die fast identisch sind, könnte vielleicht eine Anspielung auf den Distriktnamen *Ghsty* sein.

Das Ostrakon ist ein Motivbild. Die Inschrift unten könnte mit *ir.n* vor dem Titel des Mannes ergänzt werden, „Gemacht von ...“.

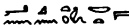
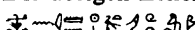

30. MM 14 013 — Kalkstein — 14,2×18 cm.

Zusammen mit MM 14 011 gefunden (oben Nr. 29)

Die Scherbe hat verhältnismässig regelmässige Kanten. An der linken Seite und unteren Ecke fehlen

grosse Partien, die abgeschlagen sind. Zeichnung und Inschriften auf der einen Seite in schwarzen Konturen.

Links findet sich die fragmentarische Darstellung einer Göttin, die, nach rechts gewandt, auf einem Thron sitzt. Sie trägt ein knöchellanges Kleid und eine Federkrone und hält in ihren ausgestreckten Händen ein Lebenszeichen und ein Szepter (*w<sup>3</sup>q*). Vor ihr kniet eine Frau mit kurzer Perücke, die in ein weites Gewand gekleidet ist. Ihre rechte Hand erhebt sie anbetend, in der linken hält sie ein sehr grosses Sistrum mit vier Querstangen. Die ganze Szene ist eingerahmt.

Oben steht eine Inschrift in fünf vertikalen Zeilen. Die linke gibt den Namen der Göttin an: , „Anukis“, die Herrin des Himmels“. Die übrigen Zeilen rechts beziehen sich auf die Frau: , „Sängerin Amun-Res *T<sup>3</sup>-mrwt*, die Selige“. Unten im Rahmen befindet sich eine waagerechte Zeile: , „Ihre Tochter *T<sup>3</sup> . . .*“. Vielleicht ist das fragmentarische Zeichen nach *T<sup>3</sup>* ein *mr*-Zeichen und der Name derselbe wie oben *T<sup>3</sup>-mrwt*.

Wie das vorige Bild ist dieses ohne Zweifel eine Votivgabe.

### 31. MM 14 110 — Kalkstein — 15,5×9,3 cm

Die Scherbe hat relativ unregelmässige Kanten. Auf einer Seite Bild in rot und schwarz. Die ursprüngliche Bildfläche etwas beschädigt durch Absplittung.

Ein Pferd trabt nach rechts. Auf dem Rücken sitzt eine Person, anscheinend *à l'amazone*, die den Zügel in der hoch erhobenen linken Hand hält, während die rechte nach rückwärts ausgestreckt ist. Es ist nicht mehr möglich zu sehen, ob sich in dieser rechten Hand ein Gegenstand befunden hat. Die Gestalt scheint ganz nackt zu sein, sie trägt einen Halschmuck und vielleicht eine Art Haube; möglicherweise deuten aber zwei schwarze Flecken Haarbüschel an. Das Pferd scheint gesattelt zu sein, eine Decke liegt auf seinem Rücken. Es trägt einen deutlich gezeichneten Halfter und ausserdem Federbüsche auf dem Kopf. Es ist in roten Umrisslinien gezeichnet, mit roter Farbe bemalt und an einigen Stellen mit schwarzen Konturen nachgezogen. Die Gestalt ist ganz in schwarzen Umrisslinien gezeichnet.

Obwohl es klar ist, dass die Darstellung einen Mann mit Haarbüscheln und Brustschmuck auf einem

Pferd zeigen könnte (vgl. MM 14 057, Nr. 91 unten), dürfte das Bild doch mythologischen Charakters sein. Es könnte der bestimmten kleinen Gruppe zugehören, die die vorderasiatische Göttin Astarte zu Pferde wiedergibt. Sie ist oben in Zusammenhang mit den Funden aus Deir el Medineh erwähnt worden, und dort ist auch die Frage offen gelassen, inwieweit diese Bilder Votivgaben, Skizzen oder Vorlagen für grössere Darstellungen oder Kopien solcher sind. Die Identifizierung der Gottheit ist auch nicht endgültig festgelegt“.

### 32. MM 14 043 — Kalkstein — 5×11,5 cm

Überall unregelmässige Kanten. Bildfläche beschädigt und reduziert durch Absplittung. Auf einer Seite Zeichnung in rot und schwarz.

Das Bild zeigt ungefähr dieselbe Zeichnung zweimal, links in rot und rechts in schwarz. Die rote Zeichnung ist grösstenteils ausgelöscht. Eine Frau ist dargestellt. Sie trägt ein eng anliegendes Kleid mit Achselbändern und Gürtel, einen breiten Halskragen und eine lange Perücke mit Stirnband, das hinten zu einer Rosette geknotet ist. Die Oberarme tragen Arm-bänder. Die Arme sind schräg ausgestreckt. Auf ihrem Kopfe befindet sich ein Emblem, ein hoher Stab mit einer Platte darauf, auf der drei Brote stehen. Dieser „Opfertisch“ ist eine Form der Hieroglyphe für „*Osten*“, die ursprünglich wie ein Speer wiedergegeben wurde“. Ganz oben befindet sich ein schwarzes Zeichen, das offenbar nichts mit der Hauptdarstellung zu tun hat. Es gleicht am ehesten dem Oberteil des Drahtes an der unterägyptischen Krone.

Es handelt sich also um ein Bild der Göttin, die den Osten repräsentiert. Westen und Osten werden als zwei Göttinnen personifiziert, aber nur die Westgöttin ist häufig dargestellt, dank der Bedeutung dieser Himmelsrichtung in der religiösen Gedankenwelt der Ägypter. Die Ostgöttin blieb nur eine symbolische Personifikation, eine Göttin ohne Kult, ein Komplement zur Westgöttin. Es ist auffallend, dass die Ostgöttin wohl fast nie allein abgebildet wird, sondern immer mit der Westgöttin zusammen. Dieses Ostrakonbild muss in Verbindung mit Darstellungen der beiden Göttinnen z.B. auf Grabwänden gesehen werden.

33. MM 14 087 — Kalkstein — 11×7,5 cm

Die Scherbe weist drei gerade Brüche als Kanten auf, die absichtlich zu sein scheinen, sonst unregelmässige Kanten. Bild auf einer Seite in rot und schwarz.

Die Darstellung ist in schwarzen Umrisslinien ausgeführt. Aus einem pyramidenförmigen Berg tritt eine Kuh heraus, von der man Kopf und Vorderpartie sieht. Zwischen den Hörnern trägt sie eine Sonnenscheibe. Die Bildflächen sind innerhalb der Konturen rot bemalt.

Die Szene zeigt ein bekanntes ikonographisches Thema. Die Göttin Hathor in Kuhgestalt tritt aus dem Berge hervor, der die thebanische Nekropole repräsentiert. Diese Erscheinungsform Hathors ist besonders mit dem Gebiet von Deir el Bahri verbunden<sup>33</sup>, und der Berg kann als El Kurn, der pyramidenförmige Berg, aufgefasst werden, der die Gegend beherrscht. Aber ganz im allgemeinen kann die Form eines Dreiecks einen Berg repräsentieren, was z.B. Darstellungen auf prähistorischen Gefässen zeigen. In diesem Falle könnte man aber an die Pyramide als Grabform erinnern, auch an die kleinen Pyramiden, die als Bestandteil des Oberbaus thebanischer Gräber vorkommen; Hathors Erscheinung aus dem Westberge und die aus dem Grab ist identisch. Hier kommt auch Hathors Aspekt als Beschützerin der Toten in Frage<sup>34</sup>.

34. MM 14 088 — Kalkstein — 14×13,5 cm

Die eine Kante besteht aus einem geraden Bruch, sonst unregelmässige Kanten. Bild auf einer Seite in roten Konturen. Bildfläche etwas reduziert.

Auf einer Plattform in einem Schiff mit hohem Bug und Heck steht eine nach links gewandte Kuh. Zwischen den Hörnern trägt sie eine Sonnenscheibe.

Hinter dieser Darstellung steht die Auffassung von der Kuh als einem kosmischen Wesen, der Mutter der Sonne. Diese Betrachtungsweise ist mit der Gestalt der Göttin Hathor verbunden worden. Das Bild zeigt Hathor als Himmelskuh. Das wird durch das Boot angedeutet. Ebenso wie der Sonnengott konnte auch Hathor in einer Barke über den Himmel fahren, ein Gedanke, der oft in der religiösen Literatur ausgedrückt ist<sup>35</sup>. Die Barke ist keine besondere Kultbarke<sup>36</sup>, sondern ein gewöhnlicher Typ von Himmelschiff; hier hat wahrscheinlich die Ikonographie des Sonnenschiffes eine Rolle gespielt. Die Darstellungen von Hathor in einem Schiff auf Deir el Medineh-Denkmalern sind meistens anderer Art<sup>37</sup>.

35. MM 14 134 — Kalkstein — 15,7×6,5 cm

Scherbe mit relativ regelmässigen Kanten. Auf einer Seite Bild und Inschrift in schwarz, rot und gelb. Die ursprüngliche Bildfläche ist etwas reduziert.

Das Bild zeigt eine Kobra, die sich nach rechts auf einen Opfertisch zuwindet. Nur die obere Partie dieser Szene ist erhalten. Die Schlange hat den Kopf erhoben und den Halsschild aufgebläht. Auf dem Kopf trägt sie eine Federkrone mit Sonnenscheibe. Die Zeichnung ist in roten Umrisslinien ausgeführt, die teilweise in schwarz nachgezogen worden sind. Die Schlangenhaut ist rot und schwarz gepunktet. Die Federn sind gelb, die Sonnenscheibe ist rot. Die Opfergaben, die auf dem nicht mehr erhaltenen Tisch liegen, bestehen aus Brot, in roten Konturen gezeichnet (nur die oberen Linien sind noch sichtbar), Pflanzen mit schwarzen Umrisslinien und einer grossen Lotusblume, teilweise gelb bemalt mit rotem Stengel.

Vier vertikale Inschriftzeilen stehen oberhalb von der Darstellung; die Kolumnen sind durch rote Striche markiert, während die Hieroglyphen schwarz sind:  $\text{𓆎 𓆑 𓆒 𓆓 𓆔 𓆕 𓆖 𓆗 𓆘 𓆙 𓆚 𓆛 𓆜 𓆝 𓆞 𓆟 𓆠 𓆡 𓆢 𓆣 𓆤 𓆥 𓆦 𓆧 𓆨 𓆩 𓆪 𓆫 𓆬 𓆭 𓆮 𓆯 𓆰 𓆱 𓆲 𓆳 𓆴 𓆵 𓆶 𓆷 𓆸 𓆹 𓆺 𓆻 𓆼 𓆽 𓆾 𓆿 𓇀 𓇁 𓇂 𓇃 𓇄 𓇅 𓇆 𓇇 𓇈 𓇉 𓇊 𓇋 𓇌 𓇍 𓇎 𓇏 𓇐 𓇑 𓇒 𓇓 𓇔 𓇕 𓇖 𓇗 𓇘 𓇙 𓇚 𓇛 𓇜 𓇝 𓇞 𓇟 𓇠 𓇡 𓇢 𓇣 𓇤 𓇥 𓇦 𓇧 𓇨 𓇩 𓇪 𓇫 𓇬 𓇭 𓇮 𓇯 𓇰 𓇱 𓇲 𓇳 𓇴 𓇵 𓇶 𓇷 𓇸 𓇹 𓇺 𓇻 𓇼 𓇽 𓇾 𓇿 𓈀 𓈁 𓈂 𓈃 𓈄 𓈅 𓈆 𓈇 𓈈 𓈉 𓈊 𓈋 𓈌 𓈍 𓈎 𓈏 𓈐 𓈑 𓈒 𓈓 𓈔 𓈕 𓈖 𓈗 𓈘 𓈙 𓈚 𓈛 𓈜 𓈝 𓈞 𓈟 𓈠 𓈡 𓈢 𓈣 𓈤 𓈥 𓈦 𓈧 𓈨 𓈩 𓈪 𓈫 𓈬 𓈭 𓈮 𓈯 𓈰 𓈱 𓈲 𓈳 𓈴 𓈵 𓈶 𓈷 𓈸 𓈹 𓈺 𓈻 𓈼 𓈽 𓈾 𓈿 𓉀 𓉁 𓉂 𓉃 𓉄 𓉅 𓉆 𓉇 𓉈 𓉉 𓉊 𓉋 𓉌 𓉍 𓉎 𓉏 𓉐 𓉑 𓉒 𓉓 𓉔 𓉕 𓉖 𓉗 𓉘 𓉙 𓉚 𓉛 𓉜 𓉝 𓉞 𓉟 𓉠 𓉡 𓉢 𓉣 𓉤 𓉥 𓉦 𓉧 𓉨 𓉩 𓉪 𓉫 𓉬 𓉭 𓉮 𓉯 𓉰 𓉱 𓉲 𓉳 𓉴 𓉵 𓉶 𓉷 𓉸 𓉹 𓉺 𓉻 𓉼 𓉽 𓉾 𓉿 𓊀 𓊁 𓊂 𓊃 𓊄 𓊅 𓊆 𓊇 𓊈 𓊉 𓊊 𓊋 𓊌 𓊍 𓊎 𓊏 𓊐 𓊑 𓊒 𓊓 𓊔 𓊕 𓊖 𓊗 𓊘 𓊙 𓊚 𓊛 𓊜 𓊝 𓊞 𓊟 𓊠 𓊡 𓊢 𓊣 𓊤 𓊥 𓊦 𓊧 𓊨 𓊩 𓊪 𓊫 𓊬 𓊭 𓊮 𓊯 𓊰 𓊱 𓊲 𓊳 𓊴 𓊵 𓊶 𓊷 𓊸 𓊹 𓊺 𓊻 𓊼 𓊽 𓊾 𓊿 𓋀 𓋁 𓋂 𓋃 𓋄 𓋅 𓋆 𓋇 𓋈 𓋉 𓋊 𓋋 𓋌 𓋍 𓋎 𓋏 𓋐 𓋑 𓋒 𓋓 𓋔 𓋕 𓋖 𓋗 𓋘 𓋙 𓋚 𓋛 𓋜 𓋝 𓋞 𓋟 𓋠 𓋡 𓋢 𓋣 𓋤 𓋥 𓋦 𓋧 𓋨 𓋩 𓋪 𓋫 𓋬 𓋭 𓋮 𓋯 𓋰 𓋱 𓋲 𓋳 𓋴 𓋵 𓋶 𓋷 𓋸 𓋹 𓋺 𓋻 𓋼 𓋽 𓋾 𓋿 𓌀 𓌁 𓌂 𓌃 𓌄 𓌅 𓌆 𓌇 𓌈 𓌉 𓌊 𓌋 𓌌 𓌍 𓌎 𓌏 𓌐 𓌑 𓌒 𓌓 𓌔 𓌕 𓌖 𓌗 𓌘 𓌙 𓌚 𓌛 𓌜 𓌝 𓌞 𓌟 𓌠 𓌡 𓌢 𓌣 𓌤 𓌥 𓌦 𓌧 𓌨 𓌩 𓌪 𓌫 𓌬 𓌭 𓌮 𓌯 𓌰 𓌱 𓌲 𓌳 𓌴 𓌵 𓌶 𓌷 𓌸 𓌹 𓌺 𓌻 𓌼 𓌽 𓌾 𓌿 𓍀 𓍁 𓍂 𓍃 𓍄 𓍅 𓍆 𓍇 𓍈 𓍉 𓍊 𓍋 𓍌 𓍍 𓍎 𓍏 𓍐 𓍑 𓍒 𓍓 𓍔 𓍕 𓍖 𓍗 𓍘 𓍙 𓍚 𓍛 𓍜 𓍝 𓍞 𓍟 𓍠 𓍡 𓍢 𓍣 𓍤 𓍥 𓍦 𓍧 𓍨 𓍩 𓍪 𓍫 𓍬 𓍭 𓍮 𓍯 𓍰 𓍱 𓍲 𓍳 𓍴 𓍵 𓍶 𓍷 𓍸 𓍹 𓍺 𓍻 𓍼 𓍽 𓍾 𓍿 𓎀 𓎁 𓎂 𓎃 𓎄 𓎅 𓎆 𓎇 𓎈 𓎉 𓎊 𓎋 𓎌 𓎍 𓎎 𓎏 𓎐 𓎑 𓎒 𓎓 𓎔 𓎕 𓎖 𓎗 𓎘 𓎙 𓎚 𓎛 𓎜 𓎝 𓎞 𓎟 𓎠 𓎡 𓎢 𓎣 𓎤 𓎥 𓎦 𓎧 𓎨 𓎩 𓎪 𓎫 𓎬 𓎭 𓎮 𓎯 𓎰 𓎱 𓎲 𓎳 𓎴 𓎵 𓎶 𓎷 𓎸 𓎹 𓎺 𓎻 𓎼 𓎽 𓎾 𓎿 𓏀 𓏁 𓏂 𓏃 𓏄 𓏅 𓏆 𓏇 𓏈 𓏉 𓏊 𓏋 𓏌 𓏍 𓏎 𓏏 𓏐 𓏑 𓏒 𓏓 𓏔 𓏕 𓏖 𓏗 𓏘 𓏙 𓏚 𓏛 𓏜 𓏝 𓏞 𓏟 𓏠 𓏡 𓏢 𓏣 𓏤 𓏥 𓏦 𓏧 𓏨 𓏩 𓏪 𓏫 𓏬 𓏭 𓏮 𓏯 𓏰 𓏱 𓏲 𓏳 𓏴 𓏵 𓏶 𓏷 𓏸 𓏹 𓏺 𓏻 𓏼 𓏽 𓏾 𓏿 𓐀 𓐁 𓐂 𓐃 𓐄 𓐅 𓐆 𓐇 𓐈 𓐉 𓐊 𓐋 𓐌 𓐍 𓐎 𓐏 𓐐 𓐑 𓐒 𓐓 𓐔 𓐕 𓐖 𓐗 𓐘 𓐙 𓐚 𓐛 𓐜 𓐝 𓐞 𓐟 𓐠 𓐡 𓐢 𓐣 𓐤 𓐥 𓐦 𓐧 𓐨 𓐩 𓐪 𓐫 𓐬 𓐭 𓐮 𓐯 𓐰 𓐱 𓐲 𓐳 𓐴 𓐵 𓐶 𓐷 𓐸 𓐹 𓐺 𓐻 𓐼 𓐽 𓐾 𓐿 𓑀 𓑁 𓑂 𓑃 𓑄 𓑅 𓑆 𓑇 𓑈 𓑉 𓑊 𓑋 𓑌 𓑍 𓑎 𓑏 𓑐 𓑑 𓑒 𓑓 𓑔 𓑕 𓑖 𓑗 𓑘 𓑙 𓑚 𓑛 𓑜 𓑝 𓑞 𓑟 𓑠 𓑡 𓑢 𓑣 𓑤 𓑥 𓑦 𓑧 𓑨 𓑩 𓑪 𓑫 𓑬 𓑭 𓑮 𓑯 𓑰 𓑱 𓑲 𓑳 𓑴 𓑵 𓑶 𓑷 𓑸 𓑹 𓑺 𓑻 𓑼 𓑽 𓑾 𓑿 𓒀 𓒁 𓒂 𓒃 𓒄 𓒅 𓒆 𓒇 𓒈 𓒉 𓒊 𓒋 𓒌 𓒍 𓒎 𓒏 𓒐 𓒑 𓒒 𓒓 𓒔 𓒕 𓒖 𓒗 𓒘 𓒙 𓒚 𓒛 𓒜 𓒝 𓒞 𓒟 𓒠 𓒡 𓒢 𓒣 𓒤 𓒥 𓒦 𓒧 𓒨 𓒩 𓒪 𓒫 𓒬 𓒭 𓒮 𓒯 𓒰 𓒱 𓒲 𓒳 𓒴 𓒵 𓒶 𓒷 𓒸 𓒹 𓒺 𓒻 𓒼 𓒽 𓒾 𓒿 𓓀 𓓁 𓓂 𓓃 𓓄 𓓅 𓓆 𓓇 𓓈 𓓉 𓓊 𓓋 𓓌 𓓍 𓓎 𓓏 𓓐 𓓑 𓓒 𓓓 𓓔 𓓕 𓓖 𓓗 𓓘 𓓙 𓓚 𓓛 𓓜 𓓝 𓓞 𓓟 𓓠 𓓡 𓓢 𓓣 𓓤 𓓥 𓓦 𓓧 𓓨 𓓩 𓓪 𓓫 𓓬 𓓭 𓓮 𓓯 𓓰 𓓱 𓓲 𓓳 𓓴 𓓵 𓓶 𓓷 𓓸 𓓹 𓓺 𓓻 𓓼 𓓽 𓓾 𓓿 𓔀 𓔁 𓔂 𓔃 𓔄 𓔅 𓔆 𓔇 𓔈 𓔉 𓔊 𓔋 𓔌 𓔍 𓔎 𓔏 𓔐 𓔑 𓔒 𓔓 𓔔 𓔕 𓔖 𓔗 𓔘 𓔙 𓔚 𓔛 𓔜 𓔝 𓔞 𓔟 𓔠 𓔡 𓔢 𓔣 𓔤 𓔥 𓔦 𓔧 𓔨 𓔩 𓔪 𓔫 𓔬 𓔭 𓔮 𓔯 𓔰 𓔱 𓔲 𓔳 𓔴 𓔵 𓔶 𓔷 𓔸 𓔹 𓔺 𓔻 𓔼 𓔽 𓔾 𓔿 𓕀 𓕁 𓕂 𓕃 𓕄 𓕅 𓕆 𓕇 𓕈 𓕉 𓕊 𓕋 𓕌 𓕍 𓕎 𓕏 𓕐 𓕑 𓕒 𓕓 𓕔 𓕕 𓕖 𓕗 𓕘 𓕙 𓕚 𓕛 𓕜 𓕝 𓕞 𓕟 𓕠 𓕡 𓕢 𓕣 𓕤 𓕥 𓕦 𓕧 𓕨 𓕩 𓕪 𓕫 𓕬 𓕭 𓕮 𓕯 𓕰 𓕱 𓕲 𓕳 𓕴 𓕵 𓕶 𓕷 𓕸 𓕹 𓕺 𓕻 𓕼 𓕽 𓕾 𓕿 𓖀 𓖁 𓖂 𓖃 𓖄 𓖅 𓖆 𓖇 𓖈 𓖉 𓖊 𓖋 𓖌 𓖍 𓖎 𓖏 𓖐 𓖑 𓖒 𓖓 𓖔 𓖕 𓖖 𓖗 𓖘 𓖙 𓖚 𓖛 𓖜 𓖝 𓖞 𓖟 𓖠 𓖡 𓖢 𓖣 𓖤 𓖥 𓖦 𓖧 𓖨 𓖩 𓖪 𓖫 𓖬 𓖭 𓖮 𓖯 𓖰 𓖱 𓖲 𓖳 𓖴 𓖵 𓖶 𓖷 𓖸 𓖹 𓖺 𓖻 𓖼 𓖽 𓖾 𓖿 𓗀 𓗁 𓗂 𓗃 𓗄 𓗅 𓗆 𓗇 𓗈 𓗉 𓗊 𓗋 𓗌 𓗍 𓗎 𓗏 𓗐 𓗑 𓗒 𓗓 𓗔 𓗕 𓗖 𓗗 𓗘 𓗙 𓗚 𓗛 𓗜 𓗝 𓗞 𓗟 𓗠 𓗡 𓗢 𓗣 𓗤 𓗥 𓗦 𓗧 𓗨 𓗩 𓗪 𓗫 𓗬 𓗭 𓗮 𓗯 𓗰 𓗱 𓗲 𓗳 𓗴 𓗵 𓗶 𓗷 𓗸 𓗹 𓗺 𓗻 𓗼 𓗽 𓗾 𓗿 𓘀 𓘁 𓘂 𓘃 𓘄 𓘅 𓘆 𓘇 𓘈 𓘉 𓘊 𓘋 𓘌 𓘍 𓘎 𓘏 𓘐 𓘑 𓘒 𓘓 𓘔 𓘕 𓘖 𓘗 𓘘 𓘙 𓘚 𓘛 𓘜 𓘝 𓘞 𓘟 𓘠 𓘡 𓘢 𓘣 𓘤 𓘥 𓘦 𓘧 𓘨 𓘩 𓘪 𓘫 𓘬 𓘭 𓘮 𓘯 𓘰 𓘱 𓘲 𓘳 𓘴 𓘵 𓘶 𓘷 𓘸 𓘹 𓘺 𓘻 𓘼 𓘽 𓘾 𓘿 𓙀 𓙁 𓙂 𓙃 𓙄 𓙅 𓙆 𓙇 𓙈 𓙉 𓙊 𓙋 𓙌 𓙍 𓙎 𓙏 𓙐 𓙑 𓙒 𓙓 𓙔 𓙕 𓙖 𓙗 𓙘 𓙙 𓙚 𓙛 𓙜 𓙝 𓙞 𓙟 𓙠 𓙡 𓙢 𓙣 𓙤 𓙥 𓙦 𓙧 𓙨 𓙩 𓙪 𓙫 𓙬 𓙭 𓙮 𓙯 𓙰 𓙱 𓙲 𓙳 𓙴 𓙵 𓙶 𓙷 𓙸 𓙹 𓙺 𓙻 𓙼 𓙽 𓙾 𓙿 𓚀 𓚁 𓚂 𓚃 𓚄 𓚅 𓚆 𓚇 𓚈 𓚉 𓚊 𓚋 𓚌 𓚍 𓚎 𓚏 𓚐 𓚑 𓚒 𓚓 𓚔 𓚕 𓚖 𓚗 𓚘 𓚙 𓚚 𓚛 𓚜 𓚝 𓚞 𓚟 𓚠 𓚡 𓚢 𓚣 𓚤 𓚥 𓚦 𓚧 𓚨 𓚩 𓚪 𓚫 𓚬 𓚭 𓚮 𓚯 𓚰 𓚱 𓚲 𓚳 𓚴 𓚵 𓚶 𓚷 𓚸 𓚹 𓚺 𓚻 𓚼 𓚽 𓚾 𓚿 𓛀 𓛁 𓛂 𓛃 𓛄 𓛅 𓛆 𓛇 𓛈 𓛉 𓛊 𓛋 𓛌 𓛍 𓛎 𓛏 𓛐 𓛑 𓛒 𓛓 𓛔 𓛕 𓛖 𓛗 𓛘 𓛙 𓛚 𓛛 𓛜 𓛝 𓛞 𓛟 𓛠 𓛡 𓛢 𓛣 𓛤 𓛥 𓛦 𓛧 𓛨 𓛩 𓛪 𓛫 𓛬 𓛭 𓛮 𓛯 𓛰 𓛱 𓛲 𓛳 𓛴 𓛵 𓛶 𓛷 𓛸 𓛹 𓛺 𓛻 𓛼 𓛽 𓛾 𓛿 𓜀 𓜁 𓜂 𓜃 𓜄 𓜅 𓜆 𓜇 𓜈 𓜉 𓜊 𓜋 𓜌 𓜍 𓜎 𓜏 𓜐 𓜑 𓜒 𓜓 𓜔 𓜕 𓜖 𓜗 𓜘 𓜙 𓜚 𓜛 𓜜 𓜝 𓜞 𓜟 𓜠 𓜡 𓜢 𓜣 𓜤 𓜥 𓜦 𓜧 𓜨 𓜩 𓜪 𓜫 𓜬 𓜭 𓜮 𓜯 𓜰 𓜱 𓜲 𓜳 𓜴 𓜵 𓜶 𓜷 𓜸 𓜹 𓜺 𓜻 𓜼 𓜽 𓜾 𓜿 𓝀 𓝁 𓝂 𓝃 𓝄 𓝅 𓝆 𓝇 𓝈 𓝉 𓝊 𓝋 𓝌 𓝍 𓝎 𓝏 𓝐 𓝑 𓝒 𓝓 𓝔 𓝕 𓝖 𓝗 𓝘 𓝙 𓝚 𓝛 𓝜 𓝝 𓝞 𓝟 𓝠 𓝡 𓝢 𓝣 𓝤 𓝥 𓝦 𓝧 𓝨 𓝩 𓝪 𓝫 𓝬 𓝭 𓝮 𓝯 𓝰 𓝱 𓝲 𓝳 𓝴 𓝵 𓝶 𓝷 𓝸 𓝹 𓝺 𓝻 𓝼 𓝽 𓝾 𓝿 𓞀 𓞁 𓞂 𓞃 𓞄 𓞅 𓞆 𓞇 𓞈 𓞉 𓞊 𓞋 𓞌 𓞍 𓞎 𓞏 𓞐 𓞑 𓞒 𓞓 𓞔 𓞕 𓞖 𓞗 𓞘 𓞙 𓞚 𓞛 𓞜 𓞝 𓞞 𓞟 𓞠 𓞡 𓞢 𓞣 𓞤 𓞥 𓞦 𓞧 𓞨 𓞩 𓞪 𓞫 𓞬 𓞭 𓞮 𓞯 𓞰 𓞱 𓞲 𓞳 𓞴 𓞵 𓞶 𓞷 𓞸 𓞹 𓞺 𓞻 𓞼 𓞽 𓞾 𓞿 𓟀 𓟁 𓟂 𓟃 𓟄 𓟅 𓟆 𓟇 𓟈 𓟉 𓟊 𓟋 𓟌 𓟍 𓟎 𓟏 𓟐 𓟑 𓟒 𓟓 𓟔 𓟕 𓟖 𓟗 𓟘 𓟙 𓟚 𓟛 𓟜 𓟝 𓟞 𓟟 𓟠 𓟡 𓟢 𓟣 𓟤 𓟥 𓟦 𓟧 𓟨 𓟩 𓟪 𓟫 𓟬 𓟭 𓟮 𓟯 𓟰 𓟱 𓟲 𓟳 𓟴 𓟵 𓟶 𓟷 𓟸 𓟹 𓟺 𓟻 𓟼 𓟽 𓟾 𓟿 𓠀 𓠁 𓠂 𓠃 𓠄 𓠅 𓠆 𓠇 𓠈 𓠉 𓠊 𓠋 𓠌 𓠍 𓠎 𓠏 𓠐 𓠑 𓠒 𓠓 𓠔 𓠕 𓠖 𓠗 𓠘 𓠙 𓠚 𓠛 𓠜 𓠝 𓠞 𓠟 𓠠 𓠡 𓠢 𓠣 𓠤 𓠥 𓠦 𓠧 𓠨 𓠩 𓠪 𓠫 𓠬 𓠭 𓠮 𓠯 𓠰 𓠱 𓠲 𓠳 𓠴 𓠵 𓠶 𓠷 𓠸 𓠹 𓠺 𓠻 𓠼 𓠽 𓠾 𓠿 𓡀 𓡁 𓡂 𓡃 𓡄 𓡅 𓡆 𓡇 𓡈 𓡉 𓡊 𓡋 𓡌 𓡍 𓡎 𓡏 𓡐 𓡑 𓡒 𓡓 𓡔 𓡕 𓡖 𓡗 𓡘 𓡙 𓡚 𓡛 𓡜 𓡝 𓡞 𓡟 𓡠 𓡡 𓡢 𓡣 𓡤 𓡥 𓡦 𓡧 𓡨 𓡩 𓡪 𓡫 𓡬 𓡭 𓡮 𓡯 𓡰 𓡱 𓡲 𓡳 𓡴 𓡵 𓡶 𓡷 𓡸 𓡹 𓡺 𓡻 𓡼 𓡽 𓡾 𓡿 𓢀 𓢁 𓢂 𓢃 𓢄 𓢅 𓢆 𓢇 𓢈 𓢉 𓢊 𓢋 𓢌 𓢍 𓢎 𓢏 𓢐 𓢑 𓢒 𓢓 𓢔 𓢕 𓢖 𓢗 𓢘 𓢙 𓢚 𓢛 𓢜 𓢝 𓢞 𓢟 𓢠 𓢡 𓢢 𓢣 𓢤 𓢥 𓢦 𓢧 𓢨 𓢩 𓢪 𓢫 𓢬 𓢭 𓢮 𓢯 𓢰 𓢱 𓢲 𓢳 𓢴 𓢵 𓢶 𓢷 𓢸 𓢹 𓢺 𓢻 𓢼 𓢽 𓢾 𓢿 𓣀 𓣁 𓣂 𓣃 𓣄 𓣅 𓣆 𓣇 𓣈 𓣉 𓣊 𓣋 𓣌 𓣍 𓣎 𓣏 𓣐 𓣑 𓣒 𓣓 𓣔 𓣕 𓣖 𓣗 𓣘 𓣙 𓣚 𓣛 𓣜 𓣝 𓣞 𓣟 𓣠 𓣡 𓣢 𓣣 𓣤 𓣥 𓣦 𓣧 𓣨 𓣩 𓣪 𓣫 𓣬 𓣭 𓣮 𓣯 𓣰 𓣱 𓣲 𓣳 𓣴 𓣵 𓣶 𓣷 𓣸 𓣹 𓣺 𓣻 𓣼 𓣽 𓣾 𓣿 𓤀 𓤁 𓤂 𓤃 𓤄 𓤅 𓤆 𓤇 𓤈 𓤉 𓤊 𓤋 𓤌 𓤍 𓤎 𓤏 𓤐 𓤑 𓤒 𓤓 𓤔 𓤕 𓤖 𓤗 𓤘 𓤙 𓤚 𓤛 𓤜 𓤝 𓤞 𓤟 𓤠 𓤡 𓤢 𓤣 𓤤 𓤥 𓤦 𓤧 𓤨 𓤩 𓤪 𓤫 𓤬 𓤭 𓤮 𓤯 𓤰 𓤱 𓤲 𓤳 𓤴 𓤵 𓤶 𓤷 𓤸 𓤹 𓤺 𓤻 𓤼 𓤽 𓤾 𓤿 𓥀 𓥁 𓥂 𓥃 𓥄 𓥅 𓥆 𓥇 𓥈 𓥉 𓥊 𓥋 𓥌 𓥍 𓥎 𓥏 𓥐 𓥑 𓥒 𓥓 𓥔 𓥕 𓥖 𓥗 𓥘 𓥙 𓥚 𓥛 𓥜 𓥝 𓥞 𓥟 𓥠 𓥡 𓥢 𓥣 𓥤 𓥥 𓥦 𓥧 𓥨 𓥩 𓥪 𓥫 𓥬 𓥭 𓥮 𓥯 𓥰 𓥱 𓥲 𓥳 𓥴 𓥵 𓥶 𓥷 𓥸 𓥹 𓥺 𓥻 𓥼 𓥽 𓥾 𓥿 𓦀 𓦁 𓦂 𓦃 𓦄 𓦅 𓦆 𓦇 𓦈 𓦉 𓦊 𓦋 𓦌 𓦍 𓦎 𓦏 𓦐 𓦑 𓦒 𓦓 𓦔 𓦕 𓦖 𓦗 𓦘 𓦙 𓦚 𓦛 𓦜 𓦝 𓦞 𓦟 𓦠 𓦡 𓦢 𓦣 𓦤 𓦥 𓦦 𓦧 𓦨 𓦩 𓦪 𓦫 𓦬 𓦭 𓦮 𓦯 𓦰 𓦱 𓦲 𓦳 𓦴 𓦵 𓦶 𓦷 𓦸 𓦹 𓦺 𓦻 𓦼 𓦽 𓦾 𓦿 𓧀 𓧁 𓧂 𓧃 𓧄 𓧅 𓧆 𓧇 𓧈 𓧉 𓧊 𓧋 𓧌 𓧍 𓧎 𓧏 𓧐 𓧑 𓧒 𓧓 𓧔 𓧕 𓧖 𓧗 𓧘 𓧙 𓧚 𓧛 𓧜 𓧝 𓧞 𓧟 𓧠 𓧡 𓧢 𓧣 𓧤 𓧥 𓧦 𓧧 𓧨 𓧩 𓧪 𓧫 𓧬 𓧭 𓧮 𓧯 𓧰 𓧱 𓧲 𓧳 𓧴 𓧵 𓧶 𓧷 𓧸 𓧹 𓧺 𓧻 𓧼 𓧽 𓧾 𓧿 𓨀 𓨁 𓨂 𓨃 𓨄 𓨅 𓨆 𓨇 𓨈 𓨉 𓨊 𓨋 𓨌 𓨍 𓨎 𓨏 𓨐 𓨑 𓨒 𓨓 𓨔 𓨕 𓨖 𓨗 𓨘 𓨙 𓨚 𓨛 𓨜 𓨝 𓨞 𓨟 𓨠 𓨡 𓨢 𓨣 𓨤 𓨥 𓨦 𓨧 𓨨 𓨩 𓨪 𓨫 𓨬 𓨭 𓨮 𓨯 𓨰 𓨱 𓨲 𓨳 𓨴 𓨵 𓨶 𓨷 𓨸 𓨹 𓨺 𓨻 𓨼 𓨽 𓨾 𓨿 𓩀 𓩁$

höhungen auf der einen Seite haben wahrscheinlich die Darstellung inspiriert. Auf eine Kugel links hat man einen Schlangenkopf gezeichnet und im Anschluss daran den Körper. Die Zeichnung ist in schwarzen Umrisslinien ausgeführt. Die Haut der Schlange ist gepunktet. Vorn sind zwei Beine angedeutet und weiter hinten zwei deutlich gezeichnet. Diese vertikalen Linien könnte man aber möglicherweise auch als zufällig auffassen.

Das Stück ist spielerisch gemacht, nach der Art der Stücke, die L. Keimer in einer Übersicht gesammelt hat<sup>46</sup>. Es ist nicht möglich, die Schlange als eine bestimmte Gottheit zu identifizieren. Schlangen mit Beinen können in mythologischen Darstellungen vorkommen<sup>47</sup>.

38. MM 14 133 — Kalkstein — 20,1×13,4 cm

Die Scherbe hat eine gerade, sonst unregelmässige Kanten. Auf einer Seite Bilddarstellung in schwarzen Umrisslinien. Die Bildfläche ist etwas beschädigt.

Auf einer Basislinie ist eine Kobra gezeichnet, die sich nach rechts windet. Sie hat den Kopf erhoben und den Halsschild, auf dem ein charakteristisches Zeichen, das eine symbolische Bedeutung haben kann, angebracht ist, aufgebläht. Die Musterung der Haut ist unterhalb davon durch Kreuzstrichelung angegeben. Vor der Schlange befindet sich eine Opferplatte auf einem geschweiften Pfeiler, auf der eine Lotusblüte und zwei Lotusknospen an Stengeln liegen.

Das Bild zeigt eine Schlangengottheit, wahrscheinlich Meretseger, obwohl eine andere auch denkbar sein kann. Das Bild soll wahrscheinlich eine Votivgabe sein; das identische Motiv kann aber auch auf z.B. Stelen vorkommen<sup>48</sup>.

39. MM 14 091 — Kalkstein — 8,9×6,1 cm

Scherbe mit einem geraden Bruch, sonst unregelmässigen Kanten. Auf einer Seite Zeichnung in schwarz.

Auf einer Standarte mit einer erhöhten Verdickung vorne, einem sogenannten *šdšd*<sup>49</sup>, steht ein Schakal; wie die untere Partie der Standarte geformt war, ist unklar.

Der Schakal ist der Gott Upuaut, auf seiner charakteristischen Standarte dargestellt (vgl. VA 2816). Der Gott kommt auf an ihn gerichteten religiösen Denkmälern vor<sup>50</sup>, ist aber auch in verschiedenen

Zusammenhängen, z.B. in Schiffsdarstellungen abgebildet.

40. MM 14 093 — Kalkstein — 17,9×12,7 cm

Scherbe mit unregelmässigen Kanten. Auf beiden Seiten Zeichnungen in rot und schwarz.

Auf der einen Seite befindet sich das Bild eines liegenden Schakals, des Gottes Anubis. Er ist teilweise in roten Konturen gezeichnet, dann mit schwarzen nachgezogen und vollendet. Einige Linien, wie eine Basislinie, sind in den Stein eingeritzt. Beim Hinterteil befindet sich ein Flagellum, ein häufiges Attribut des Anubis. Er trägt ein Halsband und auch eine lose Schleife um den Hals. Vor ihm ist eine Lotusblume in schwarz gezeichnet.

Auf der Rückseite befindet sich ein im grossen und ganzen entsprechendes Bild, schwach erhalten, mit sehr groben roten Umrisslinien gezeichnet und von schlechten Proportionen.

Das Bild ist wahrscheinlich als ein Übungsstück aufzufassen. Die Zeichnung erst in rot, dann in schwarz ist vielleicht von zwei verschiedenen Zeichnern gemacht; die groben roten Linien scheinen nicht der Fähigkeit des Vollenders des Bildes zu entsprechen. Das Thema ist in den Gräbern sehr geläufig. Anubis ist meistens auf einem Naos liegend dargestellt<sup>51</sup>.

41. MM 14 139 — Kalkstein — 9,4×6,7 cm.

Zusammen mit MM 14 140 gefunden (unten Nr. 80). Für die recto-Seite s. unten Nr. 79

Zwei regelmässige und zwei unregelmässige Kanten. Auf beiden Seiten Zeichnungen und Schriftzeichen in rot und schwarz.

Die eine Seite zeigt das Bild eines liegenden Schakals. Er ist erst in schwarzen, dann in roten Umrisslinien ausgeführt. Der Kopf ist nicht mehr erhalten. Der Typ ist wie der obige; Ausschmückung und Attribut fehlen.

42. MM 14 092 — Kalkstein — 10×8,8 cm

Eine Kante besteht aus einem geraden Bruch, sonst unregelmässige Kanten. Auf beiden Seiten Zeichnungen in schwarzen Umrisslinien. Die eine Bildfläche ist etwas rau durch Salzausfällung.

Auf der einen Seite befinden sich zwei Zeichnungen, die einen menschlichen Oberkörper mit Falken-

zw. Schakalkopf wiedergeben. Beide Köpfe tragen ein Kopftuch. Über dem Schakal findet sich sein Name  $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏}$ , „Anubis“. Über dem Falken, der Horus wiedergeben dürfte, steht  $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏}$ , „der seine Anhänger belebt“. Auf der Rückseite befindet sich die Zeichnung eines Pavians, die ebenfalls aus einem Kopf mit Kopftuch besteht. Es könnte sich um ein Bild Thothis in Affengestalt handeln. Die Darstellung eines Affen mit Kopftuch ist ungewöhnlich.

43. MM 14 118 — Kalkstein — 9,8×6,3 cm

Scherbe mit unregelmässigen Kanten. Auf einer Seite Inschrift und Bilder in schwarz. Ursprüngliche Bildfläche reduziert.

Ein Teil einer Kartusche schliesst den Namen eines ramessidischen Königs ein, der mit „den Re (oder Amun) erwählt hat“ endete. Unter der Kartusche befindet sich die Silhouette eines Hasen in Gestalt des Hieroglyphenzeichens  $\text{𓂏𓂏}$ . Unten ist ein Männerkopf mit Bart und kahlem Schädel oder enganliegender Haube wiedergegeben. Es dürfte der Kopf des Gottes Ptah sein.

44. MM 14 124 — Kalkstein — 7,4×9,7 cm

Scherbe mit unregelmässigen Kanten. Auf einer Seite Bild in schwarz, auf der anderen Spuren einer Darstellung in schwarz.

Auf der einen Seite ist ein Skarabäus als Silhouette wiedergegeben. Die hintere Partie ist deutlich sichtbar, während die vordere teilweise ausgelöscht ist. Der Skarabäus in dieser Form ist eine Hieroglyphe ( $\text{𓂏𓂏}$ ), er kann aber auch den Gott Chepre, eine Form des Sonnengottes, darstellen.

45. MM 14 143 — Kalkstein — 7,4×4,5 cm

Eine gerade, sonst unregelmässige Kanten. Auf einer Seite Bild in roten Umrisslinien. Die ursprüngliche Bildfläche ist reduziert.

Die Darstellung zeigt einen Falken mit ausgebreiteten Flügeln. In den Fängen hält er  $\text{𓂏𓂏}$ -Zeichen. Eine nahe Parallele dieser Darstellung eines Gottes, oft heraldischer Art, gibt es in dem französischen Material aus Deir el Medineh (VA 2998).

46. MM 14 062 — Kalkstein — 8,6×11,5 cm

Die Kanten der Scherbe sind abgearbeitet. Sie ist wie eine Stele mit abgerundetem Oberteil geformt. Auf

der einen Seite Bilddarstellung in schwarzen Umrisslinien.

Auf einer Basislinie steht links ein nach rechts gewandter Mann. Er ist ganz nackt. Sein Haar ist zu einer Locke zusammengefasst, die an der rechten Seite des Kopfes herabhängt, was zeigt, dass es ein Junge ist. Vor ihm befinden sich Zweige mit Blättern, die er vielleicht mit dem linken Arm hielt. Die linke Hand scheint vor die Brust gehalten zu sein. Mit der rechten hält er einen Schakal an einer Leine, der, nach rechts gewandt, auf einem Gestell sitzt, anscheinend auf einem Klappstuhl.

Die Bedeutung des Bildes ist schwierig zu bestimmen. Vielleicht handelt es sich um ein Votivbild, worauf die bewusst angewandte Stelenform deuten kann. Offenbar ist es ein Kind, das Zweige herbeibringt. Das Tier könnte vielleicht als Hund aufgefasst werden. Es wäre sonderbar, wenn es sich um ein mythologisches Tier handelte. Das Gestell ist wie ein Klappstuhl ausgeformt mit Beinen, deren Endstücke als Vogelköpfe gearbeitet sind.

47. MM 14 059 — Kalkstein — 16,9×9 cm

Zwei Kanten sind gerade Brüche, die übrigen unregelmässig. Die Bildfläche ist etwas reduziert. Darstellung auf einer Seite in rot, schwarz und grün.

Auf einem Podium mit Treppe rechts, das schwarz gezeichnet ist, steht eine Katze, die grün gemalt ist mit schwarzen Umrisslinien und Details im Fell. Auf ihrem Rücken steht ein schwarzer Vogel, anscheinend mit zurückgewandtem Kopf, und über diesem scheint ein anderer Vogel geschwebt zu haben, dessen einer Flügel in schwarz und rot noch sichtbar ist. Dieser Vogel hat möglicherweise ein  $\text{𓂏𓂏}$ -Zeichen in dem einen Fang gehalten. Der Flügel, der noch festzustellen ist, scheint nicht zu dem sitzenden Vogel zu gehören. Die Katze und der Vogel auf ihrem Rücken sind nach rechts gewandt. Vor dem Podium steht ein Mann, der diesem zugewandt ist. Er ist rot gemalt mit schwarzen Umrisslinien und Details. Er ist nackt und trägt ein Amulett, vermutlich ein Herz, als Anhänger um den Hals. Die Frisur besteht aus einem Haarbüschel vorn auf dem sonst kahlen Kopf und aus einem Zopf hinten. In der rechten Hand hält er einen Tierschenkel, rot mit schwarzen Konturen.

Ikographisch gesehen muss das Bild im Zusammenhang mit einem Ostrakon aus Deir el Medineh betrachtet werden. Auf einem Bild in dem französischen Material sieht man einen fast identischen

Jungen in derselben Haltung vor einer Katze stehen (VA 2723). Während man in dem Stockholmer Bild eher eine Adorations- und Opferszene sehen möchte, scheint das andere Bild einen anderen Charakter zu haben, der Junge scheint drohend aufzutreten. Dieses ist bei dem Stockholmer Bild jedoch nicht völlig ausgeschlossen, der Gestus ist nicht der eines Opfernden. Der Gestus des Jungen auf dem Bild aus Deir el Medineh knüpft an die Darstellungen der Affenhüter an, die mehrfach dem Affen in dieser Weise drohen (z.B. VA 2035 ff.). Obwohl unklar, möchten wir primär dieses Bild als religiös ansehen. Nach einer hypothetischen Interpretation könnte dieses Bild die Göttin Tefnut in Katzengestalt zeigen.

Aus der hellenistischen Zeit gibt es, teils in Tempelinschriften<sup>22</sup>, teils auf einem Papyrus in Leiden<sup>23</sup>, Fragmente bzw. eine ausführlichere Version des Mythos dieser Göttin, Res Tochter. Wegen Streitigkeiten mit dem Vater zog sie weg von Ägypten und lebte als Wildkatze in Nubien. Ihr Vater sandte jedoch nach ihr. Thoth sollte sie nach Hause locken. Diesem gelingt es auch u.a. durch Erzählungen in Fabelform, und Tefnut kehrt nach Ägypten zurück, wo sie im Triumph empfangen wird. Hinter diesem Mythos liegt die Beobachtung der jährlichen Kraftabnahme der Sonne während des Winterhalbjahres.

Tefnut ist vielgestaltig. Sie kann sich nicht nur als Katze offenbaren, sondern auch als Löwin, brüllend und bösartig. Der Mythos von Tefnut ist literarisch nur in hellenistischer Zeit belegt. Jedoch hat W. Spiegelberg — und in seiner Folge E. Brunner-Traut — eine Darstellung eines Berliner Ostrakons aus den deutschen Grabungen in Deir el Medineh als Illustration zum Mythos von der katzengehaltigen Tochter der Sonne gedeutet und damit einen Teil des Mythos bedeutend früher datieren können<sup>24</sup>. Dieses Bild in Berlin könnte eine direkte Illustration des Mythos sein wie auch ein Relief römischer Zeit im Tempel von Dakke in Nubien<sup>25</sup>.

Die Darstellung auf dem Stockholmer Bild ist keine Illustration des Mythos, sondern scheint vor allem eine Opferszene zu zeigen. Gewiss gibt es andere Katzengöttinnen in Ägypten als Tefnut, aber was eine Identifikation mit ihr andeutet, ist der Vogel, der sich über ihr befindet. Sowohl auf dem Berliner Ostrakon als auch auf dem Relief in Dakke ist ein Vogel über ihr wiedergegeben. Das Berliner Bild konnte nicht eindeutig erklärt werden. Vielleicht ist es eine Illustration zu dem, was Thoth Tefnut erzählt, vielleicht ist es ein Teil des Mythos, der uns

unbekannt ist, oder hat es vielleicht damit zu tun, dass Tefnut sich als Geier offenbaren konnte<sup>26</sup>? Das Bild von Dakke zeigt über Tefnut einen Geier, aber dieser dürfte nur die traditionelle Schutzgöttin Nechbet sein. Auf dem Stockholmer Bild wäre es nicht ausgeschlossen, den Vogel als Falken zu identifizieren, der den Kopf zurückwendet und zu dem schwebenden Vogel aufsieht, der Nechbet sein könnte. Der Falke könnte Tefnuts männlicher Partner Onuris sein, der nach einer Variante des Mythos sie aus Nubien zurückholte<sup>27</sup>. Onuris tritt meist in Menschengestalt auf, manchmal mit Falkenkopf, aber es dürfte nicht unmöglich sein, ihn als Falken abzubilden, nicht zuletzt deshalb, weil die Verbindungen zwischen ihm und dem wichtigsten Falkengott, Horus, sehr eng sind.

Dieses Bild, das also hypothetisch Tefnut und Onuris wiedergeben könnte, ist einzigartig und ungewöhnlich insoweit, als die Darstellung der beiden Götter über einander sonst nicht in der konventionellen ägyptischen Kunst vorkommt, aber auch in seinem Charakter als „Augenblicksbild“, wie der Falke den Kopf zurückwendet und nach oben sieht.

Die Szene, die dieses Bild zeigt, ist das Darbringen von einem Opfer an Tefnut. Der milde und freundliche Aspekt der Katze tritt hervor, Tefnut ist nicht die wilde Löwin<sup>28</sup>. Was sich abspielt, ist gewissermaßen das Besänftigen des Raubtieres<sup>29</sup>. Ob die drohende Haltung der Männer vor den Katzen auf den beiden Ostraka einen psychologischen Hintergrund haben könnte? Zur Abwehr fertig, wenn die Besänftigung nicht gelingen sollte?

Der Opferer ist wahrscheinlich ein Nubier, da er mit teilweise rasiertem Kopf und Amulettanhänger auftritt. Auch darin, dass ein Nubier der Tefnut opfert, kann man eine Bestätigung der obigen Deutung des Bildes sehen, eine Andeutung von Tefnuts südlichem Aufenthaltsort.


In Theben, wo die hier erwähnten Ostraka gefunden sind, gibt es keine speziellen Tefnut-Kulte<sup>30</sup>. Im Mythos kommt Tefnut aber auch dorthin und wird mit Lobgesängen als Göttin Mut begrüßt. In einem Hymnus des Papyrus Leiden I 350 wird von ihr erzählt, dass sie sich in Theben in Gestalt der Löwengöttin Sechemet niederliess<sup>31</sup>. Dort bestand also die Möglichkeit, in anderen Göttinnen Tefnut zu verehren.


Das Bild könnte freilich als eine Votivgabe interpretiert werden. Wichtig ist, die erwähnte ikonographische Parallele festzuhalten; das Thema ist



icht einzigartig, sondern hat wahrscheinlich eine erste Tradition.

8. MM 14 054 — Kalkstein — 14,8×19,6 cm

Überall unregelmässige Kanten, teilweise gerade Brüche. Die Scherbe ist in zwei Stücke zerbrochen, die nun zusammengeklebt sind. Dabei ist ein kleines Stück des Sprunges mit bemaltem Gips ausgefüllt worden. Die Rückseite wird stellenweise mit Gips zusammengehalten. Die Publikation dieser Scherbe durch L. Keimer<sup>22</sup> zeigt die Scherbe ohne diese Füllung. Auf einer Seite Bilddarstellung in rot, gelb, schwarz, blau und weiss. Die Bildfläche ist reduziert und stellenweise zerkratzt.

Die Darstellung besteht aus zwei Registern, die wenigstens unten und links von einem Rahmen eingeasst sind. Dieser ist mit roten Umrisslinien gezeichnet und rot-gelb-rot bemalt. Rechts besteht der jetzt sichtbare Rahmen aus einem breiten roten Strich. Den oberen Abschluss markierte möglicherweise der blaue Streifen in zwei roten Umrisslinien. Das obere Register hat eine rote Basislinie. Links steht ein nach rechts gewandter Mann mit erhobenen Händen. Er ist mit roten Konturen gezeichnet, die Körperteile sind rot bemalt, die Perücke schwarz. Er trägt einen plissierten Schurz, der möglicherweise weiss bemalt war zwischen roten Konturen. Teilweise ist die Zeichnung mit schwarzen Umrisslinien verstärkt worden. Vor dem Manne steht ein Tisch, eine Platte auf einem geschweiften Pfeiler, der blau bemalt ist. Der Tisch ist mit roten und schwarzen Umrisslinien gezeichnet worden. Was sich darauf befunden hat, ist nicht mehr festzustellen. Es existieren noch rote und gelbe Farbreste. Über dem Tisch und vor dem Kopf des Mannes stehen Reste einer Hieroglypheninschrift in schwarz. Möglicherweise begann sie mit , „Wehräuchern...“. Die rechte Partie des Registers wird von einem Naos eingenommen, in dem ein nach links gewandter Gott steht. Das Dach wird von zwei Säulen getragen, gelb mit roten Konturen. Zwischen den Säulen hängt eine Art Girlande, gelb in roten Umrisslinien, ursprünglich vielleicht detailliert in schwarz und rot. Der Gott ist in schwarzen und roten Konturen ausgeführt. Sein Oberkörper ist gelb bemalt, sein Kopfschmuck blau. Auf dem Rücken hängt das Gegengewicht seines Halsschmuckes. Er trägt einen roten Bart. Vor sich hält er ein Szepter (w<sup>3</sup>s) zusammen mit einem symbolischen Zeichen (gd). Vor ihm steht eine vertikale schwarze Inschrift-

zeile , „Ptah, der Herr der Maat, König der Beiden Länder“. Ptah steht auf einer Plattform, die wie ein Maat-Zeichen geformt ist, blau mit roten und schwarzen Konturen.

Das untere Register zeigt links einen stehenden, nach rechts gewandten Mann. Er ist mit roten Umrisslinien gezeichnet und rot bemalt. Er trägt einen plissierten weiss bemalten Schurz und eine schwarze Perücke. Die Zeichnung des Körpers ist teilweise mit schwarzen Konturen nachgezogen. In der rechten Hand hält er einen Pinsel — einen roten Strich, der schwarz übermalt ist — und in der linken eine gelbe Palette. Über ihm befindet sich eine vertikale Inschrift von drei Zeilen mit schwarzen Zeichen , „Vom Zeichner am Platz der Wahrheit“<sup>23</sup>. Vor ihm steht ein Tisch aus Holzlatten, die gelb bemalt sind mit sowohl roten als auch schwarzen Konturen. Auf dem Tisch befinden sich schwer bestimmbare Gegenstände. Sie sind blau und rot bemalt, teilweise mit schwarzen Umrisslinien. Es kann sich eventuell um drei Gefässe mit spitzem Deckel handeln. Diese Gefässe stellten das Opfer für den Gott dar, der rechts auf einem Podium sitzt. Auf dieses Podium führt eine Treppe, die zweimal gezeichnet ist. Wahrscheinlich musste die erste Zeichnung korrigiert werden, um die Treppe zu verlängern. Das ganze Podium ist in roten Konturen gezeichnet und blau bemalt. In denselben Farben ist ein Affe dargestellt, der auf dem Podium sitzt; der Körper ist blau, das Gesicht rot, und die Umrisslinien sind auch rot. In einer Pfote hält er eine gelbe Palette vor sich. Es ist der Gott Thoth in Paviangestalt. Eine schwarze Inschrift in sechs vertikalen Zeilen gibt seinen Namen , „Thoth, der Herr der grossen Götter ... Herrscher der Ewigkeit, Schreiber der Maat für die Götterneunheit“.

Das Ostrakon ist wahrscheinlich als ein selbständiges religiöses Monument aufzufassen, eine Votivstele an zwei für die Künstler bedeutungsvolle Götter. Es könnte derselbe Mann sein, der in den beiden Registern dargestellt ist.

49. MM 14 008 — Kalkstein — 17,5×13 cm

Die Scherbe hat unregelmässige Kanten. Rechts eine kleine Feuersteinkugel, oberhalb der Mitte Spuren einer weiteren. Die Zeichnung auf der einen Seite ist in roten Konturen ausgeführt, die dann teilweise mit schwarzer Farbe korrigiert und vervollständigt worden sind. Die linke Figur ist nur in roten Linien

ausgeführt, die rechte in roten und schwarzen, während der Tisch zwischen beiden nur schwarz gezeichnet ist. Bildfläche etwas reduziert.

Zwei Männergestalten stehen auf einer Basislinie (nur rot) und haben zwischen sich einen Tisch, der aus einem geschweiften Pfeiler besteht. Auf ihm sind nicht näher bestimmbare Pflanzen angedeutet.

Die linke Gestalt ist nach rechts gewandt. Es ist ein Mann, der in einem umfangreichen fussslangen Schurz gekleidet ist. Der Oberkörper ist nackt, der Kopf kahl. Er erhebt seine Hände in einem anbetenden Gestus. Die rechte, nach links gewandte Gestalt trägt einen kurzen Schurz mit Gürtel, einen Halskragen und Armbänder an Oberarmen und Handgelenken, ausserdem anscheinend auch Ringe an den Knöcheln. Auf dem Haupte befindet sich eine Kappe mit zwei hohen quergestrichelten Federn, deren Oberteil nicht erhalten ist. In seiner rechten Hand hält er ein Szepter (*w³s*).

Die rechte Gestalt ist eine konventionelle Wiedergabe Amuns, der hier Opfer von einer Privatperson entgegennimmt. Das Bild könnte gut eine Votivgabe sein, das Motiv ist auch auf Votivstelen geläufig<sup>4</sup>. Andererseits könnte man auch das Bild in Verbindung mit Grabdekor betrachten.

50. MM 14 038 — Kalkstein — 7,1×5,1 cm

Eine Kante besteht aus einem geraden Bruch, die übrigen sind durch Absplitterung beschädigt. Die eine ebene Fläche weist viele Kratzer auf. Bild in rot und schwarz auf dieser Fläche. Die ursprüngliche Bildfläche beträchtlich reduziert.

Das Bild zeigt einen Mann vor einem Gott. Der Mann ist nach links gewandt und erhebt seine Hände in adorierendem Gestus. Er ist in roten Umrisslinien gezeichnet, der Körper ist rot bemalt mit Ausnahme des kurzen Schurzes, der ausgespart und unbemalt gelassen ist. Die kurze Perücke ist schwarz wiedergegeben. Eine rote vertikale Linie oberhalb des Kopfes ist wohl unabsichtlich. Links steht ein nach rechts gewandter Gott. Die Zeichnung besteht aus roten Umrisslinien, der Körper ist anscheinend nicht bemalt worden, die Hände aber sind rot wiedergegeben. Der Gott trug eine schwarze Kopfbekleidung. Die Hände hielten ein Szepter nun unbestimmbaren Typs. Es könnte sich um eine Darstellung Ptahs oder Osiris' mit *w³s*-Szepter handeln. Das Bild könnte natürlich als Votivgabe aufgefasst werden.

51. MM 14 036 — Kalkstein — 8,7×9,5 cm

Eine Kante besteht aus einem geraden Bruch, die andern sind unregelmässig. Die Bildfläche ist reduziert. Das Bild auf der einen Seite ist in rot und schwarz ausgeführt.

Auf einer roten Basislinie kniet ein Mann. Die Zeichnung ist anscheinend erst in rot ausgeführt worden, der Körper ist rot bemalt, Partien sind für den Schurz ausgespart, und das Ganze ist mit schwarzen Konturen eingefasst. Die Perücke ist schwarz ausgefüllt. Der Schurz, der von der Taille bis zu den Knöcheln reichte, ist ohne Farbauftrag geblieben. Die Haltung, die der Mann einnimmt, nach rechts gewandt mit erhobenen Händen, ist der übliche Adorationsgestus. Eine Votivfunktion ist möglich; das Bild könnte aber auch bloss eine Skizze einer sehr gewöhnlichen Darstellung sein.

52. MM 14 127 — Kalkstein — 18,8×19,5 cm

Scherbe mit unregelmässigen Kanten. Auf der einen Seite Inschrift in wenigstens acht senkrechten Zeilen, die grösstenteils ausgelöscht sind. Die Hieroglyphen und die Kolumnen sind schwarz, im Text gibt es ein paar rote Punkte. Die andere Seite trägt das Bild eines Mannes in schwarzen Umrisslinien. Er ist kahlköpfig, in einen Schurz gekleidet und steht etwas geneigt nach links gewandt in Adorationshaltung. Ganz links laufen in Querrichtung drei Zeilen eines hieratischen Textes über das Ostrakon.

Der hieroglyphische Text, der nur schwer leserlich ist, hat anscheinend Schulcharakter. Das Bild ist als Übung eines sehr geläufigen Motivs aufzufassen: ein Mann bei der Verehrung.

53. MM 14 034 — Kalkstein — 9,8×8,3 cm

Teilweise scheint die Scherbe absichtlich abgerundet zu sein, sonst unregelmässige Kanten. Auf der einen Seite Bild in schwarz, rot und weiss.

Die Darstellung zeigt einen rot gemalten Mann mit schwarzen Umrisslinien. Eine eingezeichnete Hüftlinie, der Penis, eventuell ein Halskragen (oder nur eine Trennungslinie zwischen Körper und Kopf), das Auge und die kurze Kopfbedeckung sind schwarz wiedergegeben. Möglicherweise sind die Konturen des Mannes erst in rot gezeichnet worden. Das Auge ist weiss ausgemalt. Der linke Arm hängt gerade herab, der rechte ist nach links ausgestreckt. In dieser Hand befindet sich ein Gefäss des Typs, der bei



Brandopfern erscheint. Flammen schlagen daraus empor. Dieses Gefäss ist rot gemalt und mit schwarzen Umrisslinien versehen. Eine gebogene schwarze Linie ahmt die Szene oben ein.

Es ist denkbar, dass dieses Bild eine Votivfunktion hatte. Der Stil der Darstellung, etwas steif und kantig, auch die Proportionen deuten eine Datierung früher als die Ramessidenzeit an.

54. MM 14 017 — Kalkstein — 12,2×8,8 cm

Überall unregelmässige Kanten. Der Rahmen der Bilddarstellung ist etwas reduziert durch Absplittungen. Gezeichnete und gemalte Darstellung in schwarz, rot und weiss.

Der rechteckige Rahmen des Bildes wird an drei Seiten von je drei Linien gebildet, zwei schwarzen und einer dickeren roten Mittellinie. Die untere Linie des Rahmens bildet die Basislinie der Darstellung.

Links auf der Bildfläche steht nach rechts gewandt eine Frau, die in roten Konturen gezeichnet ist. Sie trägt ein fast fusslanges eng anliegendes Kleid, das weiss gemalt ist. Ihr Kopf ist in roten Umrisslinien wiedergegeben, über die schwarzes Haar gemalt ist. Dieses, es dürfte sich wohl um eine Perücke handeln, steht hinten in schrägen Linien ab. Das Auge ist schwarz auf die weisse Gesichtshaut gezeichnet. Möglicherweise ist ein Ohrring in rot angedeutet. Beide Hände sind in Hüfthöhe ausgestreckt. Rechts stehen ein Mann und eine Frau, die nach links gewandt sind. Die Gestalt des Mannes ist ganz rot gemalt, das Auge ist weiss, möglicherweise mit einem schwarzen Punkt. Der Kopf scheint kahl zu sein, nur eine schwarze Haarlocke hängt vom Scheitel herab. Dieses zusammen mit dem Fehlen eines Gewandes deutet darauf, dass ein Kind dargestellt ist. Die rechte Hand ist nach links ausgestreckt, die linke hängt herab. Die Frau dahinter ist in roten Konturen gezeichnet. Sie trägt ein fusslanges weiss gemaltes Kleid. Auch das Gesicht ist weiss, und über die roten Umrisslinien ist ihr Haar oder die Perücke schwarz gemalt. Sie legt ihren rechten Arm um den Leib der männlichen Gestalt, während der linke gerade herabhängt.

Es dürfte sich hier um eine Opferszene handeln. Die Frau links hält ihre Hände wie jemand, der ein Opfer darbringt. Es ist ungewöhnlich, dass der Opfernde grösser dargestellt ist als der Empfänger, aber da die Darstellung des Opferempfängers als ein Kinderbild gedeutet werden kann, könnte dies eine Erklärung für die Umkehrung der Proportionen sein.

Dass die Personen rechts die Frau links verehren, ist weniger wahrscheinlich; wenn diese eine Göttin wäre, würden wohl kaum Attribute fehlen. Das Entscheidende bei der Interpretation muss wohl ihr Gestus sein.

Wegen der strichartigen Zeichnung möchte man ein Datum früher als die Ramessidenzeit für dieses Bild annehmen.

55. MM 14 063 — Kalkstein — 9,9×6,2 cm

Scherbe mit unregelmässigen Kanten. Bildfläche etwas beschädigt durch Absplittung. Bild in roten und schwarzen Umrisslinien. Oberfläche zerkratzt.

Zumindest teilweise sind den schwarzen Konturen rote vorausgegangen. Das Bild zeigt links zwei nach rechts gewandte Männer. Sie sind nackt und halten mit der linken Hand eine Blume an ihre Nase. Der linke hält ausserdem einen Stab in seiner rechten Hand; der rechte hat möglicherweise auch einen gehabt. Rechts vor ihnen steht eine nach links gewandte Frau. Ihre Arme hängen gerade herab. Sie trägt eine dreiteilige Perücke. Ganz rechts steht ein Ziegenbock auf den Hinterbeinen, nach rechts gewandt. Möglicherweise kann es sich auch um ein anderes Tier, z.B. eine Gazelle, handeln.

Es ist möglich, dass die Darstellung des Tieres nichts mit der Szene links davon zu tun hat. E. Brunner-Traut hat dieses Bild im Anschluss an andere Ostraka mit tanzenden Böcken erwähnt<sup>24</sup>, aber der Zusammenhang bleibt unklar. Möglicherweise könnten die Personen mit einer Opferhandlung zu tun haben.

56. MM 14 014 — Kalkstein — 15,5×21,5 cm

Das Kalksteinstück ist wie eine Stele geformt — dieses Stück ist eher eine richtige Stele als ein Ostrakon — und hat einen abgerundeten oberen Abschluss. Auf der ebenen Fläche erscheinen Text und Darstellung in einem Rahmen, alles in schwarzen Konturen.

Links sitzt eine nach rechts gewandte Frau auf einem Stuhl. Dieser hat Beine in der Form von Löwentatzen mit Klötzen darunter, ein Untergestell aus Stützleisten und eine Rückenlehne. Die Frau ist in ein fusslanges weites Gewand gekleidet, trägt einen Halskragen und eine dreiteilige lange Perücke mit Stirnband und Salbkegel. In der rechten Hand hält sie einen Lotusstengel, dessen Blüte vor ihrer Nase

schwebt. Die linke ist gegen einen Tisch, der vor ihr steht, ausgestreckt. Er besteht aus einem geschweiften Pfeiler mit einer Platte, auf der runde Brote liegen. Über diesem Bilde hat sich eine Inschrift in zwei vertikalen Zeilen befunden, die jetzt fast ganz verwischt ist. In der rechten steht  $\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{I}}$ , „Osiris“, worauf wohl der Name der Frau folgte. Links ist oben ein  $\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{I}}$  zu erkennen, weiter unten  $\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{I}}$ .

Das Motiv ist konventionell<sup>66</sup>. Die Stele ist vielleicht unfertig. Der Künstler hat die erste Phase der Darstellung auf dem bearbeiteten Stein ausgeführt. Das Bild konnte dann entweder in Farbe oder in bemaltem Relief vollendet werden.

#### 57. MM 14 015 — Kalkstein — 14,7×17,2 cm

Kalksteinstück in Stelenform mit abgerundetem oberem Abschluss, der jedoch grösstenteils abgeschlagen ist. Auf der ebenen Bildfläche eine gemalte Darstellung in gelb, rot und schwarz. Die Bildfläche weist Kratzer auf, und die Farbe ist stellenweise verwischt.

Das Bild zeigt ein nach rechts gewandtes sitzendes Paar, Mann und Frau. Die Gestalten sind erst in rot gezeichnet und die unbedeckten Körperteile mit Farbe ausgefüllt worden, wobei die Partien, die bekleidet dargestellt werden sollten, ausgespart wurden, dazu auch der Halskragen des Mannes und das Stirnband der Frau. Beide tragen schwarze Perücken, und ihre Augen sind schwarz gezeichnet. Der Hintergrund ist gelb; unten ist ein Streifen unbemalt gelassen, wohl für eine eventuelle Inschrift. Vor dem Paare sollte ein Opfertisch stehen, der in roten Konturen angedeutet ist. Beide Gestalten sind in einen fast fusslangen Schurz gekleidet. Die Frau legt ihren linken Arm um die Schultern des Mannes. Oben hat sich eine Inschrift in schwarz in vertikalen Zeilen mit roten Trennungslinien befunden. Sie ist nun unleserlich.

Ein interessantes Detail ist, dass der Schurz der Frau nach unten weiter wird und das Vorderteil unter dem Körper des Mannes hervorkommt. Ursprünglich ist die linke Gestalt wohl ein Mann gewesen. Auch die Hautfarbe samt dem Umstand, dass die Brust der Frau später hinzugefügt worden zu sein scheint, macht es wahrscheinlich, dass die Darstellung erst einen Mann zeigte, der in eine Frau umgeändert wurde.

Privatstelen dieser Art sind konventionell.

#### 58. MM 14 016 — Fayence — 13,8×18,5 cm

Eine grünglasierte Stele mit abgerundetem oberem Abschluss. Die Stele war in drei Stücke zerbrochen, die jetzt zusammengefügt und -gegipst sind. Auf einer Seite Bilddarstellung und Inschrift in fragmentarisch erhaltenen schwarzen Linien. Ein Sprung in der Oberfläche rechts.

Die Darstellung war von einer Linie eingerahmt, die an den Kanten der Stele entlanglief. Rechts steht ein Mann, seine rechte ausgestreckte Hand hält etwas, die linke hängt herab. Er ist in einen kurzen Schurz gekleidet. Eine Linie markiert die Grenze zwischen Gesicht und Haaransatz. Vor ihm finden sich schwache Spuren eines Opfertisches: eine Platte auf einem geschweiften Pfeiler. Links können sehr schwache Reste des Bildes einer sitzenden Göttin erkannt werden. Ihr Halskragen, ihre linke Schulter und Brust sind ein wenig sichtbar. Die übrigen Spuren in der Bilddarstellung sind schwer zu deuten. Unten haben sich drei vertikale Inschriftzeilen mit doppelten Trennungslinien befunden.

Die Ausführung der Stele scheint missglückt zu sein, da die schwarzen Konturen bei der Brennung zu schwach wurden, ja fast verschwanden. Das Bild ist wenigstens teilweise danach neu gezeichnet worden. Die Umrisslinien, die das Bild des Mannes formen, scheinen deutlich auf der glasierten Oberfläche zu liegen.

Die Szene ist eine konventionelle Opferdarbringung vor einer Gottheit.

#### 59. MM 14 018 — Kalkstein — 8,5×13 cm

Überall unregelmässige Kanten. Bildfläche mit gezeichneter und gemalter Darstellung in rot, gelb, schwarz und weiss, durch Absplitterung beträchtlich beschädigt.

Das Bild zeigt links einen sitzenden, nach rechts gewandten Mann und rechts eine stehende, nach links gewandte Frau, zwischen ihnen einen Tisch. Der Mann scheint in schwarzen Konturen gezeichnet zu sein. Sein Körper ist dann rot bemalt worden bis auf eine kleine Aussparung für einen Halskragen. Das Auge ist schwarz gezeichnet, und die Perücke, die im Nacken abschliesst, ist schwarz gemalt. Die rote Farbe ist stellenweise beim Fuss über die Umrisslinien hinausgemalt worden. In seiner linken ausgestreckten Hand hält er eine flache grosse Schale rotbrauner Farbe, während die rechte Hand geballt

erhalb der Schale wiedergegeben ist. Die Frau ist in roten Konturen gezeichnet und der Körper dann blau bemalt. Ihre lange Perücke ist schwarz, rote Linien oberhalb davon können auf einen Salbkegel hindeuten. Die rechte Hand befindet sich über der Schale. In dieser Hand hält sie einen roten Gegenstand, wohl eine Flasche, deren Inhalt sie vielleicht in die Schale giesst. Ihr Gesicht weist keine Details auf. Zwischen ihnen steht der Tisch, der aus einem geschweiften Pfeiler mit einer Platte darauf besteht. Die Szene ist in roten Umrisslinien gezeichnet. Auf ihm liegen Gegenstände in roten Konturen mit weisser Farbausfüllung, wohl Brote. Oberhalb der Gruppe finden sich schwarze Spuren, vermutlich einer Hieroglyphenschrift. Die ganze Szene war anscheinend eingrahmt; drei parallele rote Linien mit gelber Farbe in den Zwischenräumen sind oben erhalten. Möglicherweise war der Hintergrund blau gemalt, wenn die spärlichen Farbspuren hier und da nicht ein späteres Übermalen sind, aber besonders um den Kopf des Mannes sind sie auffallend.

Die Szene dürfte eine Opferhandlung zwischen zwei Privatpersonen darstellen.

MM 14 019 — Kalkstein — 10,6×12,8 cm

Dieses Ostrakon ist grob zu einer Stele mit abgerundetem oberem Abschluss zurechtgeformt. Die Darstellung auf der ebenen Bildfläche ist berieben und verwischt. Es ist ein Bild in Konturen und Malerei in schwarz, rot und weiss.

Die Darstellung ist von einer schwarzen Doppelrahmung eingegränzt, die grob der Form der Scherbe folgt. Das Bild zeigt links eine sitzende Frau, die nach rechts zu einem Opfertisch wendet. Die ganze Szene ist erst in roten Umrisslinien gezeichnet. Der Stuhl mit Beinen in der Form von Löwentatzen, auf Klötzen ruhen, und mit Rückenlehne ist schwarz gemalt. Die Frau ist in ein fusslanges weiss gemaltes Gewand gekleidet. Sie trägt eine grosse schwarze Perücke und einen scheibenförmigen Ohrschmuck, der rot gezeichnet ist. Mund und Augen sind schwarz wiedergegeben. In der rechten ausgestreckten Hand hält sie einen roten Spiegel, in der linken an die Brust gedrückten ein Tuchstück. Der Tisch, der aus einem geschweiften Pfeiler mit Platte besteht, ist weiss gemalt. Die drei konischen Gegenstände sowie der runde sind auch weiss, z.T. mit schwarzen Details. Es dürfte sich um Brote handeln. Oben auf der Stele hat sich eine schwarze Hiero-


glypheninschrift von wenigstens einer Zeile befunden. Das unterste Zeichen in der deutlich erkennbaren vertikalen Kolumne ist das einer sitzenden Frau, vermutlich das Determinativ nach dem Namen der Frau.

Dieses Bild gehört zur Gruppe von privaten Denkmälern.

61. MM 14 072 — Kalkstein — 11,2×6,7 cm

Die Scherbe hat überall unregelmässige Kanten. Die Bildfläche ist durch Absplitterung reduziert und durch Salzausfällung beschädigt. Darstellung auf einer Seite in schwarz und rot. Auf der anderen Seite zwei eingeritzte, ungefähr parallele Striche.

Die Darstellung ist in schwarzen Umrisslinien gezeichnet. Die meisten Figuren waren ursprünglich mit roter Farbe ausgefüllt, die hauptsächlich noch in der rechten Partie des Bildes erhalten ist. Unten läuft ein Band Wasserlinien. Auf diesem Wasser befinden sich zwei Fahrzeuge. Das linke trägt am Bug und Heck grosse Widderköpfe. Diese waren, wie bei dem rechten deutlich sichtbar ist, mit einer Atef-Krone mit einer Sonnenscheibe auf der mittleren der drei Teilkronen bekrönt, ausserdem mit einem Halskragen geschmückt. Mitten auf dem Fahrzeug befindet sich ein Naos. Es ist nicht mehr möglich, dessen innere Struktur zu erkennen. Rechts vor diesem Naos sind Reste eines Aufbaues erhalten, auf dem — nach Parallelen — eine Sphinx gestanden haben mag, die jedoch hier nicht sichtbar ist. Am Heck befindet sich ein Gestell für Ruder, an dem zwei Ruder befestigt sind. Dieses Fahrzeug wird von dem rechts ins Schlepptau genommen. Dies ist kleiner und an Bug und Heck undekoriert. Mitten darauf befindet sich eine Kajüte. Auf beiden Seiten davon sitzen je drei Ruderer; die auf der Steuerbordseite sind sichtbar, die auf der Backbordseite natürlich nicht, aber wahrscheinlich hat man ihr Vorhandensein durch drei Striche andeuten wollen, die vom Heck ins Wasser eintauchen und ihre Ruder darstellen. Am Heck befindet sich ein grosses Steueruder, möglicherweise deren zwei. Zwischen ihnen und der Kajüte scheint ein etwas gebeugter Mann zu stehen und ein Ruder zu hantieren. Er ist nach rechts gewandt. Am Heck steht ein Mann, der sich dem dahinter befindlichen Fahrzeug zuwendet. Er trägt einen kurzen Schurz und eine Perücke und streckt seine Hände aus, in denen er etwas — ein Gefäss oder Blumen — dem anderen Schiff ent-

gegenhält. Oben auf dem Dach der Kajüte befindet sich ein weiterer Mann, der die Hände im Adorationsgestus erhebt. Über dem linken Fahrzeug schwebt eine geflügelte Sonnenscheibe mit zwei Uräen. Ganz oben steht eine waagerechte Hieroglypheninschrift. Die einzigen Zeichen, die noch leserlich sind, sind .

Diese Darstellung gibt Amuns heiliges Schiff in Theben, mit Widderköpfen geschmückt, wieder<sup>62</sup>. Es wurde bei gewissen Festen mit dem Bild oder der Barke des Gottes darauf auf dem Nil gezogen<sup>63</sup>. Die Darstellung dieses Themas kommt in sowohl Tempeln wie in Privatgräbern vor. Diese Darstellung ist nicht mit den Ostrakonbildern mit Amuns Prozessionsschiff zu verwechseln, die als Votive denkbar sind.

## 62. MM 14 023 — Kalkstein — 18,1×11,3 cm


Überall unregelmässige Kanten. Grosse Absplittierungen und eine beträchtliche Reduzierung der ursprünglichen Bildfläche. Wenigstens teilweise ist die Zeichnung erst in roten Konturen ausgeführt worden, über die dann schwarze gezeichnet sind.

Rechts sind der Oberkörper und der Kopf eines Mannes mit kurzer Perücke in mehreren Lockenreihen dargestellt. Der Oberkörper ist nackt. Um den Hals trägt er eine Schlinge oder eine Art „Halseisen“<sup>64</sup>. Links hinter ihm befindet sich ein fragmentarischer Schakalkopf, der ebenso wie der des Mannes nach rechts gewandt ist. Ein Teil der Schnauze, das Auge und die aufrecht stehenden Ohren machen die Identifikation klar.

Diese Szene hat wahrscheinlich ein menschengestaltiges schakalköpfiges Wesen dargestellt, das einen Gefangenen führt. Das Motiv könnte vielleicht in einen grösseren Zusammenhang eingefügt werden: Szenen aus der Unterwelt<sup>65</sup>, vor allem in den grossen Königsgräbern, wo Gefangene oft von Schakalgöttern bestraft werden. Man könnte auch an die Vorführung ausländischer Gefangener — meistens in Tempeldarstellungen — denken. Es ist möglich, das Aussehen des Mannes als ausländisch zu interpretieren und negroide Züge aus seinem Gesicht herauszulesen, aber es muss auch die Grobheit der Zeichnung berücksichtigt werden.

## 63. MM 14 123 — Kalkstein — 17×10,9 cm

Scherbe mit unregelmässigen Kanten. Sie war in drei Stücke zerschlagen, die nun zusammengeklebt und teilweise mit Gips repariert sind. Auf einer Seite Bild und Inschrift in schwarz.

Die Darstellung ist eine Strichzeichnung des Typs, der oft auf Papyri und in Gräbern (z.B. Thutmosis III.) vorkommt. Sie gibt einen stehenden Mann wieder, der einen Gegenstand zu werfen scheint. Die linke Hand hält er ausgestreckt. Ein ovaler Gegenstand, der geworfen wird, bleibt rätselhaft. Vor dem Manne steht die Inschrift , „Osiris *Imn-hp*“. Er ist nach rechts gewandt und trägt einen knielangen Schurz.

Der Stil der Strichzeichnung erscheint z.B. auch auf einem Ostrakon, das im Grabe Thutmosis' II. gefunden wurde<sup>66</sup>. Ähnliche Strichzeichnungen kommen aber auch in der Ramessidenzeit vor<sup>67</sup>. Das Bild stellt anscheinend einen Privatmann dar. Wahrscheinlich hat seine Tätigkeit eine religiöse Implikation.

## Die private Sphäre

Den Hauptinhalt dieser Sphäre bilden Bilder von Menschen oder Tieren, die in erster Linie ohne Gedanken an einen religiös betonten Zusammenhang dargestellt sind. Mehrere Bilder sind des Typs, der in die Privatgräber vor allem der 18. Dynastie gehört, und selbstverständlich haben sie eine magische und also religiöse Funktion, da sie Bestandteil der Grabdekors sind, aber in der unten folgenden Gruppierung ist der Inhalt der Bilder mit seiner hauptsächlich profanen Prägung ausschlaggebend gewesen. Wie früher gezeigt wurde, ist es auffallend, dass diese Darstellungen des profan geprägten Sektors des Grabdekors oft Szenen aus dem Berufsleben der Arbeiter und Handwerker wiedergeben, während der vornehmer Grabbesitzer und seine Umgebung selten vorkommen. Es kann nicht ausgeschlossen werden, dass diese Genreszenen mit einfachen Leuten relativ unabhängig vom traditionellen Kanon des Grabdekors entwickelt worden sind, und wir werden sehen, dass auch im Stockholmer Material ganze Serien von Bildern aus bestimmten Gruppen, die uns von den Denkmälern der Medineh-Ostraka bekannt sind, vorkommen, die in dieser Art der Bildproduktion fast ein Eigenleben zu haben scheinen. Diese letzten sind Darstellungen von Wagenlenkern und Pferden, von Hirten mit Stieren und von Affen und ihren Wächtern. In der

eil des Katalogs des Stockholmer Materials, der un folgt, sollen erst verschiedene Genreszenen ein- hliesslich Details und Fragmente, die mehr oder eniger lose mit dieser Gruppe verbunden werden önnen, präsentiert werden, dann die Gruppen der 'agenlenker und Pferde, der Hirten und Stiere, der ffenwächter und Affen, in dieser letzten Gruppe usserdem auch Affenszenen, die an die Gruppe der iergeschichtedarstellungen angrenzen können. Hier- n gehören auch Details und Fragmente, die sich a diese grösseren Zusammenhänge anzuschliessen heinen. Zum Schluss kommen verschiedene Tierbil- er, die offenbar keine religiösen Implikationen auf- eisen, obwohl einige Tiere wiedergeben, die heilig in könnten.

In besonderen Gruppen werden dann die relativ erschlossenen Bildkreise, die die Tiergeschichteillu- rationen und die Wochenlaubeszene bilden, prä- sentiert. Im Stockholmer Material finden sich Bilder us diesen Gruppen, die ebenso wie mehrere Darstel- ungen aus dem Kreis der Genreszenen zeigen, dass estimmte ikonographische Themata vorlagen, dass ie Variationsweite und die individuelle Inspiration er Künstler stark von den Schemata, von den Nor- en, die traditionell festgelegt waren, begrenzt waren.

#### 4. MM 14 056 — Kalkstein — 11,1×7,7 cm

Überall unregelmässige Kanten. Bild auf einer Seite a rot und schwarz.

Ein nackter Mann ist rot bemalt und mit schwar- en Umrisslinien und Details versehen. Er sitzt nach echts gewandt. Seine Frisur besteht aus drei Haar- üscheln auf dem kahlen Kopfe. Den rechten Arm teckt er fast ganz in ein grosses Gefäss, das er wischen den Beinen hält und mit dem linken Arm nd der Hand stützt. Das Gefäss ist mit dünner chwartzbrauner Farbe bemalt und hat schwarze Um- isslinien.

Die Szene ist eng verwandt mit einer ähnlichen auf inem Ostrakon in Berlin (BT 51), auf dem zwei Männer an einem Gefäss arbeiten. Es handelt sich um eine Phase in der Herstellung von Gefässen, ver- nütlich aus Stein. Das Stockholmer Bild dürfte die Prozedur zeigen, wie das Gefäss innen geglättet wird. Verwandt sind auch zwei Szenen aus dem Grab des Kenamun in Theben<sup>74</sup>, die ungefähr dieselbe Arbeit zeigen. Mit seiner Frisur könnte der Mann ein Nubier ein<sup>75</sup>.

65. MM 14 064 — Kalkstein — 20,2×10,1 cm. Zusammen mit MM 14 065, 14 066 und 14 067 gefunden (unten Nr. 66 und 67)

Die Scherbe hat zwei gerade Brüche und zwei un- regelmässige Kanten. Bilder auf der einen Seite in schwarz und rot. Die Bildfläche durch Absplitterung beschädigt.

Die Darstellung zeigt zwei Paar Ringkämpfer. Die vier Männer sind nackt. Sie sind in roten Umriss- linien gezeichnet, rot bemalt mit Ausnahme eines Mannes rechts und mit schwarzen Konturen und Details fertiggezeichnet. Der zweite Mann von links trägt hinten am Kopf eine herabhängende schwarze Haarlocke oder Flechte. Die zwei Männer rechts haben verschiedene Frisuren, der stehende trägt das Haar zu einer Seitenlocke zusammengefasst, der an- dere hat drei Haarbüschel auf dem sonst kahlen Kopf, vielleicht auch eine Seitenlocke. Das linke Paar steht in Ausgangsstellung, der linke Mann ergreift den Arm seines Gegners mit der rechten Hand und ver- sucht, die linke um seinen Nacken zu legen. Rechts hat der stehende Mann seinen Gegner sich über den Rücken geschwungen und hält ihn an einem Unter- schenkel fest, während dieser versucht, des anderen Bein und Kopf in den Griff zu bekommen.

Ringkampfszenen sind auf Ostraka selten belegt<sup>76</sup>. Mit Ausnahme der Darstellungen aus Beni Hassan aus dem Mittleren Reiche<sup>77</sup> sind sie auch in den Gräbern ziemlich selten<sup>78</sup>. Die informelle Szene des Stockholmer Bildes könnte natürlich als ein „Augen- blicksbild“ aus dem Dorfleben aufgefasst werden. In diesem Fall sind aber mehrere ähnliche Bilder zu- sammen gefunden worden. Sie sind nicht eindeutig von demselben Künstler gemacht. Es könnte sich um Übungen eines vorgelegten Themas handeln.

66. MM 14 065 & 14 066 — Kalkstein — 10×8,5 cm. Zusammen mit MM 14 064 und 14 067 gefunden (Nr. 65 und 67)

Zwei zusammengehörende Fragmente sind jetzt verei- nigt worden. Die Scherbe hat, abgesehen von einem kurzen geraden Bruch, der auf eine regelmässige Un- terkante für das Bild deuten könnte, unregelmässige Kanten. Die ursprüngliche Bildfläche ist reduziert. Bild auf einer Seite in rot und schwarz.

Zwei nackte Männergestalten sind rot gemalt mit schwarzen Konturen und Details. Möglicherweise sind sie erst in roten Umrisslinien gezeichnet worden.

Ihre Frisur besteht aus drei Haarbüscheln auf dem sonst kahlen Kopf. Der linke Mann packt das eine Bein seines Gegners mit seiner einen Hand, während er mit der anderen dessen Nacken gefasst hat, um ihn umzuwerfen. Der Gegner beugt sich vor und versucht, mit seinen Händen — nur ein Arm ist auf dem Bild erhalten — sein Bein zu befreien. Oben rechts befindet sich eine Hieroglyphe, *nb*, die wohl nichts mit der Darstellung zu tun hat.

Hier handelt es sich wieder um eine Ringkampfszene. Vielleicht sind die beiden Männer Nubier. Die Verbindung mit dem vorher erwähnten Bild ist offenbar, dieses ist aber eleganter gezeichnet, obwohl die Proportionen jedoch kaum zufriedenstellend sind.

67. MM 14 067 — Kalkstein — 3,7×4,2 cm.  
Zusammen mit MM 14 064, 14 065 und 14 066  
gefunden (oben Nr. 65 und 66)

Scherbe mit zwei geraden Brüchen und einer unregelmässigen Kante. Fragment einer grösseren Scherbe. Bild auf einer Seite in rot und schwarz. Die Bildfläche beträchtlich reduziert.

Die fragmentarische Darstellung zeigt einen Männerkörper, rot gemalt mit schwarzen Konturen und Details. Der Mann war nackt. Die Frisur hat wahrscheinlich aus drei Haarbüscheln auf dem sonst kahlen Kopf bestanden. Die gerade herabhängenden Arme lassen keine nähere Bestimmung zu, womit der Mann in der Szene beschäftigt war. Im Gedanken an die Scherben, mit welchen dieses Bild zusammen gefunden wurde und die Ringkampfszenen enthalten, ist anzunehmen, dass auch dieser Mann in ähnlichem Zusammenhang aufgetreten ist.

Technisch könnte das Bild interessant sein, da es einen Schatteneffekt auf dem Körper des Mannes aufzuweisen scheint. Die Unregelmässigkeit der roten Farbe kann ein absichtlich angewandtes Mittel sein, um einen malerischen Effekt zu erzielen. Dies muss jedoch ungewiss bleiben.

68. MM 14 035 — Kalkstein — 8×6,4 cm

Überall unregelmässige Kanten. Die eine Seite hat ein Bild in rot und schwarz. Die ursprüngliche Bildfläche ist reduziert.

Das Bild zeigt einen Mann mit kahlem Kopf und nacktem Oberkörper. Er ist rot gemalt und mit schwarzen Umrisslinien eingefasst. Auch Auge, Ohr

und Mund sind schwarz wiedergegeben. Er scheint ein Stück Tuch vor sich zu halten, das rot gemalt ist mit einer schwarzen oberen Kontur. Dieses Tuch verdeckt Unterkörper und Beinpartie, die durch zwei schwarze Umrisslinien wiedergegeben ist. Der linke Arm ist ausgestreckt, der rechte hängt gerade herab, wobei möglicherweise das Tuchstück zwischen Arm und Körper liegen sollte. Der Mann ist nach rechts gewandt.

Die Beschäftigung des Mannes scheint unklar. Wäre die obere Kontur des „Tuchstückes“ ein Seil, könnte man an Szenen von Feldmessung denken, es scheint kein Ziehen wie bei den Szenen mit Vogelnetz oder beim Fischfang zu sein. Die Partie unter der oberen Kontur ist jedenfalls deutlich bemalt.

69. MM 14 040 A — Kalkstein — 6,7×9,7 cm

Unregelmässige Kanten. Bild auf der einen Seite in schwarz und rot. Bildfläche reduziert, ausserdem durch Salzausfällung rauh.

Eine menschliche Gestalt ist in schwarzen Umrisslinien gezeichnet und rot bemalt mit schwarzen Details im Gesicht. Die Figur ist ganz nackt und stellt einen Mann oder ein Kind mit kahlem Kopf dar. Sie sitzt mit geschlossenen Beinen auf den Fersen. Der linke Arm ist nach vorn gehalten mit der Hand vor dem Schoss. Der rechte ist nicht mehr erhalten, er war rückwärts ausgestreckt. Die Gestalt ist nach rechts gewandt. Dort steht ein unbestimmbarer Gegenstand, der vielleicht ein Tisch mit geschweiften Pfeilern und Platte sein könnte, auf dem Objekte gestapelt wären. Dieser Gegenstand ist rot gemalt mit schwarzen Umrisslinien. Vielleicht zeigt das Bild einen Mann vor einem Opfertisch.

70. MM 14 024 — Kalkstein — 12×20 cm.

Für die recto-Seite s.o. Nr. 10.

Beschreibung oben unter 10.

Während die Vorderseite einen Königskopf wiedergibt, erscheint auf der fragmentarischen verso-Seite eine Person auf einer roten Basislinie. Die Zeichnung der Person ist in schwarzen und in roten Umrisslinien ausgeführt. Die Person kniet in einem sehr weiten Gewande. In einer Hand hält sie ein Messer. Die Darstellung vor ihr könnte vielleicht einen Stier wiedergeben mit rot bemaltem Körper. Ob eine Schlachtungsszene gemeint ist?

1. MM 14 031 — Kalkstein — 7×4,9 cm

Die Scherbe hat unregelmässige Kanten und ist ein Fragment einer grösseren Darstellung. Auf einer leichten Zeichnung und Malerei in rot, schwarz und grün. Das Bild ist etwas zerkratzt.

Dargestellt ist eine Frau, die Lyra spielt. Sie ist nach links gewandt. Nur ihr Oberkörper und Kopf sind erhalten. Das ganze Bild ist mit roten Umrisslinien gezeichnet. Gesicht und Arme der Frau sind rot bemalt und mit schwarzen Umrisslinien versehen. Die lange Perücke ist mit schwarzer Farbe ausgefüllt. Rot sind auch Auge und Mund. Die Lyra hat zwei gebogene Jocharme. Die Querstange oben endet mit einem zurückgewandten Vogelkopf. Die gebogenen Jocharme sind auch mit Tierköpfen verziert, der rechte mit dem einer Gazelle, der linke mit dem eines Vogels. Die Lyra hat zwölf Saiten, die alle nur rot gezeichnet sind. Von der linken Seite des Instruments geht eine rote Doppellinie mit roter Querstrichelung aus und verläuft bogenförmig an der oberen Kante der Scherbe entlang. Es ist nicht unlenkbar, dass diese Linie den Raum andeutet, in dem die Frau sich aufhält. Rechts von der Lyra befindet sich etwas wie ein grünes Blatt, und zwei grüne Flecken an anderen Stellen könnten darauf hinweisen, dass es sich um einen mit Pflanzen decorierten Raum handelt, wie er in den Wochenlaubbildern vorkommt. Frauen, die Lyra spielen, sind in dem Zusammenhang nicht bekannt. Dagegen ist die Lyraspielerin in Privatgräbern belegt, und wir erinnern besonders an eine Szene aus einem heute zerstörten Grabe, wo die Spielerin mit Winden-irlanden auftritt<sup>90</sup>, was vielleicht auch auf dem Stockholmer Bild der Fall ist.

2. MM 14 032 — Kalkstein — 10,3×7 cm

Überall unregelmässige Kanten. Nach dem Bild zu urteilen, ist mehr als die Hälfte der Scherbe verschwunden. Auf einer Seite Bilder in schwarzen Umrisslinien.

Links sind die Köpfe zweier Männer in kurzen Perücken erhalten, von dem rechten Mann ausserdem ein Teil des Oberkörpers. Der linke Mann legt seinen Arm um Nacken und linke Schulter des anderen. Rechts von dieser Gruppe ist eine Sonnenscheibe mit markiertem Mittelpunkt wiedergegeben. Um sie ist ein Uräus geschlungen. Ganz rechts befindet sich ein nach rechts gewandter Falke mit der doppelten Kö-

nigskrone. Die untere Partie des Vogels ist nicht erhalten.

Die Bilder haben keinen inneren Zusammenhang. Die linke Gruppe könnte zwei ringende Männer dargestellt haben. Eine Parallele auf einem Ostrakon in Berlin (BT 52) zeigt zwei Männer in ähnlicher Haltung. Man könnte auch an eine Begegnung zweier Männer denken, wie eine Darstellung in Neferhoteps Grab in Theben zeigt: Neferhotep begegnet seinem Vater<sup>91</sup>. Die Sonnenscheibe mit der Schlange und der Falke mit den Königskronen gehören zu den konventionellen symbolischen Bildern, die im Skizzenmaterial legio sind.

73. MM 14 037 — Kalkstein — 5,6×8,7 cm

Eine Kante besteht aus einem geraden Bruch, die übrigen sind unregelmässig. Die Bildfläche ist durch Absplitterung beschädigt. Das Bild auf der einen Seite ist in rotbraun und schwarz ausgeführt, gewisse Partien erscheinen jetzt ganz braun.

Ein Mann ist dargestellt, dessen Körper nach rechts gewandt ist, während der Kopf nach links zurückschaut. Der linke Arm ist gewinkelt vorgestreckt, die rechte Hand hält einen Gegenstand vor der Brust. Die Zeichnung ist in schwarzen Umrisslinien ausgeführt, und der Körper ist mit rotbrauner-brauner Farbe bemalt. Der Mann trägt einen Schurz, der in der Taille geknotet und mit einem vorne herabhängenden dreieckigen Teil versehen ist. Schwarze Striche deuten Plissierung an. Er hat sehr zerzaustes schwarzes Haar und einen kurzen Kinnbart. Er trägt einen Halskragen und Armbänder am rechten Oberarm und linken Handgelenk. Der Gegenstand, den er vor der Brust hält, scheint ein Vogel zu sein, jedoch ist dies nicht sicher festzustellen.

Ein ungewöhnlicher Typ, vielleicht ein Ausländer, obwohl es auch ägyptische Männer gibt, die mit ähnlichem Haar auftreten<sup>92</sup>.

74. MM 14 044 — Kalkstein — 6,2×10,8 cm

Scherbe mit unregelmässigen Kanten, ein grosser Sprung ist mit Gips gefüllt. Seit der photographischen Aufnahme 1939 ist das Bild weiter beschädigt. Auf der einen Seite Bild in schwarzen Umrisslinien.

Ein stehender nach rechts gewandter Mann ist dargestellt. Er ist in einen Schurz gekleidet, der von der Taille bis zu den Knien reicht. Der Oberkörper ist

nackt, und schwarze schräge Striche deuten die Rippen des mageren Mannes an. Das Haar ist struppig und unordentlich. Der rechte Arm hängt gerade herab, der linke ist vorgestreckt, und die linke Hand hält einen Stab, der in einer Knospe endet wie ein *w<sup>3</sup>d*-Szepter.

75. MM 15 383 — Kalkstein — 11×14,8 cm

Scherbe mit unregelmässigen Kanten. Auf einer Seite Bild in roten Umrisslinien. Bildfläche rau durch Salzausfällung.

Das Bild stellt eine stehende menschliche Gestalt ohne Kopf, nach rechts gewandt, dar. Sie trägt offenbar ein langes Gewand. Die Arme hängen gerade herab. Möglicherweise befindet sich rechts davon eine schwarze Zeichnung, die eine Blume wiedergibt. Dies ist jedoch unklar. Der Skizzencharakter dieses Bildes ist offenbar. Die steife Haltung der Person, die einfache Gestalt sind ein Grundelement in Übungen.

76. MM 14 041 — Kalkstein — 5,3×8,6 cm

Die eine Kante besteht aus einem geraden Bruch, die übrigen sind unregelmässig. Zeichnung in roten Umrisslinien auf einer Seite, durch Kratzer etwas beschädigt. Die ursprüngliche Bildfläche beträchtlich reduziert.

Links steht eine nach rechts gewandte Frau. Ein Gewand ist nicht angedeutet, doch trägt sie einen Halskragen und eine lange dreiteilige Perücke mit Stirnband und Rosette hinten sowie einen Salbkegel. Unter dem Nabel befinden sich zwei horizontale Striche, die Fettpolster andeuten. Rechts von der Frau an der Kante geben ein paar Striche Knie und Fuss eines Sitzenden wieder.

77. MM 14 069 — Kalkstein — 7×9,9 cm

Scherbe mit unregelmässigen Kanten. Bildfläche reduziert. Bild in schwarzen Umrisslinien, ein paar rote Farbtupfer sind wohl zufällig.

Oben sieht man ein Tiergesicht *en face* mit runden Ohren. Zwei Vordertatzen rahmen es ein. Unterhalb davon befindet sich das Bild einer königlichen Person mit Uräus an der Stirn. Sie trägt eine eigenartige Perücke mit Netzmuster, einen Halskragen und ein Gewand, das durch eine gerade Linie unterhalb der

Achselhöhlen markiert ist. In der Magengegend befindet sich ein Halbkreis, der schwierig zu erklären ist. Die Arme hängen gerade herab.

Das Tier könnte eine Hyäne sein (vgl. VA 2230–2231), aber auch ein Bär ist denkbar<sup>22</sup>. Das schmal eng anliegende Gewand der Person kann andeuten, dass es sich um eine Königin handelt, aber es ist etwas unklar, ob man eine Frauenbrust bei der linken Achselhöhle wiedergeben wollte. Die beiden Bilder brauchen keinen inneren Zusammenhang zu haben.

78. MM 14 021 — Kalkstein — 20,8×18,6 cm

Dicke Scherbe mit groben unregelmässigen Kanten. Einige Absplitterungen haben die ursprüngliche Bildfläche beschädigt. Bilddarstellungen auf beiden Seiten in schwarzen Konturlinien.

Die eine Seite zeigt zwei Männerköpfe, rechts das Profil eines Mannes mit Schnurr- und Backenbart. Die innere Linie des Auges ist unter die Augenbraue gezeichnet. Das Ohr ist für einen Ohrring durchbohrt. Eine Kopfbedeckung, die unten beutelförmig ist, ist mit einem Band befestigt, das eine Spange über dem Ohr zu haben scheint. Das linke Profil ist nur teilweise erhalten, die untere Partie ist ausgelöscht. Es gehört zu demselben Typ wie das rechte. Das Stirnband hat jedoch hinten eine Rosette. Beide Profile bilden Ausländer ab, Männer aus Vorderasien. Unterhalb des linken Kopfes finden sich sehr schwache Spuren einer hieratischen Inschrift, die wohl die Männer bezeichnete. Nur die Schlusszeichen sind erhalten. Die Determinative deuten darauf, dass es sich um einen ausländischen ethnischen Namen (*wn* 𓂏𓂛) handelt. Genau unter den Determinativen sieht man Spuren einer weiteren Inschriftzeile.

Auf der anderen Seite sind drei Menschenköpfe und ein Stierhaupt gezeichnet. Der grösste Menschenkopf gibt einen Mann mit kurzem Bart, mit Haar, das über ein Band um den Scheitel gekämmt zu sein scheint, und mit einem scheibenförmigen Ohrschmuck wieder. Möglicherweise trägt er auch eine Seitenlocke. Der Typ ist ausländisch und dürfte einen Libyer abbilden. Die zwei anderen Profile sind sehr undeutlich und geben wohl auch Ausländer wieder, einen mit scheibenförmigem Ohrschmuck, den anderen mit langem Haar oder einer Perücke. Von dem Stier links ist auch ein Teil des Vorderkörpers sichtbar, aber die Scherbe muss nicht unbedingt grösser gewesen sein und ein Bild des ganzen Tieres getragen haben.



Zum Thema Ausländer im Skizzenmaterial s.u.  
IM 14 095, Nr. 124.

9. MM 14 139 — Kalkstein — 9,4×6,7 cm.  
zusammen mit MM 14 140 gefunden (unten Nr. 80).  
für die verso-Seite s. oben Nr. 41

Beschreibung s. oben Nr. 41.

Figuren und Zeichen sind in schwarzen Linien  
ausgeführt. Zwei Männerköpfe nehmen den linken  
Teil der Bildfläche ein. Ganz oben links stehen die  
zwei Hieroglyphen  $\overline{\text{H}}$ . In der Mitte befindet sich  
ein Ohr mit durchbohrtem Ohrläppchen. Rechts ist  
ein Falkenkopf wiedergegeben und darunter die  
Hieroglyphe  $\overline{\text{X}}$ . Vielleicht könnte dies Zeichen je-  
doch den Vorderteil eines Uräus darstellen.

10. MM 14 140 — Kalkstein — 9,1×9,9 cm.  
zusammen mit MM 14 139 gefunden (oben Nr. 79)

Die Kante besteht aus einem geraden Bruch, sonst  
unregelmässige Kanten. Bildfläche auf beiden Seiten  
etwas reduziert durch Absplitterung.

Auf der einen Seite hieratische Inschrift von min-  
destens vier Zeilen, sehr schlecht erhalten. Auf der  
anderen Seite schwache schwarze Spuren einer Zeich-  
nung.

Auf der anderen Seite befinden sich grobe Zeich-  
nungen in schwarzen Konturen. Zwei menschliche  
Köpfe sind wiedergegeben. Der obere war möglicher-  
weise ein Königskopf mit der blauen Krone.

11. MM 14 111 — Kalkstein — 19,3×11,7 cm

Die Scherbe hat eine ziemlich regelmässige Kante  
und scheint absichtlich abgerundet worden zu sein.  
Auf der einen Kanten befindet sich eine kurze rote,  
mit folgender Linie, die ein Anzeichen für die Abmes-  
sung der Oberfläche, die man als Bildfläche behalten  
wollte, sein könnte. Auf einer Seite Bild in schwarzen  
Umrisslinien. Die Scherbe war zerschlagen und ist  
aus mehreren Stücken zusammengesetzt. Bildfläche  
daher etwas beschädigt.

Das Bild zeigt einen Mann, der in einem mit zwei  
Pferden bespannten Wagen steht. Die Equipage ist  
nach rechts gewandt. Der Mann ist in ein nicht näher  
bestimmtes Gewand gekleidet, das durch zwei dop-  
pelte Querlinien um den Leib und die Brust ange-  
deutet ist. Wahrscheinlich hat er u.a. eine Art von  
Panzerhemd getragen. Auf dem Kopf befindet sich  
ein Helm mit schräg verlaufenden Linien. Vom Helm

hängt ein Band herab, das sich in zwei Zipfel teilt;  
vorne befinden sich zwei Linien, die wie zwei ab-  
stehende Drähte aussehen, was unklar verbleibt. Der  
Mann streckt beide Hände aus, in der einen hält  
er eine Gerte, in der anderen einen Gegenstand, der  
schwer zu bestimmen ist; vielleicht sollten es Pfeile  
sein. Die Zügel sind um den Leib des Mannes ge-  
knotet. Der Korb des Wagens weist ein ovales Loch  
im Oberteil auf und ist mit einem Köcher versehen,  
der Pfeile enthält. Die Pferde traben, sie tragen eine  
Schabracke, möglicherweise eine Art Panzerscha-  
bracke. Das Geschirr ist genau wiedergegeben. Auf  
den Köpfen tragen die Pferde Federbüsche.

Das Bild muss im Anschluss an die Kampfszenen  
in den Tempelreliefs der 19. und 20. Dynastie be-  
trachtet werden. Obwohl der Helmtyp des Mannes  
nichtägyptischen Ursprungs sein könnte<sup>44</sup>, kann der  
Mann gut ein ägyptischer Soldat sein. Vielleicht lenkt  
er einen königlichen Wagen. Die Federbüsche der  
Pferde könnten königliche Zugehörigkeit ausdrük-  
ken<sup>45</sup>.

82. MM 14 112 — Kalkstein — 13,7×8,2 cm

Die Scherbe hat unregelmässige Kanten. Auf einer  
Seite Bild in rot und schwarz. Bildfläche etwas re-  
duziert durch Absplitterung.

Ein nackter Mann steht auf einem mit galoppieren-  
den Pferden bespannten Wagen. Die Zeichnung ist  
in roten Umrisslinien ausgeführt. Die Figuren sind  
rot bemalt und mit schwarzen Konturen eingefasst.  
Die Equipage ist nach rechts gewandt. Unten findet  
sich eine rote etwas gebogene Basislinie. Der Mann  
ist nicht nur nackt, sondern auch kahlköpfig. In der  
linken Hand hält er die Zügel, in der rechten eine  
Peitsche, beide nur in rot. Der Wagen hat Räder mit  
anscheinend sechs Speichen; nur die obere Partie des  
einen Rades ist erhalten. Der obere gerundete Teil  
des Wagens ist mit einer schwarzen Doppellinie mar-  
kiert. Links befindet sich wahrscheinlich ein Köcher  
im Wagen, dessen oberer Teil sichtbar ist. Die  
Pferde tragen anscheinend Federbüsche auf den  
Köpfen. Es ist ungewiss, wieviele Tiere gemeint sind.  
Das Hinterteil ist nur mit einer Linie gezeichnet,  
während drei Vorderbeine wiedergegeben sind. Wahr-  
scheinlich handelt es sich jedoch um zwei Pferde,  
wie es bei diesen Wagen üblich ist.

Ein informeller skizzenhafter Charakter kennzeich-  
net dieses Bild. Es gibt etwas von der Flüchtigkeit  
der Kunst der Amarna-Zeit darin, obwohl die tech-

nische Leistung einiger Beispiele" ganz anderer Art ist. Das Motiv mit dem nackten Mann oder Jungen ist unkonventionell und gehört wohl zu der Reihe von Wagenlenkerbildern, die wir oben im Zusammenhang mit den Deir el Medineh-Ostraka besprochen haben.

83. MM 14 113 — Kalkstein — 5,8×11,2 cm

Die Scherbe hat relativ gerade Kanten. Auf einer Seite Bild in rot und schwarz. Die ursprüngliche Bildfläche ist beträchtlich reduziert.

Das Bild zeigt einen mit zwei Pferden bespannten Wagen, auf dem eine Person steht. Die Darstellung ist offenbar in roten Umrisslinien ausgeführt, die man grösstenteils mit schwarzen nachgezogen hat, nachdem man sie mit roter Farbe ausgefüllt hatte. Die Person im Wagen ist nach rechts gewandt und hält die Zügel mit einer Hand, während die andere vermutlich eine Peitsche oder eine Gerte gehabt hat. Es handelt sich anscheinend um einen Mann, der in einen plissierten Schurz gekleidet ist, der etwas oberhalb der Taille beginnt. Auf dem Kopfe trägt er eine lange Perücke, dreiteilig und schwarz bemalt. Das Rad des Wagens dürfte vierspeichig gewesen sein. Vom Wagenkorb vorne hängen zwei Seile, die mit der Deichsel in Verbindung stehen, herab. Von den Pferden sind die Hinterbeine — vier sind gezeichnet — und der Schwanz — nur einfach gezeichnet — erhalten. Vor den Hufen der Hinterbeine befindet sich ein Gegenstand, der einer schwarz gezeichneten Schleife gleicht; es ist unklar, was dieser Gegenstand bedeuten soll.

84. MM 14 109 — Kalkstein — 10,1×9,8 cm

Die Scherbe hat eine regelmässige, aus einem geraden Bruch bestehende Kante, sonst unregelmässige Kanten. Bild auf einer Seite in rot und schwarz, auf der andern Seite schwache Farbspuren, vielleicht nicht die eines Bildes. Das Bild auf der Vorderseite ist ein Fragment eines grösseren.

Zwei Pferde traben nach rechts. Sie waren vor einen Wagen gespannt. Die doppelte Kontur der Vorderbeine des sichtbaren Pferdes zeigt, dass zwei Tiere gemeint sind. Auf einer schwarzen Basislinie sind sie in roten Umrisslinien gezeichnet, die, nachdem man die Körper rot gemalt hatte, schwarz nachgezeichnet worden sind. Das Geschirr ist in der Farbe ausgespart: eine grosse Lederkappe über der Mähne

mit daran hängendem Gurt und Halfter. Die Zügel sind als rote Linien wiedergegeben. Oberhalb der Köpfe finden sich rote und schwarze Striche und Punkte, die Federn darstellen. Das vordere sichtbare Pferd ist ein Hengst.

85. MM 14 108 — Kalkstein — 10,5×9,5 cm

Scherbe mit unregelmässigen Kanten. Bild auf einer Seite in schwarzen Umrisslinien. Bildfläche etwas beschädigt durch Absplitterung.

Ein Hengst galoppiert nach rechts. Er hat eine kurz geschnittene Mähne und trägt einen Halfter mit zwei herabhängenden Bändern. Der Schwanz, der nur noch nicht mehr vorhanden ist, war erhoben.

Diese Darstellung konnte in verschiedenen Bereichen verwendet werden. Wie vorher angemerkt ist, sollte man sich an die Verwendung gewisser Motive im Kunsthandwerk erinnern. Dieser Typ von Pferd z.B. wird im Keramikdekor verwendet".

86. MM 14 058 — Kalkstein — 12,5×7 cm

Die eine Kante ist ein gerader Bruch, sonst unregelmässige Kanten. Bildfläche etwas reduziert durch Absplitterung. Bild auf einer Seite in rot und schwarz.

Das Bild zeigt einen Stier, der nach rechts auf einen Mann zuspringt, der gegen ihn gewendet steht. Die Darstellung ist möglicherweise erst in roten Umrisslinien ausgeführt, dann rot bemalt — sowohl der Stier wie der Mann — und mit schwarzen Konturen versehen worden. Der Mann ist nackt wiedergegeben. Das Motiv ist mit vielen Varianten im Deir el Medineh-Material belegt (vgl. VA 2070). Auch die im Katalog nun folgenden Ostraka gehören zu diesem Kreis von Darstellungen vom Hirten und seinem Stier.

87. MM 14 039 — Kalkstein — 7,9×9,3 cm

Alle Kanten sind unregelmässig. Bild in rot und schwarz auf der einen Seite. Die Bildfläche ist beträchtlich reduziert.

Die Zeichnung ist erst in roten Umrisslinien ausgeführt und dann in schwarzen vollendet und teilweise korrigiert worden. Ein nach rechts gewandter Mann hält mit seiner linken Hand einen Stier beim Schwanz. Der Mann ist nackt. Details des Gesichtes sind nur in schwarz gezeichnet; schwarz ist auch die kleine Locke auf dem Kopfe. Oben an der Kante

Der dem Kopf des Mannes befindet sich ein dünner schwarzer Strich. Dieser könnte darauf deuten, dass der Mann in seiner rechten Hand eine Peitsche hielt, die er über den Stier schwang, oder auch einen kurzen gebogenen Hirtenstab.

3. MM 14 083 — Kalkstein — 12×7,2 cm

Die Scherbe weist einen geraden Bruch auf, der nun den unteren Abschluss der Darstellung bildet. Bild auf einer Seite in rot und schwarz. Bildfläche beschädigt und reduziert durch Absplitterung.

Auf einer schwarzen Basislinie ist ein Mann dargestellt, der einen Stier nach rechts führt (vgl. VA 163—2064). Der nackte Mann ist rot gemalt mit schwarzen Konturen. In der einen Hand trägt er einen kurzen Stab, in der anderen hält er das Seil, an dem er den Stier führt. Das Tier ist schwarz gezeichnet mit detailliertem Fell. Die ausgesparten Partien sind rot bemalt.

4. MM 14 040 — Kalkstein — 9,2×5,3 cm

Die eine Querkante besteht aus einem geraden Bruch, die eine Längskante bildet den ursprünglichen oberen Abschluss, sonst unregelmässige Kanten. Die Bildfläche ist beträchtlich reduziert. Gezeichnetes und bemaltes Bild in rot und schwarz.

Das Fragment zeigt einen nach rechts gewandten Mann mit nacktem Oberkörper. Er trägt eine kurze schwarze Perücke. Der rechte Arm ist rückwärts ausgestreckt. Der Körper ist rot gemalt mit schwarzen Umrisslinien. Eventuell hat der Mann auch einen kurzen Kinnbart getragen.

Es ist leicht, das Bild zu emendieren. Der Mann dürfte ein Tier vorgeführt haben. Eine Parallele, die einen Mann hinter einem Stier mit dem rechten Arm auf dessen Hinterteil zeigt, macht den Zusammenhang deutlich (VA 2067). Dieses Bild gehört zu den besten ikonographischen Typen.

5. MM 14 085 — Kalkstein — 7×10 cm

Scherbe mit unregelmässigen Kanten. Bild auf einer Seite in rot und schwarz. Diese Scherbe bildet nur ein Fragment eines grösseren Bildes.

Ein nach rechts gewandter Stierkopf ist dargestellt. Er ist mit schwarzen Umrisslinien gezeichnet. Partien des schwarzgeleckten Felles sind rot gemalt. Eine menschliche Hand hält das rechte Horn, man sieht

auch den Unterarm. Hand und Arm sind rot bemalt mit schwarzen Konturen. Unten findet sich der Rest einer schwarzen Basislinie.

Das ursprüngliche ganze Bild stellte mit Sicherheit einen Mann dar, der einen Stier führte, was aus Parallelen deutlich hervorgeht (BT 106, 107).

91. MM 14 057 — Kalkstein — 9,4×8 cm

Scherbe mit unregelmässigen Kanten. Bild auf einer Seite in rot und schwarz. Bildfläche etwas beschädigt durch Absplitterung.

Ein Stier, ganz in schwarz gezeichnet, galoppiert mit zurückgewandtem Kopf nach rechts. Auf seinem Rücken sitzt *à l'amazone* ein ganz rot gemalter Mann, anscheinend unbekleidet. Die Frisur besteht aus drei schwarzen Haarbüscheln, und um den Hals hängt ein schwarz gemalter Anhänger, wahrscheinlich ein Herz-Amulett (vgl. VA 2069). Mit der linken Hand hält er das eine Horn des Stieres, die andere Hand streckt er aus, anscheinend zum Maul des Tieres.

Es handelt sich um ein alltägliches Motiv, ein — nach der Frisur zu urteilen — Nubier reitet auf einem Stier, ein Hirte sitzt ein Weilchen auf seinem ihm anvertrauten Tier, das spielerisch herumspringt. Das Motiv ist allerdings auch literarisch belegt; im Papyrus d'Orbiney reitet der Bauer Anubis auf dem Rücken seines in einen Stier verwandelten Bruders Bata". Dieses Bild zeigt aber auch, dass man das Motiv mit der auf einem Pferde reitenden Gottheit vorsichtig behandeln muss (oben Nr. 31); es kann sich bei jenem Motiv selbstverständlich um eine Szene aus dem Alltagsleben handeln, die ohne mythologische Implikation ist. Hier ist es schwierig, eine klare Grenze zwischen den beiden Sphären zu ziehen.

92. MM 14 042 — Kalkstein — 4×7,1 cm

Überall unregelmässige Kanten. Zeichnung in rotbraun und schwarz auf einer Seite; die Farbe scheint eine Mischung zwischen schwarz und rot zu sein. Das Bild ist bloss ein Fragment. Die Fläche rauh durch Salzausfällung.

Links findet sich die Vorderpartie eines Stieres oder einer Kuh; Kopf, Hals und ein Bein sind erhalten. Vor dem Tier sitzt — wie dieses nach rechts gewandt — ein Mann, offensichtlich unbekleidet und kahlköpfig. Er hält die Hände vor Brust und Bauch. Die rechte Hand umfasst ein Seil, das auf die Erde hinabhängt; mit diesem muss das Tier gebunden sein.

Der Mann sitzt auf der Ferse des einen Beines, während das andere angewinkelt mit dem Fuss auf dem Boden steht.

93. MM 14 084 — Kalkstein — 7,8×8,6 cm

Scherbe mit unregelmässigen Kanten. Darstellung auf einer Seite in rot und schwarz. Bildfläche reduziert.

Ein Stier oder eine Kuh und ein vor dem Tier sitzender Mann, beide nach rechts gewandt, sind in roten Umrisslinien gezeichnet, rot bemalt und mit schwarzen Konturen nachgezeichnet. In seiner einen Hand hält er einen gebogenen Stab, in der anderen das Seil, das am Maul des Tieres befestigt ist. Der Mann ist nackt.

94. MM 14 077 — Kalkstein — 8,1×9,5 cm

Scherbe mit unregelmässigen Kanten, von einem ziemlich geraden Bruch abgesehen. Bild in schwarz und rot auf einer Seite. Die Bildfläche ist beträchtlich reduziert.

Das Bild zeigt einen Stier, der nach links springt. Er ist in roten Umrisslinien gezeichnet, rot bemalt und mit definitiven schwarzen Konturen sowie mit schwarzen Details versehen. An dem einen Horn ist ein Seil befestigt, das nur rot gezeichnet ist.

Hinter dem Stier befand sich wahrscheinlich ein Mann, der ihn an dem Seil führte.

95. MM 14 076 — Kalkstein — 14,8×12 cm

Scherbe mit unregelmässigen Kanten. Bild auf einer Seite in rot und schwarz. Bildfläche durch Absplitterung reduziert.

Das Bild zeigt einen Stier, der nach rechts springt. Dabei lässt er seinen Kot fallen. Im Sprung schwebt er frei in der Luft. Unten befindet sich eine rote Basislinie. Die Szene war anscheinend eingerahmt, oben sind zwei parallele rote Linien sichtbar. Der Stier ist in roten Umrisslinien gezeichnet und rot und schwarz bemalt. Offenbar ist es ein junges Tier, da Hörner fehlen.

Es ist möglich, dass dies das Fragment eines Bildes ist, in dem zwei Stiere mit einander kämpften. Ein Ostrakon aus Deir el Medineh zeigt eine solche Szene, auf der der eine Stier auch seinen Kot fallen lässt<sup>99</sup>. Solche Stierkampfszenen können in den Privatgräbern vorkommen<sup>100</sup>.

96. MM 14 078 — Kalkstein — 10,6×9,3 cm

Zwei Kanten bestehen aus geraden Brüchen, die übrigen sind unregelmässig. Bild auf einer Seite in rot und schwarz, teilweise durch Absplitterung und Salzausfällung beschädigt.

Auf einer schwarzen Basislinie ist ein Stier dargestellt. Es ist kaum festzustellen, ob er erst in roten Umrisslinien gezeichnet war. Schwarze Konturen und Details beherrschen das Bild. Der Körper ist grösstenteils mit roter Farbe bemalt. Die Hörner sind sehr klein; es dürfte sich um ein Kalb handeln.

97. MM 14 079 — Kalkstein — 11,1×9 cm

Scherbe mit unregelmässigen Kanten. Bild auf einer Seite in rot und schwarz. Bildfläche etwas reduziert.

Auf einer schwarzen Basislinie ist ein Stierkalb dargestellt, das vor einem Hintergrund von Papyrus nach rechts springt. Das ganze Bild ist in schwarzen Umrisslinien ausgeführt, der Körper des Kalbes ist rot bemalt.

Ein Bild dieser Art ist mit der Palastmalerei verwandt, was aus einer Parallele im Malkata-Palast hervorgeht<sup>101</sup>.

98. MM 14 082 — Kalkstein — 9,9×9,8 cm

Scherbe mit einem geraden Bruch, sonst unregelmässigen Kanten. Auf einer Seite Bild in schwarzen Umrisslinien.

Dargestellt ist ein nach rechts gewandter Stier. Eine Basislinie fehlt.

99. MM 14 086 — Kalkstein — 8,1×4,6 cm

Scherbe mit ziemlich gleichmässiger gerundeter Kante, vielleicht nicht absichtlich gemacht, an der oberen Hälfte, mit unregelmässiger an der unteren. Auf einer Seite Bild in schwarz und rot.

Ein Stierkalb springt nach rechts. Es ist rot bemalt mit schwarzen Umrisslinien und Details.

100. MM 15 381 — Kalkstein — 17,5×14,2 cm

Eine Kante ist gerade, die übrigen sind unregelmässig. Auf einer Seite Bild in schwarzen Umrisslinien, die nun nur noch schwach sichtbar sind.

Das Bild zeigt einen stehenden, nach rechts gewandten Stier. Über ihm fliegt ein Vogel, anscheinend

ne Gans. Unten rechts sind sehr schwache Spuren  
ner Hieroglypheninschrift in schwarz zu erkennen.  
Es ist nicht notwendig, einen inneren Zusammen-  
hang zwischen den beiden Tieren anzunehmen. Es  
bt eine Parallele aus Deir el Medineh auf einem  
strakon, auf welchem dieselbe Kombination der  
iden Tiere vorliegt<sup>2</sup>. Beide sind auch häufige  
hieroglyphenzeichen, und das Bild könnte eine  
bung, sie zu zeichnen, sein.

01. MM 14 074 — Kalkstein — 19×15,1 cm

dicke Scherbe mit teilweise geraden Kanten, die viel-  
leicht absichtlich zustande gekommen sind. Bild auf  
iner Seite in roten und schwarzen Umrisslinien. Auf  
er anderen Seite schwache schwarze Spuren, die  
ine Darstellung andeuten könnten.

Das Bild zeigt die Vorderpartie und den Kopf  
ines Stieres. Die Zeichnung ist erst in roten, dann  
schwarzen Konturen ausgeführt worden, wobei die  
oten etwas korrigiert worden sind. Emige Details  
ind nur in schwarz wiedergegeben.

02. MM 14 089 — Kalkstein — 7,4×12,8 cm.  
Für die verso-Seite s.u. Nr. 122

Die Scherbe hat einen geraden Bruch als Kante, sonst  
unregelmässige Kanten. Bild Darstellungen auf beiden  
eiten in schwarzen Umrisslinien. Die ursprüngliche  
Bildfläche beider Seiten ist etwas reduziert.

Auf der einen Seite erscheint oben ein Stierkopf,  
nten ein sitzender Hund. Beide Tiere sind nach  
rechts gewandt.

03. MM 14 046 — Kalkstein — 5×9,7 cm

Unregelmässige Kanten, die eine ist ein gerader  
bruch. Die ursprüngliche Bildfläche dürfte bedeutend  
rösser gewesen sein. Bild auf einer Seite in rot und  
schwarz.

Ein nackter nach rechts gewandter Mann ist ab-  
gebildet. Er ist erst in roten Umrisslinien gezeichnet,  
dann rot bemalt und mit schwarzen Konturen ver-  
sehen worden. Die Details des Gesichtes sind schwarz  
gezeichnet ebenso wie die drei Haarbüschel auf dem  
scheitel. Der Mann steht auf einer schwarzen Basis-  
linie. In der rechten Hand hält er einen leicht ge-  
zogenen Stab hinter sich, der nur rot gezeichnet ist.  
In der linken vorgestreckten Hand hält er einen  
Strick, der in der Hand eine Schleife bildet.

Durch Parallelen kann man leicht diese Darstel-  
lung emendieren. Es gibt eine Gruppe Ostraka, die  
einen Mann — oft Nubier oder Neger — mit einem  
Affen vor sich zeigt (VA 2035 ff.). Sie halten den  
Affen an einem Seil. Dieses Seil hält der Mann hier  
in seiner linken Hand. In der rechten trägt er wie  
oft in diesen Darstellungen einen Stab, um damit  
den Affen in Schach zu halten.

104. MM 14 098 — Kalkstein — 7,2×4,5 cm.  
Für die verso-Seite s.u. Nr. 107

Die Scherbe hat eine gerade und zwei unregelmässige  
Kanten. Auf beiden Seiten Bilder in rot und schwarz.  
Die Scherbe ist ein Fragment einer bedeutend grö-  
seren.

Auf der einen Seite ist ein Affe mit zurückge-  
wandtem Kopf abgebildet. Er geht auf allen Vieren  
nach rechts. Er ist in schwarzen Umrisslinien —  
möglicherweise über roten — gezeichnet, und das  
Fell ist mit schwacher schwarzer Farbe mit Einschlag  
von dunkleren Strichen bemalt. Das Gesicht und die  
einzige erhaltene Pfote sind rot bemalt. Um den Hals  
trägt er ein rotes Band und ein weiteres der gleichen  
Farbe um den Leib. Er ist auf einer schwarzen Basis-  
linie dargestellt.

Dies ist ein Bruchstück einer Szene mit einem  
geläufigen ikonographischen Thema: ein Affenwäch-  
ter mit seinem Affen. Der Wächter treibt den Affen  
voran, der eine Schnur um den Leib trägt.

Die Zeichnung der Umseite gehört auch zum Kreis  
der Affendarstellungen.

105. MM 14 053 — Kalkstein — 10,2×17,7 cm.  
Zusammen mit MM 14 055 (unten Nr. 106)  
gefunden<sup>2</sup>

Überall unregelmässige Kanten. Die ursprüngliche  
Bildfläche ist reduziert. Darstellung auf einer Seite  
in schwarz, rot und gelb. Manchmal sind die Farben  
in einander übergegangen und bilden mehrere Nu-  
ancen.

Auf einer schwarzen Basislinie steht eine Dum-  
palme, schwarz bemalt mit roten Querstrichen. Die  
grossen Wedel haben schwarze Konturen und sind  
gelb bemalt. Die Nüsse sind rot mit schwarzen Um-  
risslinien. Zwei Affen sind dabei, auf den Baum zu  
klettern. Es sieht aus, als ob sie Büschel von Nüssen  
hielten, die sie schon gepflückt haben. Der rechte  
Affe ist ganz erhalten, der linke nur fragmentarisch.

Sie sind beide erst mit roten, dann schwarzen Umrisslinien gezeichnet. Das Fell ist mit schwarzen Strichen markiert und sonst graugelb bemalt. Der rechte Affe trägt eine Schnur mit Schleife um den Leib, die schwarz wiedergegeben ist. Gesicht und Pfoten sind rot.

Es handelt sich um zahme Affen, die mit der Ernte von Dumpalmennüssen beschäftigt sind, ein Thema, das aus dem Deir el Medineh-Material wohl bekannt ist.

106. MM 14 055 — Kalkstein —  $7,4 \times 19,2$  cm.  
Zusammen mit MM 14 053 (oben Nr. 105) gefunden

Die eine Kante zeigt einen geraden Bruch, sonst unregelmässige Kanten. Auf einer Seite Bild in schwarz, rot und gelb. Die ursprüngliche Bildfläche ist reduziert.

Das Bild wird von einer Dumpalme mit schwarzem Stamm und gelben Querstrichen beherrscht. Die Wedel sind gelb gemalt mit roten Umrisslinien, die Früchte rot mit schwarzen Konturen. Auf dem rechten Wedel sitzt ein nach rechts gewandter, schwarzer Vogel. Unten finden sich Reste einer Darstellung zweier Affen, die dabei sind, auf den Baum zu klettern; der linke ist deutlich zu erkennen. Das Bild gehört zu demselben Kreis wie Nr. 105.

107. MM 14 098 — Kalkstein —  $7,2 \times 4,5$  cm.  
Für die recto-Seite s. oben Nr. 104

Beschreibung siehe oben.

Das Bild ist das Fragment einer Dumpalme, ein Detail der Wedel und Nüsse, diese rot bemalt mit schwarzen Konturen, die Wedel mit denselben Konturen und schwacher schwarzer Bemalung. Es kann sich um eine ähnliche Darstellung wie auf Nr. 105 und 106 gehandelt haben, in denen Affen in Dumpalmen klettern.

108. MM 14 052 — Kalkstein —  $7,4 \times 7,1$  cm

Eine Kante besteht aus einem geraden Bruch, die übrigen sind unregelmässig. Bild auf einer Seite in schwarz und rot.

Rechts befindet sich ein nach links gewandter Affe. Er ist erst mit roten, dann schwarzen Umrisslinien gezeichnet. Gesicht, Hinterteil und Pfoten sind rot bemalt. Eine Schnur ist um die Taille geknotet mit

einer Schleife hinten. Vor dem Affen steht ein rot gezeichneter Sack, den der Affe an einer roten Schnur hält. Links über dem Sack befindet sich ein schwarz gemalter Vogel, der auf den Affen zufliegt.

In der Regel enthält der Sack, der in mehreren entsprechenden Szenen auf Ostraka vorkommt<sup>24</sup>, die vor dem Affen begehrten Dumpalmennüsse, an die er heranzukommen versucht. Die Schnur um den Leib zeigt, dass es sich um ein zahmes Tier handelt.

109. MM 14 050 — Kalkstein —  $8,7 \times 12,5$  cm<sup>25</sup>

Überall unregelmässige Kanten. Bild auf einer Seite in schwarz und rot. Die Bildfläche etwas reduziert.

Ein stehender, nach rechts gewandter Affe ist erst mit roten, dann mit schwarzen Umrisslinien gezeichnet worden. Das Fell ist mit schwacher schwarzer Farbe bemalt; das Haar markieren dunklere schwarze Striche. Gesicht, Hinterteil und Pfoten sind rot bemalt. Um die Taille trägt der Affe ein schmales rotes Band, das hinten zu einer Schleife geknotet ist. Er spielt auf einer Doppelflöte, die er mit den Vorderpfoten hält. Die beiden Rohre der Flöte sind mit schwarzbraunen Umrisslinien gezeichnet (vielleicht schwarze über ursprünglich roten), und ihre Löcher sind mit schwarzen Punkten markiert. Oberhalb des Affen sieht man zwei gegeneinander gewandte Vögel, ganz mit schwarzen Konturen gezeichnet. Diese brauchen keine Verbindung mit der Darstellung des Affen zu haben. Die Schnur um den Leib des Affen zeigt, dass es sich auch hier um ein zahmes Tier handelt.

Szenen mit musizierenden Tieren grenzen an die Sphäre der Tiergeschichtebilder. Es ist anzunehmen, dass die Affen oft als lustige Musikanten abgerichtet wurden; zahme Affen mit Instrumenten sind keine Unmöglichkeit im bunten Dorfleben in Ägypten.

110. MM 14 022 — Kalkstein —  $16 \times 11,8$  cm.  
Für die recto-Seite s. oben Nr. 9<sup>26</sup>

Beschreibung siehe oben.

Die Bildfläche, die beträchtlich beschädigt ist, wird von einem Affen beherrscht. Er steht aufrecht nach rechts gewandt. Anscheinend ist er wie Nr. 109 als Flötenspieler dargestellt. Links von dem Affen befindet sich ein Falke, wie er als Hieroglyphe vorkommt.

1. MM 14 090 — Kalkstein —  $8,1 \times 5,8$  cm<sup>7</sup>.  
ir die verso-Seite s. unten Nr. 121

herbe mit relativ regelmässigen Kanten. Auf beiden iten Bilder in schwarz und rot. Die Bildfläche ist beiden Fällen beträchtlich reduziert.

Auf der einen Seite befindet sich das Bild eines fen, der aufrecht auf den Hinterbeinen gestanden t und Doppelflöte spielt. Nur der Oberteil des ldes ist erhalten. Die Zeichnung ist in schwarzen mrislinien ausgeführt. Das Gesicht des Affen ist t gemalt.

2. MM 14 097 — Kalkstein —  $7 \times 7,9$  cm<sup>8</sup>

herbe mit einem geraden Bruch, sonst unregel- ässigen Kanten. Bild auf einer Seite in schwarz d rot. Bildfläche durch Absplitterung beschädigt.

Das Bild zeigt einen sitzenden Affen, der Doppel- te spielt. Er ist in schwarzen Umrisslinien gezeich- t mit rot bemaltem Gesicht und Hinterteil.

3. MM 14 107 — Kalkstein —  $9,2 \times 13$  cm

wei Kanten abgearbeitet, Oberteil etwas gerundet, öglicherweise ist die Scherbe absichtlich wie eine ele geformt worden. Auf der einen Seite Bild in t und schwarz. Bildfläche etwas beschädigt durch bsplitterung.

Das Bild ist erst in roten, dann schwarzen Um- sslinien ausgeführt. Ein Tier, das ein Esel zu sein heint, geht nach rechts, ein Mann sitzt anscheinend f seinem Rücken. Die Darstellung ist so undeutlich, ss es nicht länger möglich ist, seine Kleidung zu stimmen, auch nicht richtig, wie er sitzt. Ein paar nien über dem Kopf des Esels sind schwierig zu klären. Dass sie Hörner wiedergeben sollten und is Tier etwas anderes als ein Esel wäre, ist weniger hrscheinlich. Sie könnten auch Federschmuck an- nuten; bei Eseln wäre ein solcher wohl aber ein- gartig.

4. MM 14 104 — Kalkstein —  $10,9 \times 6,1$  cm

ie Kanten bestehen grösstenteils aus geraden Brü- en. Auf einer Seite Bild in schwarzen Umrisslinien. berfläche sehr rauh durch Salzausfällung.

Ein stehendes, nach rechts gewandtes Tier ist dar- stellt. Es dürfte sich um eine Ziege mit Hörnern d kurzem Schwanz handeln.

115. MM 14 105 — Kalkstein —  $14,6 \times 10,6$  cm

Zwei Kanten sind gerade Brüche, die übrigen un- regelmässig. Bild auf einer Seite in schwarzen Um- risslinien, nun teilweise ausgelöscht. Oberfläche etwas rauh durch Salzausfällung.

Ein vierfüssiges Tier steht nach rechts gewandt. Um den Hals trägt es einen Strick, der rechts von ihm im Boden befestigt ist. Aufgrund des langen Schwanzes und der grossen Ohren dürfte ein Esel wiedergegeben sein.

116. MM 14 099 — Kalkstein —  $9,2 \times 8,8$  cm

Scherbe mit unregelmässigen Kanten; einige Splitter sind jetzt festgeklebt. Bild auf einer Seite in den Stein eingeritzt, teilweise in rot und schwarz gezeich- net. Bildfläche etwas beschädigt.

Eine Gazelle ist dargestellt. Sie springt nach rechts mit zurückgewandtem Kopf. Das ganze Tier ist einge- ritzt. Es gibt keine Spuren einer ursprünglichen Zeich- nung. Hinter der Gazelle befinden sich drei Zweige, rot gezeichnet mit grünscharzen Blättern. Ihre un- teren Enden, die unter dem Bauch der Gazelle sicht- bar sind, sind eingeritzt. Bei diesem und dem folgen- den Bild ist an Wüstenjagdszenen der Gräber, aber auch an Jagdszenen der Tempel (z.B. Medinet Habu) zu denken.

117. MM 14 100 — Kalkstein —  $7,6 \times 5,6$  cm

Scherbe mit unregelmässigen Kanten. Eingeritztes, gezeichnetes und gemaltes Bild auf einer Seite in rot und schwarz. Die Bildfläche ist etwas reduziert.

Eine Gazelle springt nach rechts mit zurückge- wandtem Kopf. Die Vorderbeine schweben in der Luft, während beide Hinterbeine auf der Erde stehen. Das Tier ist in schwarzen Konturen gezeichnet, der Körper war rot bemalt. Als Hintergrund sind auf einer schwarzen Basislinie Wüstenberge wiedergege- ben, rot bemalt mit schwarzen Punkten. Die obere Abschlusslinie ist schwarz. Man hat begonnen, die Konturen der Gazelle in den Stein einzuritzen. Es scheint, als ob dies missglückt sei und man deshalb damit aufhörte.

118. MM 14 142 — Kalkstein —  $9,1 \times 7,2$  cm

Eine Kante besteht aus einem geraden Bruch, sonst unregelmässige Kanten. Auf einer Seite Bild in

schwacher schwarzer Farbe. Die Bildfläche ist etwas reduziert.

Es handelt sich um die Zeichnung eines Vogels, der nach links gerichtet ist, aber den Kopf zurückwendet. Das Federkleid ist detailliert wiedergegeben durch ein rhombenförmiges Muster und eine Reihe paralleler Striche. Die Darstellung ist etwas stilisiert. Es könnte vielleicht ein Pfau sein.

119. MM 14 141 — Kalkstein — 6×4,6 cm

Scherbe mit unregelmässigen Kanten. Auf einer Seite Bild in schwarz. Bildfläche etwas reduziert.

Ein nach rechts gewandter Vogel ist in schwarzen Umrisslinien gezeichnet und dann mit schwächerer schwarzer Farbe bemalt worden. Oberhalb von ihm befindet sich ein heiliges Auge, etwas grob und stilisiert ausgeführt.

120. MM 14 103 — Kalkstein — 11,1×7,6 cm

Unregelmässige Kanten. Bilder auf beiden Seiten in schwarzen Umrisslinien. Die beiden Bildflächen durch Absplitterung beschädigt. Die Farbe teilweise ausgelöscht.

Auf der einen Seite befindet sich das Bild eines Löwen. Der Kopf ist nicht mehr ganz klar sichtbar. Der Löwe ist nach rechts gewandt. Möglicherweise könnte die Darstellung jedoch auch ein anderes Tier zeigen.

Auf der anderen Seite befindet sich ein Bild, das möglicherweise ein vierfüssiges Tier mit Schwanz und langem Hals darstellt. Dies bleibt jedoch unklar.

121. MM 14 090 — Kalkstein — 8,1×5,8 cm.

Für die recto-Seite s. oben Nr. 111

Beschreibung siehe oben.

Ein fragmentarisches Bild ist auf dieser Seite erhalten. Es ist ein Hundekopf mit aus dem Maule heraushängender Zunge. Um den Hals ist ein Band geknotet. Die Darstellung zeigt anscheinend einen Windhund.

122. MM 14 089 — Kalkstein — 7,4×12,8 cm.

Für die recto-Seite s. oben Nr. 102

Beschreibung siehe oben.

Auf dieser Seite befindet sich eine fragmentarische Darstellung eines Hundes, der auf eine angespannte

Weise wie bei der Kotausscheidung sitzt. Die Bildfläche ist zerkratzt, und es ist möglich, dass sich noch eine andere Darstellung hier befand.

123. MM 14 094 — Kalkstein — 8,2×7,6 cm

Scherbe mit zwei geraden Brüchen und einer unregelmässigen Kante. Auf einer Seite Bild in schwarz.

Eine sitzende, nach rechts gewandte Katze ist in schwarzen Umrisslinien gezeichnet. Das Fell ist gestreift und mit schwacher schwarzer Farbe bemalt. Wahrscheinlich ist der Schwanz um den Körper geschlungen.

Es verdient, daran erinnert zu werden, dass Katzen dieser Art nicht nur die populären Hauskatzen sind, die man oft unter dem Stuhl des Grabherren abgebildet hat, sondern auch heilige Tiere sind, die auf Stelen z.B. vorkommen können. Eine identische Katze sieht man z.B. auf einer Stele aus Deir el Medinet, wo sie als „die gute und gnädige Katze“ erwähnt wird“.

124. MM 14 095 — Kalkstein — 20,3×18,5 cm

Scherbe mit unregelmässigen Kanten. Bilder auf einer Seite in schwarz, rot und gelbgrün. Die ursprüngliche Bildfläche ist etwas durch Absplitterung beschädigt.

Oben rechts befindet sich ein Männerkopf, in schwarz gezeichnet und teilweise bemalt. Das Haar ist in einen Beutel zusammengefasst und mit einem Stirnband geschmückt. Das Gesicht trägt einen Vollbart. Der Typ ist vorderasiatisch (vgl. MM 14 021 oben Nr. 78). Die Mittelpartie wird von dem Bild einer Katze eingenommen. Sie sitzt nach links gewandt mit dem Gesicht *en face*. Sie ist in roten, dann schwarzen Umrisslinien gezeichnet, nachdem der Körper mit einer Farbe bemalt worden war, die nur zwischen grün und gelb variiert. Ganz links befinden sich sieben Gegenstände, die ihrer Form nach wohl Schmuckelemente aussehen, die oft aus Fayence hergestellt wurden. Alle sind in schwarzen Konturen gezeichnet. Der oberste links vom Gesicht der Katze ist mit roter Farbe ausgemalt. Für die Zeichnung der Katze gibt es mehrere Parallelen aus Deir el Medinet (vgl. VA 2809—2810).

125. MM 14 144 — Kalkstein — 11×6,4 cm

Die Scherbe hat eine gerade, sonst unregelmässige Kanten. Fast rechteckige Form. Splitter, die abge-



hagen waren, sind jetzt wieder befestigt. Auf einer ite Bild in schwarzen Umrisslinien. Die ursprüngliche Bildfläche ist reduziert.

Die Darstellung zeigt eine Lotusblume. Mehrere verwandte Bilder sind aus Deir el Medineh bekannt (A 2674 ff.).

#### Bilder aus der Tiergeschichte

6. MM 14 049 — Kalkstein —  $8,7 \times 11,3$  cm<sup>100</sup>

Die Scherbe hat unregelmässige Kanten. Bild auf der Seite gezeichnet und gemalt in rot, schwarz und weiss. Das Bild ist ein Fragment eines grösseren. Die erhaltene Bildfläche leicht beschädigt. Auf der Reverso-Seite sehr schwache Spuren einer Darstellung, nur mit schwarzen Konturen, vielleicht einer Person.

Eine nach links gewandte Maus sitzt in einem Streitwagen mit zwei Pferden. Die Maus ist erst in roten, dann in schwarzen Umrisslinien gezeichnet. Sie trägt einen langen plissierten Schurz, der mit Reihen schwarzer und roter Punkte gemustert ist. Vielleicht trug sie einen Kopfschmuck; das kann nicht mehr festgestellt werden. Die Maus hält die Zügel auf die übliche Art mit einer Schleife in der Pfote. Sie ist rückwärts gewandt mit dem Rücken zur Fahrtichtung. In der anderen Pfote hat sie auch etwas gehalten, nur ein kurzer schwarzer Strich deutet noch darauf. Die äusseren Umrisslinien des Wagens sind schwarz, während das Innere des sechsspeichigen Rades rot ist ebenso wie der Rand entlang der Kante des Wagens, der ausserdem eine weisse Linie aufweist. In der oberen linken Partie des Wagens befindet sich wie üblich eine ovale Öffnung. Vor dem Wagen rechts sieht man die Hinterteile zweier Pferde; die Linien der Beine sind doppelt gezeichnet. Die Pferde sind ganz rot bemalt mit schwarzen Konturen. Schwarz sind auch die Details. Die ganze Szene ist auf einer schwarzen Basislinie dargestellt, die erst oben gezeichnet ist und nach links nur rot weiterläuft auf etwas niedrigerem Niveau. Ganz links befindet sich ein Menschenfuss mit einem Teil des Schienbeines, rot bemalt und mit roten Konturen.

Diese Szene mit der Maus auf dem Wagen gehört zu einer bestimmten Gruppe von Bildern, die Illustrationen zu der Fabel vom Kriege der Katzen mit den Mäusen bilden<sup>101</sup>. Diese Bilder könnten von ägypten ikonographischen Traditionen geprägt sein. So ist dieses Bild eine nahe Parallele. Auf einem Ostrakon in Berlin aus Deir el Medineh gibt es eine Szene,

die zeigt, wie eine Maus auf einem Streitwagen eine Katze begnadigt, die sich hinter dem Wagen befindet<sup>102</sup>. Darstellungen dieser Art aus dem bunten Kampfleben, an dem manchmal auch Menschen beteiligt sind — hier sieht man ja die Reste eines stehenden Menschen ganz links —, können manchmal ihre Vorbilder in der offiziellen königlichen Kunst haben. Die beiden Szenen in Berlin und in Stockholm haben eine Entsprechung in einem Relief von Abu Simbel, wo Ramses II. auf dem Streitwagen auftritt. Diese Parallele hat schon H. Schäfer gezeigt<sup>103</sup>.

127. MM 14 047 — Kalkstein —  $13,1 \times 9$  cm<sup>104</sup>

Zwei ziemlich gerade Brüche, sonst unregelmässige Kanten. Bildfläche etwas beschädigt durch Absplitterung. Bild in rot und schwarz auf der einen Seite, einige Einschlüsse von gelbgrüner Farbe.

Das Bild zeigt einen Affen, der vor einer Maus Harfe spielt. Der Affe, der nach rechts gewandt ist, ist erst in roten Umrisslinien ausgeführt, dann mit schwacher schwarzer Farbe, mit einzelnen dunkleren Punkten, um das Fell zu markieren, bemalt und mit schwarzen Konturen versehen worden. Gesicht, Hinterteil und Pfoten sind teilweise rot bemalt. Die bogenförmige Harfe, auf der der stehende Affe spielt, ist grösstenteils schwarz gemalt. Die Saiten sind rot. Der Klangkasten ist mit einem Tierfell überzogen oder wie ein solches dekoriert, gelbgrün mit schwarzen Punkten ist er wie ein Pantherfell gemustert. Sieben Haltepflocke für die Saiten befinden sich am Oberteil der Harfe. Die sitzende Maus, die nach links gewandt ist, ist wie der Affe gezeichnet und gemalt, in rot und schwarz. Sie trägt einen langen roten plissierten Schurz und hält ein rotes Tuch. Es ist nicht länger möglich festzustellen, ob sie etwas in der anderen Pfote gehalten hat. Die Maus sitzt auf einem Faltstuhl mit rotem Kissen und schwarzen Beinen. Die Hinterpfoten ruhen auf einem Schemel oder einer Matte, rot gezeichnet und schwarz bemalt.

Dies ist eine der Szenen, in der eine Maus von einem andern Tier bedient wird, meist von einer Katze<sup>105</sup>. Genau diese Kombination, eine Maus mit einem harfespielenden Affen, ist sonst nicht belegt. Auf vielen Bildern kommt ja der Affe als Musikant vor, nicht zuletzt als Harfenspieler<sup>106</sup>. Möglicherweise können die Bilder der Maus, die bedient wird, mit dem Bilderzyklus des Katzenmäusekrieges in Verbindung gebracht werden, was jedoch unsicher ist<sup>107</sup>.

128. MM 14 048 — Kalkstein — 8,6×9,6 cm<sup>100</sup>

Ziemlich regelmässige Kanten. Bildfläche kaum beschädigt. Bild auf einer Seite in rot und schwarz.

Auf einer roten Basislinie steht eine nach rechts gewandte Maus, rot gezeichnet. Das Fell ist schwach schwarz bemalt mit Strichen in einem stärkeren Ton, um die Haare zu markieren. Schwarze Umrisslinien vervollständigen das Bild. Die Maus trägt einen rot gezeichneten, plissierten Schurz, der weiter nicht bemalt ist. Sie spielt mit zwei Bällen, roten mit schwarzen Konturen. Rechts vor der Maus befindet sich eine Vorratskiste auf Beinen mit einer Querstange zwischen ihnen. Der Deckel, der mit einem Knopf versehen ist, ist rot, sonst schwarze Umrisslinien.

Es gibt keine Parallelen zu dieser ballspielenden Maus. Darstellungen vom Ballspiel überhaupt sind sehr selten<sup>109</sup>.

129. MM 14 051 — Kalkstein — 15,8×12,3 cm<sup>110</sup>

Die eine lange Kante ist gerade, die andern sind etwas begradigt und zugehauen. Zeichnung auf einer Seite in schwarzen Umrisslinien.

Links befindet sich eine nach rechts gewandte, aufrecht gehende gestreifte Katze. In der einen ausgestreckten Pfote hält sie eine Gans, in der andern einen kurzen gebogenen Stab, den sie schwingt. Vor der Katze gehen vier Gänse zu je zweien.

Parallelen zu dieser Szene gibt es sowohl auf Ostraka als auf Tierbilderpapyri<sup>111</sup>. Im grossen und ganzen gesehen haben diese Szenen von der Katze als Vogelhirten — manchmal kann auch der Fuchs in dieser Rolle auftreten — ikonographische Parallelen in der Grabmalerei. Sehr ähnliche Darstellungen von Gänsehirten sehen wir in einigen thebanischen Privatgräbern, in denen des Mencheper<sup>112</sup> und Puyemre<sup>113</sup> oder dem des Senemioh<sup>114</sup>.

Bemerkenswert ist, dass das Stockholmer Bild eine genaue Entsprechung einer Darstellung in dem Londoner Tierpapyrus<sup>115</sup> ist. Die Übereinstimmung ist so gross, dass man gern eine Verbindung zwischen den beiden Darstellungen sehen möchte, jedenfalls was Ort und Zeit betrifft. Das Stockholmer Bild ist beträchtlich schlechter ausgeführt. Aber gerade die Übereinstimmung kann zeigen, dass auch die Motive der Tiergeschichte mehr oder weniger kanonisch überliefert wurden genau wie die anderen Motive der ägyptischen Kunst. Es ist wenig wahrscheinlich, dass die Ostrakonbilder zufällige, spontane Darstellungen

sind. Feste ikonographische Traditionen können festgestellt werden, die hinter der scheinbaren Mannigfaltigkeit des Materials liegen.

130. MM 14 060 — Kalkstein — 14,2×8 cm<sup>116</sup>

Scherbe mit unregelmässigen Kanten. Bildfläche beschädigt durch Absplitterung. Darstellung auf einer Seite in schwarz und rot.

Alle Figuren sind mit schwarzen Umrisslinien gezeichnet. Der Mensch und wahrscheinlich auch die Katze links sind rot gemalt. Das Bild zeigt, wie ein sich fürchtender Mensch, der seinen Kot verliert, von zwei Katzen mit Stöcken geschlagen wird. Der Mann ist nackt mit Ausnahme dekorativer Bänder am Oberkörper, er trägt das Haar in zwei Büscheln und eine Locke. Links befindet sich ein Pavillon mit einer geflochtenen Matte oder einem Podium darunter und mit einem Dach, das von Säulen (eine ist sichtbar) getragen wird. Auf der Matte oder dem Podium sieht man zwei Pfoten und einen Tierschwanz, sonst ist diese linke Seite zerstört. Die Basislinie der Darstellung ist schwarz.

Durch zwei Parallelen kann diese Szene erklärt werden. Auf einem Ostrakon in Chicago<sup>117</sup> wird ein Mensch von einer Katze geschlagen. Eine stehende Maus sieht der Handlung zu. Auf einem Ostrakon in Kairo findet sich eine ähnliche Szene<sup>118</sup> mit etwa anderer Rollenverteilung. Auf dem Stockholmer Bild war wohl ursprünglich links eine Maus dargestellt. Die Deutung dieser Bilder ist unklar. E. Brunner Traut hat sie im Zusammenhang mit den Tierfabeln behandelt und sie als Gerichts- oder Bestrafungsszenen rubriziert<sup>119</sup>. Die Maus ist der Richter, die Katzen sind die Exekutierer.

131. MM 14 068 — Kalkstein — 15×10,1 cm

Überall unregelmässige Kanten. Bild auf einer Seite in rot, schwarz und grün. Die Bildfläche ist reduziert.

Links befindet sich ein *en face* dargestellter Fuchs. Er ist in roten Umrisslinien gezeichnet, die dann mit schwarzen nachgezogen worden sind, und teilweise mit roter und schwarzer Farbe bemalt. Ganz rechts erscheint ein Tiergesicht im Profil, vermutlich ein Löwe. Es ist in roten und schwarzen Konturen ausgeführt. Zwischen beiden Tieren befindet sich ein Blumenstrauß in rot und grün mit Details in schwarz, teilweise auch roten Umrisslinien.

Möglicherweise könnte diese Szene zur Tiergeschichtegruppe gehören. Ein Fuchs mit einem Blumenstrauß ist auf einem Ostrakon belegt<sup>120</sup>.

### 3. Wochenlaubeszenen

132. MM 14 005 — Kalkstein — 18,9×18 cm

Die Scherbe hat rundherum unregelmässige Kanten, so dass die Bildfläche durch diese spätere Beschädigung nur fragmentarisch erhalten ist. Sie war in zwei Stücke zerbrochen, die jetzt zusammengeklebt sind. Eine Seite weist eine Zeichnung in schwarzen Konturen auf.

Das Bild zeigt eine Frau, die auf einem Bett sitzt, das auf einer Basislinie steht. Das Bett wird von drei Götterbildern des Bes-Typs gestützt und ist mit vier Reihen ornamentalen Dekors versehen. Die Frau trägt ein umfangreiches, halb durchsichtiges Gewand, einen Halskragen und eine grosse dreiteilige Perücke, die schwarz bemalt ist und von einem Stirnband gehalten wird, das hinten zu einer Rosette geknotet ist. Auf der Perücke befindet sich ein Salbkegel, der ebenso wie das Stirnband vertikale Striche aufweist. Die nach rechts gewandte Frau trägt einen scheibenförmigen Ohrschmuck. Auf den Knien hält sie ein Kind, dem sie die Brust reicht. Es ist nackt bis auf einen Halskragen. Links befinden sich ein Spiegel mit Griff und ein Gefäss, das wohl ein Steingefäss für Salbe o.ä. darstellen soll, oben rechts sieht man eine geflochtene Girlande, etwa wie ein Halskragen. Rundherum um die Frau, das Bett und die übrigen Gegenstände sind herzförmige Blätter gezeichnet, Blätter vom Convolvulustyp.

Das Bild gehört wie die unten folgenden zu der bekannten Gruppe, die die Frau mit dem neugeborenen Kinde in der Wochenlaube schildert.

133. MM 14 070 — Kalkstein — 18,1×11,6 cm<sup>121</sup>

Die Scherbe hat vier gerade Kanten. Auf einer Seite eine Bilddarstellung. Die Oberfläche ist beträchtlich durch Abblätterung beschädigt. Bild in rot und schwarz. Die Figuren sind in roten Konturen ausgeführt. Die menschlichen Körper sind rot bemalt mit schwarzen Details und Perücken. Der Affe rechts ist schwarz bemalt mit roten Details. Die Figuren sind so gut wie durchgehend in schwarzen Umrisslinien nachgezeichnet.

Auf einer Basislinie steht ein Bett auf zwei Bei-

nen — die anderen zwei sind nicht sichtbar — in Gestalt von Göttern des Bes-Typs. Darauf sitzt eine Frau, deren Füsse kaum zur Basislinie hinabreichen. Sie trägt ein weites plissiertes Gewand und eine lange Perücke. Ihr rechter Arm ist nach rückwärts gegen das erhöhte Kopfende des Bettes ausgestreckt, das Gesicht ist nach rechts gewandt, und der linke Arm ist in dieselbe Richtung gestreckt. Zwischen dem Kopfende des Bettes und der Frau dürfte ein Kind gelegen haben, wie aus Parallelen hervorgeht (VA 2337, 2340). Links vom Bett steht eine nackte Gestalt mit kahlem Kopf. Es ist nicht möglich zu entscheiden, ob es sich um einen Mann oder eine Frau handelt, vermutlich eher um das letzte mit Rücksicht auf den Charakter der Szene. Mit der rechten Hand schwingt die Gestalt einen Fächer über dem Kopf der Sitzenden; der linke Arm hängt herab, die Hand hielt möglicherweise einen Gegenstand. Rechts im Bild kommt eine nach links gewandte Frau, die — abgesehen von einer langen Perücke mit Stirnband, das in der schwarzen Farbe ausgespart ist, und möglicherweise einem Band um die Hüften — nackt ist. Beide Hände streckt sie der sitzenden Frau entgegen. Ganz rechts steht ein Affe auf den Hinterbeinen. Um den Leib hat er ein schmales Band gebunden mit einer Schleife im Rücken. Dies zeigt, dass es sich um einen zahmen Affen handelt. Er hält etwas in den beiden Vorderpfoten, das schwer zu bestimmen ist, zwei herabhängende Bänder könnten auf etwas aus Stoff deuten. Unter dem Bett steht ein Gefäss mit weiter Öffnung und kleiner Basis, in dem sich ein grosser Salbkegel befindet (vgl. VA 2862). Das Gefäss ist nur in rot gezeichnet.

134. MM 14 137 — Kalkstein — 7,7×5,2 cm

Scherbe mit unregelmässigen Kanten. Auf einer Seite Bild in rot, schwarz und weiss. Die ursprüngliche Bildfläche ist etwas reduziert. Die Farbe ist teilweise ausgelöscht.

Grossenteils ist die Darstellung in schwarzen Umrisslinien ausgeführt. Eine nach links gewandte Frau sitzt auf einem Bett. Hinter ihr liegt ein Säugling. Beide Gestalten sind rot bemalt. Die Frau trägt eine schwarze Perücke mit ausgespartem Stirnband und einem roten und weissen Salbkegel darauf. In der ausgestreckten rechten Hand hält sie ein weiss gemaltes Brot. Ringsherum befindet sich Laubwerk, teilweise rot bemalt innerhalb schwarzer Konturen.

135. MM 14 061 — Kalkstein — 9,2×11,1 cm

Scherbe mit unregelmässigen Kanten. Bilddarstellung auf einer Seite in rot, schwarz und gelb. Die ursprüngliche Bildfläche ist beträchtlich reduziert. Die Oberfläche ist durch Salzausfällung etwas rau.

Die Darstellung befindet sich auf einer schwarzen Basislinie. Rechts steht eine nach links gewandte Frau, die mit roten Umrisslinien gezeichnet ist. Die Körperteile sind gelb gemalt und ausserdem mit schwarzen Konturen eingefasst. Sie trägt ein weites plissiertes Kleid mit einer Franse. In der grossen schwarzen Perücke ist ein Stirnband ausgespart, das vertikale schwarze Striche aufweist. Möglicherweise befand sich ein Salbkegel auf der Perücke. Im Ohr trägt sie einen scheibenförmigen Schmuck. Beide Hände sind ausgestreckt, wohl um etwas darzureichen. Links sieht man Fragmente eines Bildes einer Frau, die auf einem Bett sitzt, von welchem ein Teil in schwarzen Umrisslinien in der Mitte des Bildes erscheint. Diese Frau trägt ebenfalls ein plissiertes Gewand, in roten Konturen gezeichnet. Ein roter Gegenstand mit schwarzen Umrisslinien bei ihrem Kleid ist schwer zu identifizieren. Auf dem Bett liegt ein Kind mit schwarzem Haar, rotem Körper und schwarzen Konturen.

Wahrscheinlich hat die Frau eine Schale wie auf dem folgenden Bild dargebracht.

136. MM 14 045 — Kalkstein — 7,1×15,5 cm

Überall unregelmässige Kanten. Auf einer Seite Bild in rot, schwarz, gelb und grün. Fragment einer grösseren Darstellung.

Auf einer schwarzen Basislinie steht eine nach links gewandte Frau. Ihr Gewand und Körper sind in rot gezeichnet. Glieder und Gesicht sind mit schwarzen Umrisslinien nachgezeichnet und gelb bemalt. Sie trägt eine lange schwarze gelockte Perücke. In dieser ist ein Stirnband ausgespart, das vorn mit einer schwarz, rot und gelben Lotusblume geschmückt ist. Das umfangreiche Gewand ist knöchellang und plissiert. Um das linke Handgelenk ist in schwarzen Strichen ein Armband gezeichnet. Schwarz ist auch ein scheibenförmiger Ohrschmuck eingezeichnet. In der linken Hand hält die Frau eine Schale (*nb*-Typ), gelb mit schwarzen Umrisslinien. In der rechten hält sie auch einen Gegenstand derselben Farbe, vielleicht ebenfalls ein Gefäss. Hinter der Frau befindet sich eine rote Linie, die wohl als Pflanzenranke aufzufas-

sen ist. Sie trägt schwarze Blätter und Blüten und ganz oben ein vierfältiges Blatt, grün mit schwarzen Umrisslinien.

Das Bild dürfte ein Detail aus einer Wochenlaubedarstellung sein. Die Frau hat Gaben für die Mutter mit dem neugeborenen Kind dargebracht. Die Pflanzenranke deutet die besondere Umgebung an. Gerade die Frau mit zwei Gefässen wie hier scheint ein ziemlich fester ikonographischer Typ in diesen Szenen zu sein (vgl. VA 2335 ff.).

137. MM 14 030 — Kalkstein — 4,1×5 cm

Die Kanten sind alle unregelmässig. Die eine Seite hat ein Bild in rot und schwarz. Die Scherbe ist ein Fragment aus einer grösseren Darstellung.

Das Bild zeigt ein nach rechts gewandtes Frauenprofil. Es ist erst mit roten, dann mit schwarzen Umrisslinien gezeichnet. Das Gesicht ist rot bemalt. Die lange gelockte dreiteilige Perücke schwarz. Etwas weiss ist vielleicht beim Auge verwandt worden. Möglicherweise hat die Frau einen scheibenförmigen Ohrschmuck getragen. In der Perücke ist die Partie, die von einem Stirnband bedeckt wird, ausgespart und schwarz gestrichelt worden. Auf der Perücke finden sich ein Salbkegel mit Innenzeichnung in schwarz und eine ebenso detaillierte Lotusblume. Oberhalb der Frau ist ein Strichmuster aus schwarzen und roten Linien angebracht.

Es dürfte sich um ein Fragment aus einer Wochenlaubedarstellung handeln, wo die Frau entweder auf dem Bett sitzt oder als Aufwartende bei diesem steht. Die Borte oben im Bild dürfte eine stilisierte Wiedergabe der Convolvulus-Ranken sein, die oft die Wochenlaube schmücken (vgl. VA 2341, 2352).


*Hieroglyphen — Inschriften und Zeichenübungen*

Zur Tätigkeit der Künstler hat vielleicht auch gehört, die hieroglyphischen Inschriften herzustellen, die fast nie in Dekorzusammenhängen aller Art fehlen. Die Inschriften begleiten oft die Bilder auf eine Weise, die diese um eine weitere Dimension bereichert. Text und Darstellung bilden in der ägyptischen Kunst eine Einheit. Es ist interessant zu sehen, dass man selten Ostraka antrifft, auf denen man gleichzeitig Text und Bild geübt hat; diese beiden waren zwei verschiedene Kategorien. Es ist nicht unwahrscheinlich, dass es vielleicht eine feste Grenze zwischen den „Schreibern“ und den „Konturenschrei-

ern“ gab, dass die Arbeit mit Text und Bild auf zwei verschiedene Berufe verteilt war; vielleicht waren die letzten im Prinzip hauptsächlich mit der rein ornamentalen Ausschmückung der von den ersten gezeichneten Hieroglyphen beschäftigt. Dass die „Konturenschreiber“ indessen auch mit der Hieroglyphenschrift vertraut waren, geht deutlich aus den vielen Motivbildern mit Inschriften hervor, die ganz ohne Zweifel aus ihrer Hand stammen. Die Hieroglyphen sind eine reine Bilderschrift, die dem Bereich des Bildkünstlers am nächsten steht; im täglichen Gebrauch, in den Dokumenten des Alltagslebens kommt stattdessen der hieratische, oft sehr flüchtige Duktus des Schreibers zur Anwendung. Die hieroglyphische Bilderschrift erforderte einen speziellen Lehrgang, und es ist natürlich, Übungen einzelner Zeichen wie auch zusammenhängender Texte zu finden. Ein Teil der Beispiele in der unten folgenden Gruppe kann Vorlagen für Inschriften repräsentieren oder vielleicht auch Übungen. Einige andere sind anderer Art, Listen mit Namenszeichen oder Inventare, bei denen die Grenze zwischen Bild und Bildzeichen nicht klar ist.

138. MM 14 116 — Kalkstein — 14,5×14 cm

Scherbe mit zwei regelmässigen und zwei unregelmässigen Kanten. Auf beiden Seiten Darstellungen in schwarzen und roten Umrisslinien. Bildfläche durch Splinterung reduziert.

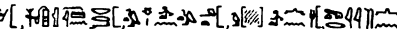
Auf der einen Seite befinden sich zwei Kartuschen nebeneinander. Die rechte hat — im Gegensatz zur linken — keinen Schlusstrich. Beide stehen auf je einem -Zeichen auf einer Basislinie. Sie waren von zwei Federn mit einer Sonnenscheibe bekrönt. Dies ist jedoch nur noch fragmentarisch erhalten. Die Namen in den Kartuschen sind antithetisch geschrieben. In der linken steht *Dsr-k3-r'*, in der rechten *in-htp*, also der Name Amenophis' I.

Auf der anderen Seite befinden sich ebenfalls zwei Kartuschen oberhalb derselben Zeichen auf einer Basislinie und mit derselben Bekrönung. Die Namen darin sind dieselben wie auf der Vorderseite, nur sind alle Zeichen nach rechts gerichtet. Die linke Kartusche mit dem Zeichen darunter ist erst in roten Konturen gezeichnet worden, sonst ist alles wie auf der Vorderseite in schwarz. Die Zeichnung beider Kartuschen und Namen auf dieser Seite ist bedeutend schlechter und nachlässiger ausgeführt als die der Vorderseite. Es ist wohl anzunehmen, dass in diesem alle zwei verschiedene Personen die beiden Seiten

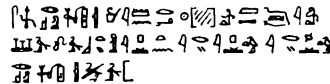
beschriftet haben, die wie eine Vorlage und eine Nachzeichnung wirken; oder hat der Meister nach dem Betrachten der Leistung des Schülers geschwind eine Probe seiner Kunst gezeigt?

139. MM 14 120 — Kalkstein — 5,6×8,5 cm

Diese Scherbe ist ein Fragment einer rechteckigen, bewusst geformten Kalksteinplatte. Diese Platte hatte ursprünglich eine Grösse von ungefähr 10×14 cm. In der Mitte oben gab es eine Durchbohrung. Auf beiden Seiten Zeichnung und Inschrift in schwarz.

Auf der einen Seite befindet sich eine Zeichnung, die in vollständigem Zustand die Hieroglyphe „Herz“ wiedergegeben hat. Dies war wohl die einzige Darstellung auf dieser Seite. Darin stehen noch fünf horizontale Inschriftzeilen, die den üblichen Herzskarabäus-Text enthalten, der dem Totenbuchkapitel 30 entspricht. Der Text erscheint in etwas verdorbener Form: 

Der Name und Titel, die im Text vorkommen, gehören dem Zeichner des Amun *Nb-r'*. Ein Mann dieses Namens und mit demselben Titel ist in Deir el Medineh in der 19. Dynastie durch mehrere verschiedene Denkmäler bekannt<sup>139</sup>.

Auf der anderen Seite befindet sich die Zeichnung eines Uschebti, die ungefähr die linke Seite der Platte ausgefüllt hat. Auf der rechten Seite könnte sich freilich ein zweites Bild befunden haben. Die oben erwähnte Länge der Platte ist aufgrund dieser Figur berechnet, da die Beine und Füsse den jetzt fehlenden Platz ausgefüllt haben müssen. Hände und die Hacken, die ein Uschebti zu halten pflegt, fehlen jedoch. Der Text, der aus sieben horizontalen Zeilen besteht, ist der für Uschebtifiguren übliche, Totenbuchkapitel 6: 

In Zeile 1—2 ist der Name eines Zeichners des Amun-Re angegeben, der jedoch undeutlich ist; es ist nur eine Zeichengruppe, die der ganze Name sein soll, denn in Zeile 3 ist das erste Zeichen ein Determinativ eines Namens. In Zeile 7 tritt der Titel „Konturenschreiber“ wieder auf, gefolgt vom Anfang eines Namens „P3...“. Um diesen Namen kann es sich in Zeile 2 nicht gehandelt haben.

Diese Platte scheint einzigartig. Im Bild werden auf den beiden Seiten zwei von den häufigsten funéraires Gegenständen vereinigt, die bei jedem Begräbnis nötig sind. Diese Gegenstände, Herz-Skarabäus

und Uschebti, kommen jedoch auch in den Totenpapyri im Bild vor<sup>139</sup>. Wegen der besonderen Form dieser Platte und der Möglichkeit einer funktionellen Anwendung möchte man an eine magische Verwendung denken. Dann sollte die innewohnende Kraft der Bilder dem Besitzer, wohl einem Toten, helfen. Sollten aber zwei verschiedene Personen in den Texten erwähnt sein, kann eine solche Erklärung schwierig sein. Es kann nicht ausgeschlossen werden, dass die Bilder aus Übungszwecken hergestellt sind, wie das folgende Bild Nr. 140 sicherlich ist.

140. MM 14 121 — Kalkstein — 16,2×16,1 cm

Scherbe mit unregelmässigen Kanten. Auf einer Seite Zeichnung mit Inschrift in rot und schwarz, auf der anderen Spuren einer Zeichnung in roten Umrisslinien, die jedoch zu schwach sind, um eine Bestimmung zu erlauben. Die ursprüngliche Bildfläche der ersten Seite ist reduziert.

In vollständigem Zustand hat die Zeichnung der einen Seite ein Herz dargestellt. Es ist erst in rot gezeichnet und dann schwarz nachgezogen worden. Sechs horizontale Inschriftzeilen sind darin noch erhalten, die durch schwarze Linien getrennt sind. Der Text ist eine verdorbene Version von Totenbuchkapitel 30 B, das auf Herzskarabäen zu erscheinen pflegt. Die erste nur zum Teil erhaltene Zeile lässt keinen sicheren Zusammenhang erkennen, die zweite entspricht teilweise ungefähr Navilles Text von Kapitel 30 B 4 (Neville 1886, I). Die Zeilen 3 und 4 bilden eine Parallele zu 30 B 5—6. Die beiden letzten sind nicht klar zu identifizieren, jedoch erscheint das Zeichen „Waage“, das in 30 B 5 vorkommt.

Der Text enthält keinen Personennamen. Bei einigen Hieroglyphen finden sich rote Punkte. Bei der untersten Zeile ist eine Hieroglyphe mit einem roten Punkt ausserhalb des Herzens geschrieben worden. Sie scheint einen sitzenden Mann darzustellen. Es dürfte sich hierbei um eine Korrektur handeln.

Die Darstellung könnte gut eine Übung sein. Wie bei dem Bild der Uschebti-Figur oben könnte man sich für das Herz eine ähnliche Verwendung in Papyri vorstellen<sup>140</sup>.

141. MM 14 122 — Kalkstein — 5,9×5,3 cm

Die Scherbe hat ziemlich gerade Bruchkanten. Auf der einen Seite eine senkrechte Hieroglypheninschrift

innerhalb von zwei senkrechten Strichen, unten durch zwei Querstriche abgeschlossen. Alles in schwarz.

Die deutliche Inschrift, „... das schöne Treffen die grosse Göttin, Herrscherin des Himmels, der Götterkönig“ gibt bei Amun-Re gebräuchliche Epitheta. Einige Formen sind jedoch feminin. Das Epitheton *hnt nfr* ist für Amun häufig in Westtheben belegt<sup>141</sup>.

142. MM 14 128 — Kalkstein — 13,2×22 cm

Scherbe mit ziemlich unregelmässigen Kanten. Auf der einen Seite eine schwarze Hieroglypheninschrift in zwei senkrechten Zeilen. Ganz unten Zeichnung zweier liegender Schakale, der linke durch Absplitterung beschädigt. Ein ähnlicher Schakal, der im Text vorkommt, ist ausgelöscht. Möglicherweise gehört er nicht zum Text, obwohl er als Hieroglyphe ein Bestandteil eines Personennamens aufgefasst werden könnte.

Der Text gibt Titel und Namen eines Mannes, der sonst nicht aus dem thebanischen Material bekannt ist: „Der königliche Schreiber in dem Schönen Hause“ des Palastes, Leben, Wohlergehen, Gesundheit; Der, der im Palast, Leben, Wohlergehen, Gesundheit, ist; der *sm*-Priester im Hause des Morgens<sup>142</sup>, Pen-Amun, der Selige.“

143. MM 14 119 — Kalkstein — 12×11,3 cm

Scherbe mit relativ regelmässigen Kanten. Auf einer Seite schwarze Hieroglyphen in einem Rahmen. Die Bildfläche reduziert.

Innerhalb von zwei vertikalen Linien in rot befindet sich der Anfang einer Königstitulatur: ein Falke mit Doppelkrone, der auf einer standardartigen Basis steht — hinter ihm ein Uräus mit Doppelkrone — und ein Stier unter einem Himmelszeichen. Alle Zeichen in schwarz. Auf der rechten Seite der Scherbe sind Spuren einer identischen Inschrift, die nun ausgelöscht ist, schwach zu erkennen.

144. MM 14 115 — Kalkstein — 13×16,3 cm

Die eine Kante ist ein gerader Bruch, sonst unregelmässige Kanten. Auf einer Seite Hieroglyphenzeichen in schwarzen, teilweise roten Umrisslinien. Die ursprüngliche Bildfläche ist reduziert.

Die Hieroglyphen sind die folgenden: Rechts von oben nach unten eine Axt (*nw*), ein Lotusteich (*ḥt*) ein Kalbskopf (*hnt*) und ein Leopardenkopf (*ohw*)

(Lautwert<sup>129</sup>). In der Mitte befindet sich eine Eule (*m*), die erst in roten, dann schwarzen Konturen gezeichnet worden ist. Unter ihr erscheinen ein Türriegel (*s*) und ein Korb mit Schlaufe (*k*). Links von diesem befindet sich ein Fragment eines Zeichens, das nun nicht mehr bestimmt werden kann. Links von oben nach unten sieht man eine nur teilweise erhaltene Peitsche (*mḥ*), ein Ohr (*sdm*) und einen Teil eines Zeichens, das offensichtlich ein Siegel ist.

145. MM 14 096 — Kalkstein — 12×17,5 cm

Dicke Scherbe mit unregelmässigen Kanten. Bildflächen sehr uneben. Auf beiden Seiten Bilder und Schriftzeichen. Alle in schwarzen Umrisslinien.

Auf der einen Seite befinden sich oben rechts ein ägyptischer Geier (*ḥ*), dann ein Affe, der auf allen Vieren nach links geht, darunter ein liegender Löwe (*r[w]*) und darunter ein liegendes Seth-Tier, dessen zoologische Bestimmung unklar ist. Links oben befindet sich ein junger Vogel (*w*), dann ein nach rechts gewandter Affe. Nur die Affen sind unter den Bildern dieser Seite keine Hieroglyphen, wenn sie nicht Varianten des ungewöhnlichen Affendeterminativs sein sollten.

Auf der Rückseite steht rechts die Hieroglyphengruppe *ḥ-ḥ-ḥ*, „Horus, der seinen Vater schützt“. Es ist ein Epitheton, das sich auf Horus' Verhältnis zu Osiris bezieht und das sehr geläufig ist.

146. MM 14 102 — Kalkstein — 3,1×4,8 cm

Die Scherbe hat unregelmässige Kanten. Auf beiden Seiten Zeichnungen in schwarzen Umrisslinien. Fragment einer grösseren Scherbe.

Die eine Seite zeigt eine fragmentarisch erhaltene Zeichnung der Hieroglyphe *ḥḥt*, die das Vorderteil eines liegenden Löwen wiedergibt. Die Hieroglyphe, die den ganzen liegenden Löwe wiedergibt, könnte freilich auch denkbar sein.

Auf der anderen Seite finden sich ein bogenförmiger Strich und eine Anzahl kurzer Striche in einer Reihe, vielleicht ein Detail einer Tierzeichnung.

147. MM 14 138 — Kalkstein — 10×8,2 cm

Scherbe mit unregelmässigen Kanten. Auf beiden Seiten Kritzeleien in rot.

Auf der einen Seite steht zuoberst das Zeichen „Krokodil“ in hieratischer Schrift, und darunter folgt

— auch in Hieratisch — das Wort *mshw*, also „Krokodil“. In der Mitte links befindet sich ein Hieroglyphenzeichen, das eine Gans wiedergibt, und darunter das hieratische Zeichen für die Harpune (*w'*). Rechts ist ein nach rechts gewandter Vogel abgebildet, auf dessen Rücken sich ein Affe mit Sonnenscheibe auf dem Kopfe befindet. Diese Gruppe ist als Silhouette wiedergegeben. Teilweise unter dieser befindet sich ein grosses hieratisches Zeichen, wieder „Krokodil“. Rechts vor der Tiergruppe ist das hieratische Zeichen für *k* zweimal in verschiedener Richtung geschrieben.

Auf der Rückseite gibt es sehr schwache Spuren einer Zeichnung, die ein Menschengesicht vorgestellt haben könnte.

148. MM 14 130 — Kalkstein — 19,8×14,7 cm

Eine Kante ist gerade und abgeschliffen. Die übrigen sind unregelmässig. Die ursprüngliche Fläche für Inschrift und Bilder in schwarz und rot ist reduziert.

Auf der einen Seite befindet sich eine fragmentarische Liste dreier horizontaler Zeilen, die durch schwarze Linien abgeteilt sind. Hieroglyphische und andere Bildzeichen kommen darin vor, vermutlich handelt es sich um Namens- oder Kennzeichen verschiedener Arbeiter<sup>130</sup>. Gewisse Zeichen haben schwarze Punkte neben sich, andere rote und weitere beide Sorten. Unten befindet sich eine schwarze Zeichnung einer stilisierten Blume. Ausserdem kommen noch unbestimmbare Kritzeleien vor.

Auf der anderen Seite erscheint eine schwarze Zeichnung der Konturen eines Fingerringes.

149. MM 14 129 — Kalkstein — 8,2×8,8 cm

Scherbe mit unregelmässigen Kanten. Auf beiden Seiten Inschriften und Bilder in schwarz und rot. Die ursprüngliche Bildfläche ist reduziert.

Auf der einen Seite befindet sich eine fragmentarische hieratische Inschrift in schwarz. Ausserdem kommen Bilder verschiedener Möbel in rot — Stühle und Verwahrungskästen — vor sowie ein paar weitere nicht genau bestimmbare Zeichen.

Auf der Rückseite finden sich Spuren einer schwarzen Inschrift ganz oben. In rot sind ausserdem ein Gefäss und verschiedene Hieroglyphen wiedergegeben.

Es gibt einige Parallelen aus Deir el Medineh zu dieser Kategorie von Darstellungen<sup>130</sup>.

# Schlussbilanz

Die Ostrakonsammlung in Stockholm, die in dem obenstehenden Katalog präsentiert worden ist, vermittelt deutlich einen Eindruck davon, dass sie ihrer Struktur nach hauptsächlich derselben Art ist wie das Ostrakonmaterial, das Deir el Medineh als gesicherten Ursprungsort hat. In diesem Stockholmer Material sind die meisten der Gruppen von Bildern vertreten, die wir nicht nur in den Funden aus Deir el Medineh konstatierten, sondern auch in solchen Ostrakonsammlungen, deren Herkunft unsicher ist, die aber nach Deir el Medineh verwiesen werden, wie z.B. die Brüsseler Sammlung oder die thebanischen Ostraka in deutschen Museen, die nur eine allgemeine Provenienzangabe haben. Hier erscheinen Bilder, die um den König und um Götter zentriert sind, aber auch solche, die von profanen Handlungen geprägte Themata aufweisen mit der Bilderwelt der Privatgräber als Hintergrund. Hier findet man ausserdem die Bildgruppen, die ausserhalb der offizielleren Bildzyklen stehen, Wochenlaube und Tiergeschichte, die eigene spezielle Traditionen haben, jedoch nicht ohne Verbindung zu den früher genannten Bildgruppen. Es gibt allen Grund, die Künstler von Deir el Medineh als Urheber der Hauptmasse des Materials, das im Medelhavsmuseet vorliegt, anzusehen, was auch durch gelegentliche Inschriften mit Namen und Titeln bestätigt wird.

In dieser Untersuchung sind die thebanischen Ostraka nach topographischen Gesichtspunkten studiert worden. Ihre Fundplätze innerhalb von Theben bildeten die natürliche Einteilung für die verschiedenen Kapitel dieser Abhandlung. Schon in den Zusammenfassungen zu diesen sind die Bedeutung der verschiedenen Fundorte und ihre Verschiedenartigkeit hervorgehoben worden. Im Biban el Molouk, dem Tal der Könige, haben die Bilder eine enge

Verbindung zum Bildprogramm der Königsgräber und darüber hinaus auch einen starken Einschlag von Darstellungen, in denen die königliche Ikonographie vorherrscht, vor allem mit Motiven, die in den königlichen Totentempeln erscheinen können. Das Fehlen von Bildern profaneren Charakters ist offensichtlich; nur in geringem Masse existieren Verbindungen zu privaten Monumenten, Gräbern oder religiösen Gegenständen wie z.B. Stelen. Die Bilder der Wochenlaube und Tiergeschichte, die so oft in den Dörfern Deir el Medineh gefunden worden sind, fehlen praktisch vollständig.

Dennoch bilden die Funde aus dem Tal der Könige mit den Bildern aus dem Dorfe eine Einheit, wenn auch die erstgenannten nur gewisse Aspekte der Gesamtheit vertreten. Dieselbe Gruppe von Menschen hat die Darstellungen an beiden Plätzen geschaffen, nämlich die königlichen Künstler in Deir el Medineh, deren Hauptaufgabe die Arbeit an den Königsgräbern war. Doch findet sich zuhause im Dorfe ein bedeutend grösseres Motivreichtum in ihrem Schaffen; hier hatten sie Zeit, Themata, die ihnen nahelagen, auszuarbeiten, hier drängte sie der Arbeitsgang nicht auf bestimmte thematische Aufgaben zu konzentrieren. Im Dorfe haben diese Künstler eine reichhaltige künstlerische Produktion für den eigenen Gebrauch gewissermassen für die Befriedigung eigener ästhetischer oder anderer Bedürfnisse, hervorgebracht. Vor allem ist dies durch ihre Gräber um das Dorf herum bezeugt, aber auch durch unzählige religiöse Monumente, die von diesem Platze stammen. Zu dieser Einheit, die die Produktion in Deir el Medineh und im Tal der Könige bildet, gehören ohne Zweifel solche Ostrakongruppen wie z.B. die in Brüssel und Stockholm, wenn auch einzelne Ostraka vielleicht abweichen können. Es existiert eine Identität zwis-



chen der dominierenden Struktur des Deir el Medineh-Materials im ganzen und der dieser ihrer Herkunft nach nicht ganz sicher bestimmbar sammungen.

Als Produkte der Tätigkeit ganz anderer Künstlergruppen sollte man vorsichtshalber die Ostrakonfunde betrachten, die bei Tempeln und Privatgräbern gemacht wurden. Diese Bilder sind bedeutend einfacherer Art. Sie sind hauptsächlich entweder kleine Gedächtnisskizzen und „lay-outs“ wie bei Senmut's Grab oder auch Resultate einer mehr oder weniger selbstbewussten Kopierstätigkeit. Es wird offensichtlich, wenn man Funde und Fundorte betrachtet, dass nur die Gruppe von Deir el Medineh eine umfassende künstlerische Produktion mit Ostraka als Medium hervorgebracht hat. Man sieht dies auch deutlich bei einem Vergleich mit den äusserst wenigen und qualitativ schlechten Ostraka aus Amarna, woher wir sonst eine lebhafteste künstlerische Tätigkeit kennen. Im Dorf in der thebanischen Nekropole ist eine Elite von Künstlern für dieses einzigartige Material verantwortlich gewesen, für das es keine Entsprechung andernorts in Ägypten gibt.

Was eine Charakterbestimmung dieses Materials betrifft, so ist mehrmals auf die Ambivalenz, die es kennzeichnet, hingewiesen worden, die Schwierigkeit, exakt die Rolle zu definieren, die ein einzelnes Ostrakon im künstlerischen Prozess gespielt hat, ob es Skizze, Vorlage, Kopie, Übung oder ein fertiges Monument an sich gewesen ist, ob sein Motiv traditionell war oder ein zufällig bedingter Einfall, ein Augenblicksbild vielleicht oder eine Paraphrase eines bekannten Themas; der Möglichkeiten sind noch mehr. Was beachtet werden muss, ist, dass der Motivreichtum nur scheinbar ist. Reduziert man die vielen Variationen auf eine Liste der Grundthematika, wird dies offensichtlich. Eine Möglichkeit, mit der man rechnen muss, ist, dass das Ostrakonmaterial zum grossen Teil Skizzenmaterial von Personen, die sich noch in einem Lehrgang befinden, sein kann, dass es sich — wie bei dem Hauptanteil der hieratischen Ostraka — um Schulmaterial handelt. Gewiss gibt es viele Ausnahmen, z.B. Votivgaben, doch kann der Anteil an Schulschizzen relativ gross sein.

Eine berechnete Frage ist, ob nicht freihändiges Zeichnen, das freie Zeichnen frei gewählter Thematika, einen verhältnismässig kleinen Raum in der künstlerischen Ausbildung und Tätigkeit eingenommen hat, soweit es seinen Ursprung in zufälligen Inspirationen oder in einem von innen kommenden

Bedürfnis nach künstlerischem Ausdruck hatte. Was die ganze Zeit auffällig ist, wenn man sich mit dem Ostrakonmaterial beschäftigt, ist seine starke Bindung an feste Themata, an fixierte Bildelemente, die traditionell überliefert sind und die auf oft schematische Weise in bestimmten, festen Kombinationen zusammengefasst werden können. Dies gilt indessen für ägyptische Kunst überhaupt. Es ist interessant, dies auch für das Ostrakonmaterial festzustellen, das augenscheinlich mehr frei zu sein und eine andere Motivwelt als die, die man in überlieferten Monumenten gewöhnlich antrifft, zuzulassen scheint. Es ist wichtig, darauf hinzuweisen, dass die Abhängigkeit von festen Schemata, von kanonischen ikonographischen Traditionen auch für solche Motive gilt, die oft als freie Einfälle gedeutet worden sind, als Anzeichen für den Wunsch des Künstlers, die von Schemata geprägte Auftragskunst beiseitezulassen, mit der er hauptsächlich beschäftigt war, nämlich für die Motive, die zur Tiergeschichte gehören. Gewiss beinhaltet die Arbeit mit diesen Motiven ein Vergnügen für den Künstler, kann seine Beschäftigung mit diesen lustbetont sein, doch ist die Bindung an traditionelles Bildschaffen auch hier offensichtlich.

Die Einstellung des Künstlers zu seinen Themata überhaupt ist nicht leicht festzustellen. Die Beobachtungen, die man machen kann, sind indessen, was die ramesseidische Zeit angeht, ziemlich eindeutig. Sie zeigen in der Grabmalerei eine Diskrepanz zwischen zwei Motivwelten, zwischen religiös-mythologischem und profanem Inhalt, wobei der letzte, solange er noch vorkommt, deutlicher im Zentrum des Interesses des Künstlers steht, während der erste durch stereotypes, routinemässiges Schaffen gekennzeichnet sein kann. Möglicherweise müssen wir den Hintergrund dazu in dem Einfluss der Amarna-Kunst suchen. Durch die kurze Amarna-Zeit ist die ägyptische Kunst auf eine Weise stimuliert worden, die noch über mehr als hundert Jahre nach dieser Episode in der Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts nachwirkte. Das konventionelle und eher antiquarisch eingestellte Programm aber, das der thebanische Grabdekor seit dem 13. Jahrhundert erhält, bewirkt, dass individuelle Initiative und persönliches Gestaltungsvermögen des Künstlers, die sicher eine hervorragende Rolle zu Echnatons Zeit gespielt haben, erstickt werden; in gewisser Weise kann man die vielen profanen Motive und Darstellungsmöglichkeiten im Ostrakonmaterial, die, wie beobachtet worden ist, etwas „out of date“ sind, als eine Unterströmung betrachten,

in der noch etwas von der aus der Amarna-Zeit geerbten Freiheit weiterlebt. Der Umschwung jedoch, der z.B. in der Grabkunst der Ramessidenzeit stattfindet, ist ein Zeichen für eine durchgreifende geistige Veränderung in der Gesellschaft als Gesamtheit, von der die Künstler in Deir el Medineh natürlich nicht ausgeschlossen sind. Vielmehr finden sich bei diesen Menschen Zeichen einer religiösen Bindung, die ihr Leben ganz durchdrungen hat; sie müssen auf besondere Weise von ihrer Umgebung geprägt gewesen sein. Generation nach Generation dieser Künstler- und Handwerkerfamilien ist hier mitten in der grossen Totenstadt aufgewachsen, in der der Tod, das gewiss oft schmerzhafteste Ende dieses Lebens herrschte und in der Felsen und Berge Offenbarungsorte für unzählige Gottheiten waren, während ihr Inneres das unterirdische Reich selbst war, die nachtschwarze Region, die nur während kurzer Stunden von dem durchziehenden Sonnengott auf seiner nächtlichen Reise erhellt wurde. Von dieser starken und beherrschenden Partizipation an der religiösen Welt zeugen auch die Denkmäler Deir el Medinehs, von den Gräbern bis zu den unzähligen Stelen und Votivgaben, die nun über die Museen der ganzen Welt verstreut sind. Von ihr zeugt der Hauptanteil der Ostraka, die Produkte dieser Leute sind, die zielbewusst ihr Leben darauf verwandten, künstlerisch vor allem die

Formeln, die magischen Möglichkeiten, auszudrücken, die eine Existenz jenseits des Todes sichern konnten.

Die Art des Materials bringt es mit sich, dass eine erschöpfende Untersuchung und eine exakte Definition in vielen Fällen nicht durchgeführt werden können. Das Fehlen wesentlicher Vorarbeiten ikonographischer Art, die noch nicht unternommen werden können, da grosse Denkmälergruppen nicht zufriedenstellend oder gar nicht dokumentiert sind — z.B. die meisten der grossen Königsgräber, unzählige Privatgräber usw. — bewirkt, dass die Resultate einer Untersuchung wie der vorliegenden skizzenartiger Charakter haben. Man kann eine relative Positionsbestimmung gewinnen, man kann Grenzen ziehen, Einteilungen und Gruppierungen vornehmen, die unsere Kenntnisse verdeutlichen und das Material greifbarer machen können. Der Kern ist indessen der lebendige Mensch selbst, der schöpferische Mensch mit seinen ungeahnten Möglichkeiten — gewiss immer bedingt durch ästhetische, soziale und psychologische Faktoren, die ihn in bestimmte Traditionen, Umgebungen oder Stimmungen versetzen — dieser Mensch, der vor über 3000 Jahren in einer der ältesten Hochkulturen der Welt gewirkt hat, bleibt noch kennenzulernen.

# Anmerkungen

## Bildostraka aus dem Tal der Könige

Daressy 1919, 270 ff.

Ibidem, 272.

Ibidem, 273.

Daressy 1898, 235 ff.; D 25 184. Vgl. Carter-Gardiner 1917, 130 ff. In diesem Fall ist es verlockend, an eine Verwechslung zu denken, die bewirkte, dass Daressy sich irrte und dass die Scherbe wirklich aus Grab 6 käme. Die Gedanken an die Unordnung im Fundmaterial, die Daressy konstatiert (Daressy 1901, 112), ist dies nicht unwahrscheinlich.

Daressy 1901. Die Ostraka hier werden im folgenden irrtümlich mit D + Inventarnummer zitiert.

Ibidem, 112.

Vgl. Thomas 1966, 140 f.

Vgl. Černý 1927, 159 ff.

Dass Amenophis I. hiermit gemeint sei, dazu vgl. ibidem, 191.

Eine gewisse Einschränkung muss bei den Lesungen gemacht werden. Daressys Entzifferungen sind nicht immer richtig, seine Abbildungen aber für Korrekturen nicht immer ausreichend.

Lefebvre 1929, 177 ff. & 263 ff.; Kees 1953, 124; vgl. auch Bierbrier 1972, 195 ff.

Černý 1965, 11; vgl. Helck 1958, 333 ff.

Daressy 1919, 273.

Literatur zum Königsgräbertal: Porter—Moss 1964 (vgl. Hornung 1966, 117 ff.); Steindorff—Wolf 1936, 73 ff.; Rapow 1936, 12 ff.; Thomas 1966; beste Publikation des einzelnen Grabes: Piankoff—Rambova 1954.

Vgl. Peet 1930; Capart—Gardiner—Walle 1936, 169 ff.; Thomas 1966, 265 ff.

Dies geschah in der sog. „Royal Cache“, 1881 entdeckt, vgl. Porter—Moss 1964, 658 ff.

Vgl. nun die Zusammenfassung und Übersetzung in Hornung 1972; vgl. Piankoff 1940, 283 ff. Hauptpublikationen: Maystre—Piankoff 1939—62; Piankoff 1946; Piankoff 1953; Naville 1886; Hornung 1963—67, Piankoff 1942; Otto 1960; Piankoff 1951—52; Piankoff 1964.

<sup>18</sup> Mundöffnungsszenen kommen in Privatgräbern vor, ebenso ist das Totenbuch unerhört geläufig. Fragmente des Pfortenbuches erscheinen in Privatgräbern, vgl. Porter—Moss 1960, 473, und in einem Fall sogar das Amduat und die Re-Hymnen, vgl. Hornung 1961.

<sup>19</sup> Vor allem das Pfortenbuch, vgl. z.B. Porter—Moss 1964, 749 ff., Grab 44, 55 und 66.

<sup>20</sup> Porter—Moss 1964, 550 f.; Piankoff 1958, 247 ff. und Taf. 21. Die Nilpferdszene ist beschädigt, die Deutung jedoch unbestritten.

<sup>21</sup> Piankoff 1958, Taf. 21.

<sup>22</sup> Vgl. Säve-Söderbergh 1953.

<sup>23</sup> Piankoff 1958, 247, Anm. 3.

<sup>24</sup> Porter—Moss 1964, 519 ff.

<sup>25</sup> Vgl. für diese Szenen Thomas 1966, 126.

<sup>26</sup> Vgl. Jéquier 1921.

<sup>27</sup> Porter—Moss 1964, 523, Nr. (29).

<sup>28</sup> D 25 001, 25 006, 25 007, 25 009, 25 023. Beispiele dafür aus Königsgräbern existieren aus ramessidischer Zeit, z.B. im Grabe Ramses' III. (Champollion 1835—45, Taf. 255, 269) oder Ramses' VI. (Piankoff—Rambova 1954, Taf. 34). Dieses Motiv ist auch in Tempeln sehr häufig, vgl. z.B. Medinet Habu: Porter—Moss 1972, 500, (I). Zu einem Ostrakon im Louvre mit einem Bild Ramses' VII. in derselben Haltung, das eine direkte Verbindung zu seinem Grabe aufweist, vgl. Vandier d'Abbadie 1950, 134 ff. Die Haltung gehört nicht nur zu Darstellungen der Könige, sondern wird auch bei Bildern von Privatpersonen angewandt, vgl. eine Stele aus Deir el Medineh in Turin, Tosi—Roccati 1972, 50 022.

<sup>29</sup> D 25 017, 25 022, 25 172 (Fragment). Das Motiv ist oft in Königsgräbern belegt (z.B. Piankoff—Rambova 1954, Taf. 35, 62) und in Tempelreliefs (Karnak: Nims 1965, Taf. 59; Luxor: Champollion 1835—45, Taf. 343) wie auch auf privaten Stelen, auf denen der König als Vermittler des Opfers auftritt (aus Deir el Medineh z.B. Tosi—Roccati 1972, 50 030; 50 069 zeigt einen Privatmann in derselben Haltung).

<sup>30</sup> D 25 003, 25 012, 25 013, 25 021. Dies ist ein sehr häufiges Motiv in Königsgräbern (z.B. Haremhab: Hor-

nung 1971, passim; Sethos I.: Lange—Hirmer 1955, Taf. 202; Merenptah: Lefébure 1889, 44), in Tempeln (Medinet Habu: Porter—Moss 1972, 471, (55)—(57)) und auf Stelen (aus Deir el Medineh z.B. Černý 1958, Nr. 9 und 11).

<sup>88</sup> D 25 016. Das Motiv unterscheidet sich prinzipiell nicht von dem vorhergehenden. Beispiel aus Tempeln, Müller 1970, 143 (Karnak).

<sup>89</sup> D 25 019. Belege sowohl in Königsgräbern (Ramses VI.: Piankoff—Rambova 1954, Taf. 139; Ramses X.: Champollion 1835—45, Taf. 271) als auch in Tempeln (Karnak: Ibidem, Taf. 288; Luxor: Capart, 1925, 91).

<sup>90</sup> D 25 008. Beispiel aus einem Königsgrab: Piankoff—Rambova 1954, Taf. 65 (Ramses VI.).

<sup>91</sup> D 25 002. Dieses Bild ist jedoch beschädigt und kann möglicherweise den König mit Libation oder Weihrauchsopfer dargestellt haben, vgl. Forman—Kischkewitz 1971, Taf. 2. Beispiel aus Königsgräbern: Capart 1925, 314 (Ramses III.); Piankoff—Rambova 1954, Taf. 104, 105 (Ramses VI.).

<sup>92</sup> D 25 004. Beispiele aus Tempeln: Luxor: Champollion 1835—45, Taf. 346; Medinet Habu: Porter—Moss 1972, (73). Ein Ostrakon mit einer ähnlichen Darstellung fand B. Bruyère bei einer Raststation in der Nähe des Königsgräbertales (Bruyère 1939, 362, vgl. VA 2551). Dasselbe Motiv auch auf Stelen, z.B. Müller 1966, Taf. 49.

<sup>93</sup> D 25 015.

<sup>94</sup> Mehrmals in verschiedenen Fundgruppen von Bildostraka. In dem Künstlermaterial aus Amarna sind sie auch häufig, vgl. Peterson 1968, 21 ff. Dort wie in späterer Zeit auch in Rundskulptur, vgl. Edgar 1906.

<sup>95</sup> Černý 1958, Nr. 12.

<sup>96</sup> Aber auch weibliche Privatpersonen können oft auf ähnliche Weise mit Sistra vorkommen.

<sup>97</sup> Stadelmann 1967, 75.

<sup>98</sup> Z.B. Tosi—Roccati 1972, 50 067; Bruyère 1934, 86 f. (jetzt in Kairo Nr. 63 654); Budge 1909, 180 (Nr. 647, 650); Janssen 1950, 209 ff., vgl. Stadelmann 1967, 65 f.

<sup>99</sup> Kairo Nr. 62 016.

<sup>100</sup> Vgl. Kuentz 1929, 113 ff.

<sup>101</sup> Daressy 1916, 175 ff.; Hall 1925, Taf. 28.

<sup>102</sup> Budge 1909, 172 (Nr. 622; vgl. Porter—Moss 1964, 727); Tosi—Roccati 1972, 50 159 bis.

<sup>103</sup> Grab Nr. 292: Bruyère 1925, 68.

<sup>104</sup> D 25 012, 25 061, 25 126 (Merenptahs Grab: Lefébure 1889, 36; als dekoratives Element in Tempeln, vgl. Lepsius 1849—59, III, Bl. 249).

<sup>105</sup> Vgl. z.B. Piankoff—Rambova 1954, Textband Taf. 54; auch Hornung 1963—1967, I, (Vierte Stunde); im Totenbuch: Rundle Clark 1959, Taf. 12.

<sup>106</sup> Gardiner 1953, Taf. 1. Vgl. Helck 1955, 1 ff., besonders 10.

<sup>107</sup> Ramses VII.: Piankoff 1958 A, 145 f.; Ramses X: Lefébure 1889, 161.

<sup>108</sup> D 25 074, vgl. Bruyère 1929—30, 180 ff.

<sup>109</sup> Z.B. Piankoff—Rambova 1954, Taf. 150, 187, vgl. Bissing 1906, 112.

<sup>110</sup> D 25 019 verso. Vgl. die nahestehende Parallele an einer Fayencekachel aus Kantir, (Hayes 1937, Taf. 12). Ein ähnliches Exemplar wurde im Palast Amenophis' III in Malkata gefunden, (ibidem, 41).

<sup>111</sup> D 25 068. Vgl. Schäfer 1916, 43 Anm. 1; Lefébure 1886, Taf. 17, 20.

<sup>112</sup> Für das Bild Sokars, bei dem der Opfernde wahrscheinlich der König ist (das Bild ist beschädigt), vgl. das Grab Sethos' II (Porter—Moss 1964, 532), weiter Tempel von Deir el Bahri (Naville 1894—1908, II, Taf. 40), Kurnah (Porter—Moss 1972, 413, Room IX) und Medinet Habu (Porter—Moss 1972, 490).

<sup>113</sup> Vgl. z.B. Davies 1948, Taf. 30.

<sup>114</sup> D 25 030, vgl. Lefebvre 1929, 177 ff. & 263 ff.; Bissinger 1972, 195 ff.

<sup>115</sup> D 25 039. Vgl. die Reliefskizze Bruyère 1952, 141.

<sup>116</sup> Nr. 293: Porter—Moss 1960, 376.

<sup>117</sup> Vandier 1964, 638 ff.; Hermann 1963, 49 ff.; Foucart 1935, Taf. 7, 15 und 31.

<sup>118</sup> Wreszinski 1923, Taf. 419.

<sup>119</sup> Karnak, 8. Pylon, Porter—Moss 1972, 177.

<sup>120</sup> Lefebvre 1929, 181 f.

<sup>121</sup> Porter—Moss 1964, 520 f., (16); vgl. Hickmann 1953, 523 ff.

<sup>122</sup> Vgl. Porter—Moss 1960, 469; in Deir el Medineh gibt es ein schönes Beispiel im Grab Nr. 359 aus der 20. Dynastie: Lhote—Hassia 1954, Taf. 123. Vgl. weiter Vandier 1964, 365 ff. und Hickmann 1953, 309 ff. Auch auf Stelen können Harfenspieler vorkommen, z.B. Schaffner 1900, 43 ff.

<sup>123</sup> Vgl. Varille 1935, 153 ff., Lichtheim 1945, 178 ff. Wentz 1962, 118 ff., Simpson 1970, 49 ff.

<sup>124</sup> Z.B. Karnak: Chevrier 1938 Taf. 110; Vandier 1964, Abb. 244 (im Album).

<sup>125</sup> D 25 040. Doch spielt hier auch die Bilderwelt der Papyri hinein; dieses Bild ist stilistisch mit den Szenen des bekannten Turiner Papyrus verwandt, die die erotischen Abenteuer eines Priesters schildern.

<sup>126</sup> Vgl. Vandier d'Abbadie 1966, Abb. 4 und 7, aus Rechmires Grab (Davies 1943, II, Taf. 20) bzw. aus der Beit el Wali-Tempel. Die Verfasserin erwähnt das Ostrakon D 25 138, hat aber die Doppelflöte nicht bemerkt; für den Affen als Flötenspieler vgl. Brunner Traut 1968, 9 (5 c).

<sup>127</sup> Z.B. Grab Nr. 217: Davies 1927, Taf. 37.

<sup>128</sup> In den thebanischen Königsgräbern erscheinen Totengerichtsszenen im Anschluss an das „Pfortenbuch“ vgl. Piankoff 1958 B, 157 ff. & 285 ff. Diese sind nicht von der traditionellen Art, die in Privatgräbern und auf Papyri geläufig ist. Für eine traditionelle Szene im Zusammenhang mit einem Königsgrab vgl. Montet 1947, Taf. 43, (in Tanis).

<sup>129</sup> Vgl. Davies 1934, 241 ff.

Vgl. Porter—Moss 1964, 706 ff.  
Vgl. den Fund an Votivgaben bei der Raststation beim  
d der Könige, Davies 1934, 241 ff., Bruyère 1939,  
5 ff.  
Vgl. Wilke 1934, 56 ff.  
D 25 029; vgl. Lhote—Hassia 1954, 230, Abb. 9.  
D 25 096, 25 118, das letzte Bild mit der Bezeichnung  
šps n šw, vgl. Sethe 1929, 97 f.  
D 25 055; ein innerer Zusammenhang braucht nicht  
anzuliegen, obwohl Thoth-Ptah belegt ist, vgl. Sand-  
an-Holmberg 1946, 120 f. Diese Scherbe sollte viel-  
leicht in erster Linie als Skizze gedeutet werden.  
Die ganze Triade kommt im Grab Nr. 292 vor: Bruyère  
25, 68. Die Götter für sich erscheinen wiederholt in  
den thebanischen Privatgräbern. Vgl. auch Vandier d'Ab-  
badie 1946, 108.  
D 25 130, 25 131. Wenn keine Inschrift vorhanden ist,  
kann es sich auch um eine andere Schlangengottheit  
handeln.  
D 25 062 (Hapi) mit einer Skizze auf der Rückseite,  
die sich mit den Hörnern stossende Widder darstellt; viel-  
leicht ist dieses Nilgötterbild eine Votivgabe, die aus  
einer schon einmal verwendeten Scherbe gemacht wurde.  
Das Motiv der Nilgötter hier ist mit Darstellungen auf  
Bronzen identisch, vgl. Schäfer 1916, 43, Anm. 5.  
Vgl. Vandier 1954, 514 f.; Beispiel mit Königsbild und  
Namen des Stifters, Peterson 1966, 7 f.  
D 25 043; zur Identifikation der Frau als königlich vgl.  
die Kronen königlicher Frauen in Medinet Habu, Porter  
—Moss 1972, 486 f., (30).  
D 25 109, 25 110, 25 120; das letzte Bild war wahr-  
scheinlich mit *ir.n* + Namen versehen.  
Vgl. Hornung 1966 A.  
Vgl. Wolf 1957, 534, 570 ff., weiter Spiegelberg 1925,  
9 ff.  
Vgl. Hornung 1967, 69 ff.  
Porter—Moss 1972, 481 ff.  
Ibidem, 485 ff.  
Davies 1921, 1 ff.  
Vgl. Wilson 1931, 211 ff.  
Ein früh publiziertes grösseres Ostrakon im British  
Museum (Birch 1868, Taf. 1; Capart 1927, Taf. 71; vgl.  
Schäfer 1918) ohne bestimmte Provenienz, das eine  
Audienzszene zeigt, schliesst sich gut an diese Gruppe an.  
In ramessidischer König, der in einer Halle steht, emp-  
fängt zwei Würdenträger. Dieses Ostrakon bildet ein  
gutes Beispiel für das skizzenartige Planen eines Bild-  
zusammenhanges, in dem auch der Text eine wichtige  
Rolle spielt. Eine lobpreisende Inschrift erscheint als  
ohlbalanciertes Gegenstück zu der Darstellung. Diese  
Art der Art, die man in Zusammenhang mit Tempeln er-  
wartet, und es ist auch gezeigt worden, dass eine nahe  
Parallele in Medinet Habu existiert (Vandier d'Abbadie  
1946, 117; vgl. Porter—Moss 1972, 518 f., (188)—(189)).  
Ähnliche Szenen finden sich ausserdem bei Abu

Simbel (Porter—Moss 1951, 117, (9)—(10)). Die Frage, ob  
das Ostrakon die Kopie eines Tempelreliefs oder die  
Vorlage für ein solches ist, muss offen bleiben.  
<sup>99</sup> Vgl. Schweitzer 1948, bes. 51 f.; Vandier d'Abbadie  
1960, 83 ff.; allgemein auch de Wit 1951.  
<sup>100</sup> Schweitzer 1948, 51 f.  
<sup>101</sup> D 25 121; vgl. ein Ostrakon in Boston: Capart 1927,  
Taf. 70.  
<sup>102</sup> Z.B. Hölscher 1933, Taf. 23; Porter—Moss 1972, 481 f.  
<sup>103</sup> Einige Beispiele für verschiedene Monumentgruppen:  
*Schiffe*: Cooney 1965, 81; *Privatgräber*: Porter—Moss  
1960, 464 (die thebanischen Gräber Nr. 48, 57, 73, 78,  
120); *Stelen*: Bruyère 1952, Taf. 38; Bruyère 1952 A,  
62 ff.; Petrie 1909, Taf. 7 und 8; Lefebvre 1927, Taf. 2;  
*Skarabäus*: Matouk o.J., 194, Nr. 621.  
<sup>104</sup> Porter—Moss 1964, 523 (29).  
<sup>105</sup> Tosi—Roccati 1972, 50 121.  
<sup>106</sup> Vgl. Porter—Moss 1951, 23, (8)—(9) (Beit el Wali).  
<sup>107</sup> D 25 132. Vgl. das Bild in Forman—Kischkewitz 1971,  
Taf. 3; auch Vandier d'Abbadie 1940, 467 ff., Fakhry  
1943, 447 ff., bes. 484 und Taf. 47; Foucart 1935, Taf.  
13 und 15.  
<sup>108</sup> Vgl. Wilson 1931, 211 ff.  
<sup>109</sup> Vgl. Černý 1965, 5.  
<sup>110</sup> Porter—Moss 1972, 424. Vgl. Bietak 1972, 17 ff.  
<sup>111</sup> Černý 1965, 6 f.; Porter—Moss 1972, 454.  
<sup>112</sup> Porter—Moss 1972, 237 ff.  
<sup>113</sup> Vgl. Wolf 1957, 534.  
<sup>114</sup> Tutanchamuns Truhe: Porter—Moss 1964, 577 f.; Me-  
dinet Habu-Darstellungen: Porter—Moss 1972, 518.  
<sup>115</sup> D 25 086 (nicht abgebildet); vgl. auch das allegorische  
Motiv: der König tötet einen Löwen, Bildostrakon in  
New York (Hayes 1959, 390, Abb. 245).  
<sup>116</sup> Forman—Kischkewitz 1971, Taf. 7; vgl. Müller 1970,  
44.  
<sup>117</sup> D 25 125. Vgl. Forman—Kischkewitz 1971, Taf. 4.  
<sup>118</sup> Die Szene mit einer Gottesgemahlin, die mit Pfeil  
und Bogen auf bestimmte Ziele schießt, muss hier als  
periphere Parallele angeführt werden, Porter—Moss 1972,  
220 (Relief in Karnak), vgl. auch Michailidis 1947, 47 ff.,  
ferner auch Daressy 1910, 177 ff.  
<sup>119</sup> Forman—Kischkewitz, Text zu Taf. 4.  
<sup>120</sup> Volten 1962.  
<sup>121</sup> Vgl. Peterson 1968, 25; Samson 1972, 62; Brunner-  
Traut 1956, 127 und Taf. 46.  
<sup>122</sup> Samson 1972, 65; BT 42.  
<sup>123</sup> D 25 088. Vielleicht besteht ein Zusammenhang mit  
Jagdbildern, vgl. Schäfer 1916, 48, Anm. 4, auch Davies  
1917, 237.  
<sup>124</sup> D 25 106 (nur Kopf), 25 279. Vgl. Simpson 1972, Abb.  
5.  
<sup>125</sup> D 25 164. Vgl. allgemein Fischer 1968.  
<sup>126</sup> D 25 100. Vgl. allgemein Keimer 1940.  
<sup>127</sup> Vgl. Vandier 1964, 493 ff.  
<sup>128</sup> S. die Zusammenstellung bei Brunner-Traut 1956, 120

und die Zusammenfassung Helck—Otto 1972 ff., s.v. Baupläne.

<sup>122</sup> Birch 1868, Taf. 5.

<sup>123</sup> Loret 1899, 91 ff.

<sup>124</sup> Daressy 1902, 24 916.

<sup>125</sup> Loret 1899 A, 98 ff.

<sup>127</sup> Daressy 1902, 24 105—24 108. Diese Listen könnten den Umstand belegen, dass das Grab vielleicht nie vor dem Begräbnis ausgeräumt und gereinigt wurde, sie können aber natürlich auch aus den Händen späterer Besucher stammen.

<sup>128</sup> Carter 1903, 43 ff. bes. 45 f. und Taf. ohne Nr.; vgl. Capart 1927, Taf. 69.

<sup>129</sup> Carter 1905, 112 ff., bes. 118 und Taf. 3.

<sup>130</sup> Bruyère 1929—30, 14, Abb. 9; gehört vielleicht nicht zu Carters Funden.

<sup>131</sup> Capart 1927, Taf. 70.

<sup>132</sup> Carter 1923, 1 ff.

<sup>133</sup> Daressy 1922, 75 f.; Černý 1935, 25 764, auch Bruyère 1929—30, 3.

<sup>134</sup> Černý 1935, 25 768.

<sup>135</sup> Hayes 1959, 390 ff. auch 363 und 376.

<sup>136</sup> Ibidem, 376, Abb. 236. Vgl. Champollion 1835—45, Taf. 269: 4.

<sup>137</sup> Hayes 1959, 391, Abb. 246.

<sup>138</sup> Ibidem, 390, Abb. 245.

<sup>139</sup> Theben Nr. 143; Capart 1927, Taf. 68; Baud 1935, 168.

<sup>140</sup> Hayes 1959, 363, Abb. 229.

<sup>141</sup> Vandier d'Abbadie 1950, 134 ff.

<sup>142</sup> Bruyère 1936, 329 ff., bes. 338 ff.; Bruyère 1939, 345 ff.

<sup>143</sup> Davies 1934, 241 ff., vgl. Thomas 1966, 58.

<sup>144</sup> Davies 1934, 241 ff.

<sup>145</sup> Bruyère 1939, 363 f.

<sup>146</sup> Bruyère 1939, 362.

## Bildostraka aus Deir el Medineh

<sup>1</sup> Anthes 1943, 1 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Schäfer 1916, 25 f.

<sup>3</sup> Anthes 1943, 61.

<sup>4</sup> Schäfer 1916, 23 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Brunner-Traut 1956. Im folgenden bei Dokumenthinweisen BT + ihre Katalognummer zitiert.

<sup>6</sup> Vgl. Schäfer 1916, 46.

<sup>7</sup> Vgl. Vandier 1969, 250 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Vgl. Porter—Moss 1972, 548, Appendix X. A. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Brunner-Traut 1956, 105.

<sup>10</sup> Z.B. Bissing 1941, Taf. 8, 9, 10.

<sup>11</sup> Frankfort 1929, Taf. 13.

<sup>12</sup> Vandier 1964, 815 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Porter—Moss 1972, 516.

<sup>14</sup> Vgl. Spiegelberg 1925, 569 ff.

<sup>15</sup> Brunner-Traut 1956, 113.

<sup>16</sup> Capart 1931, Taf. 74.

<sup>17</sup> Porter—Moss 1964, 577 f.

<sup>18</sup> Spiegelberg 1925, 569 ff.; vgl. Wolf 1957, 534, 570 ff.

<sup>19</sup> Vandier 1964, 717 ff.

<sup>20</sup> Vgl. Wegner 1933, 80 ff.

<sup>21</sup> Brunner-Traut 1956, 102.

<sup>22</sup> Capart 1941, 190 ff.

<sup>23</sup> MM 14 056: unten Nr. 64.

<sup>24</sup> Vandier 1964, 376 ff. Vgl. unten S. 50 mit Anm. 271.

<sup>25</sup> Z.B. in Luxor aus Tutanchamuns Zeit, Porter—Moss 1972, 315.

<sup>26</sup> Vandier d'Abbadie 1938, 27 ff.

<sup>27</sup> Brunner-Traut 1956, 64.

<sup>28</sup> Schäfer 1916, 48 f.

<sup>29</sup> Vgl. Vandier 1964, 527 ff.

<sup>30</sup> Unten Nr. 65 ff.

<sup>31</sup> Vgl. Wilson 1931, 211 ff.; Vgl. Vandier d'Abbadie 1940, 467 ff.

<sup>32</sup> Vgl. Wallert 1962, 129 ff.

<sup>33</sup> Vgl. Wallert 1962, 82 ff.

<sup>34</sup> Brunner-Traut 1956, 74.

<sup>35</sup> Beispiele in Grab Nr. 55 (Davies 1941, Taf. 37), Nr. 48 (Säve-Söderbergh 1957, Taf. 30), Nr. 120 (Stevenson-Smith 1965, Taf. 107 B).

<sup>36</sup> Vgl. Porter—Moss 1972, 414, 507, 513.

<sup>37</sup> BT 17, 19, 22. Vgl. Foucart 1922, 143 ff.; Legrain 1916, 1 ff.; Foucart 1924, 1 ff.; Wolf 1931.

<sup>38</sup> Brunner-Traut 1956, 35.

<sup>39</sup> Aus den Deir el Medineh-Gräbern ist bei Porter—Moss 1960 nur ein Beispiel angeführt (Grab Nr. 10: Porter—Moss 1960, 21), wahrscheinlich stammt jedoch ein Relief fragment in Kairo aus einem Grab in Deir el Medineh (Foucart 1924, Taf. 11). Eine schöne Darstellung auf einer Stele aus Deir el Medineh ist vielleicht unvollendet (Hayes 1959, Abb. 244).

<sup>40</sup> Vgl. Brunner-Traut 1956, 45.

<sup>41</sup> Grab Nr. 2: Abbildungen bei Černý 1927, 187 und 189.

<sup>42</sup> Vgl. Spiegelberg 1918, 77 ff., auch Erman 1905, 128 ff.

<sup>43</sup> Grab Nr. 359: Bruyère 1933, Taf. 9.

<sup>44</sup> Z.B. Kairo 59 291: Aldred 1951, Nr. 138; Terrace—Fischer 1970, 129 ff.

<sup>45</sup> Vgl. Morenz 1960, 108 f.

<sup>46</sup> Naville 1894—1908, III, Taf. 69.

<sup>47</sup> Brunner-Traut 1956, 43.

<sup>48</sup> Brunner-Traut 1955, 11 ff.; Vandier d'Abbadie 1957, 21 ff., vgl. auch Schäfer 1916, 42 f.

<sup>49</sup> Bruyère 1923, 121 ff.

<sup>50</sup> Bruyère 1939, 58, 255 ff., 330.

<sup>51</sup> Brunner-Traut 1955, 11 ff.; Vandier d'Abbadie 1957, 21 ff.

<sup>52</sup> Vgl. das Stockholmer Ostrakon MM 14 006 (unten Nr. 27), wo wir das religiöse Motiv mit der stillenden Mutter haben.

<sup>53</sup> Vgl. Brunner 1964.

<sup>1</sup> Brunner-Traut 1956, 67 ff.; vgl. Brunner-Traut 1955, 0.  
<sup>2</sup> Vandier d'Abbadie 1938, 27 ff.  
<sup>3</sup> Vgl. Wallert 1962, 91 und 98, auch Keimer 1939, 42 ff.  
<sup>4</sup> Vandier d'Abbadie 1966, 194 ff.  
<sup>5</sup> Brunner-Traut 1956, 110.  
<sup>6</sup> Brunner-Traut 1954, 347 ff., Brunner-Traut 1955 A, 2 ff., Brunner-Traut 1956, 88 ff., Brunner-Traut 1965, Brunner-Traut 1965 A, 58 ff., Brunner-Traut 1968. Vgl. Vürfel 1953, 63 ff. und Curto o.J.  
<sup>7</sup> Vgl. die spätantiken Belege, Brunner-Traut 1955 A, Taf. 1 und Brunner-Traut 1965 A, 61.  
<sup>8</sup> Vgl. MM 14 070, unten Nr. 133.  
<sup>9</sup> Vgl. Brunner-Traut 1968, 16, Nr. 15 g.  
<sup>10</sup> Spiegelberg 1917. Vgl. unten im Katalog der Stockolmer Ostraka Nr. 47.  
<sup>11</sup> In dem Tempel von Dakke in Nubien, Porter—Moss 1951, 48.  
<sup>12</sup> S. unten Anm. 244—246.  
<sup>13</sup> Z.B. im Grab Nr. 69 (Menna): Lhote—Hassia 1954, Taf. 54.  
<sup>14</sup> Vgl. Tosi—Roccati 1972, 24.  
<sup>15</sup> Unter dem Titel *Ostraca figurati* in der Reihe *Collezione* vom Turiner Ägyptischen Museum angezeigt. Einige sind schon in anderen Zusammenhängen publiziert: Cartwright 1927, Taf. 73; Mekhitarian 1957, 59 ff.; Scamuzzi 1964, Taf. 54, 83, 84; Curto o.J., passim.  
<sup>16</sup> Bruyère 1924 ff. Vgl. auch Bruyère 1936, 329 ff.  
<sup>17</sup> Sauneron 1971, 290 ff., Sauneron 1971 A, 241 ff., Sauneron 1972, 198 ff.  
<sup>18</sup> Vgl. Bruyère 1939, 237 ff.; auch Tosi—Roccati 1972, 24 f.  
<sup>19</sup> Steindorff—Wolf 1936, 40, Anm. 1.  
<sup>20</sup> Vgl. Černý 1965, 17 ff., Tosi—Roccati 1972, 11 ff. Für die Identifizierung der Grabarbeiter und der Deir el Medineh-Bewohner, vgl. Černý 1929, 200 ff.  
<sup>21</sup> S. zuletzt Sauneron 1972, 204 f. Die erste von Černýs posthumen Arbeiten, „A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period“ (Kairo 1973) ist erst nach Manuskriptabschluss erschienen; sie vervollständigt natürlich diese Beschreibung, verändert sie aber im wesentlichen nicht. Eine kleinere Arbeit dieser Art, Tosi o.J.  
<sup>22</sup> Zur Geschichte von Deir el Medineh vgl. Bruyère 1939, 3 ff., auch Bruyère 1947, 415 ff. und Tosi—Roccati 1972, 11 ff.  
<sup>23</sup> Vgl. besonders Erman 1911, 1086 ff., Gunn 1916, 81 ff., Fecht 1965.  
<sup>24</sup> Allgemein Bruyère 1939, 84 ff., auch Černý 1927, 159 ff.  
<sup>25</sup> Bruyère 1927, 7 ff., vgl. Bruyère 1924, 59 und 66, Bruyère 1925, 30. Weiter Bruyère 1930, 3 ff., Bruyère 1934, 56 ff., Bruyère 1939, 36 ff., Bruyère 1948, 12 ff., Bruyère 1952 B, 17 ff.  
<sup>26</sup> Černý 1965, 22.  
<sup>27</sup> Vgl. Bruyère 1923, 121 ff., obwohl die kultische Be-

stimmung eines Ortes nicht immer gesichert werden kann.  
<sup>28</sup> Porter—Moss 1964, 706 ff. Bruyère 1929—1930, 5 ff.  
<sup>29</sup> Vgl. Bruyère 1929—1930, 59 ff.; Spiegel 1940, 257 ff., der für nicht unwahrscheinlich hält, dass Künstler in Deir el Medineh aus Memphis stammen könnten. Allgemein auch Sandman-Holmberg 1946.  
<sup>30</sup> Vgl. Bruyère 1952 A, 94 ff.  
<sup>31</sup> Vgl. Vandier d'Abbadie 1946, 108; Spiegelberg 1918 A, 64 ff.; für Anukis vgl. Valbelle 1972, 179 ff.  
<sup>32</sup> Bruyère 1929—1930.  
<sup>33</sup> Vgl. Broekhuis 1971.  
<sup>34</sup> Černý 1927, 159 ff., vgl. auch Wente 1963, 30 ff.  
<sup>35</sup> Bruyère 1948, 92 ff.  
<sup>36</sup> Bruyère 1930, 17 ff., Bruyère 1934, 62 f., Bruyère 1948, 74, 92 ff., 106, Bruyère 1952, 134, Bruyère 1952 B, 24.  
<sup>37</sup> Z.B. Bruyère 1934, 62 f.  
<sup>38</sup> Bruyère 1948, 72, 74, 122 f.  
<sup>39</sup> Bruyère 1939, 36 ff.  
<sup>40</sup> Bruyère 1930, 19 u. 25, Bruyère 1948, 72.  
<sup>41</sup> Bruyère 1930, 25, vgl. 66, Bruyère 1948, 72 u. 102, Bruyère 1952 B, 24.  
<sup>42</sup> Dies gilt auch für das Verhältnis zur Hausmalerei, insofern diese von religiösen Motiven geprägt sein konnte. Bruyère hat ein Motiv aus der Hausmalerei religiös gedeutet (Bruyère 1923, 121 ff., bes. 133) und von daher den Raum, in dem sich dieses Bild befand, ebenfalls. Eventuell kann auch das umgekehrte Verhältnis angenommen werden, dass nämlich Räume mit religiösen Bildern im Dorf, aber ohne von den Wohnungen deutlich abweichenden Plan Wohnhäuser sein könnten anstatt Votivkapellen. Es liegt nahe, das Vorhandensein religiöser Bilder in Privathäusern anzunehmen.  
<sup>43</sup> Allgemein vgl. Bruyère 1939, 50 ff.  
<sup>44</sup> Das Bild einer sitzenden Göttin stammt aus einem Privathaus in Deir el Ballas, Stevenson-Smith 1965, 158 f.  
<sup>45</sup> Frankfort 1929; Stevenson-Smith 1965, 156 ff.  
<sup>46</sup> Bruyère 1939, 40 ff.  
<sup>47</sup> Ibidem, 59 und 311.  
<sup>48</sup> Ibidem, 59 f. und 264. Vgl. Bruyère 1923, 121 ff. und Brunner-Traut 1955, 11 ff.  
<sup>49</sup> Bruyère 1939, 60, 264 und 273. Vgl. Vandier d'Abbadie 1938, 27 ff.  
<sup>50</sup> Bruyère 1939, 305.  
<sup>51</sup> Ibidem, 59 und 286.  
<sup>52</sup> Ibidem, 58, 255 ff., 330.  
<sup>53</sup> Ibidem, 58 und 276.  
<sup>54</sup> Ibidem, 321 f.  
<sup>55</sup> Bruyère 1923, 121 ff.  
<sup>56</sup> Brunner-Traut 1955, 11 ff.  
<sup>57</sup> Frankfort 1929, 31 ff. Vgl. Stevenson-Smith 1965, 203.  
<sup>58</sup> Frankfort 1929, 50 f.  
<sup>59</sup> Grab Nr. 55: Davies 1941.  
<sup>60</sup> Hornung 1971.  
<sup>61</sup> In Hornung 1971, 32 ff.  
<sup>62</sup> Für die Phasen der Arbeit vgl. auch Baud 1935.

- <sup>116</sup> Vgl. die Bibliographie in Simpson 1963, 63, Anm. 10.
- <sup>116</sup> S. die Zusammenstellung bei Brunner-Traut 1956, 120 und die Zusammenfassung Helck—Otto 1972 ff., s.v. Baupläne.
- <sup>117</sup> Vgl. Mackay 1921, 154 ff., Mackay 1917, 74 ff., Petrie 1926, 24 ff., Iversen 1960, 71 ff.
- <sup>118</sup> S. Gardiner 1916, bes. 115.
- <sup>119</sup> Gardiner 1947, I, 71\*.
- <sup>120</sup> Ibidem, I, 66\* f. Sie konnten vielleicht gewisse Skizzen und Vorarbeiten in Farbe machen, vgl. Baud 1935, 48.
- <sup>121</sup> Carter—Gardiner 1917, 134, 138, 139.
- <sup>122</sup> Steindorff—Wolf 1936, 33.
- <sup>123</sup> Wegner 1933, 40.
- <sup>124</sup> Ibidem, 46 ff.
- <sup>125</sup> Vgl. Jéquier 1911.
- <sup>126</sup> Nr. 217: Davies 1927.
- <sup>127</sup> Ibidem, 16.
- <sup>128</sup> Z.B. Grab Nr. 178: Wreszinski 1923, Taf. 74.
- <sup>129</sup> Wegner 1933, 153 f.
- <sup>130</sup> Tendenzen in diese Richtung, Baud 1935, 245 ff.
- <sup>131</sup> Weisheitslehre des Ani, zitiert bei Morenz 1960, 202.
- <sup>132</sup> Grab Nr. 111: Text in den Belegstellen zu Erman—Grapow 1926—1955, IV, 107, 3.
- <sup>133</sup> Nr. 8: Porter—Moss 1960, 16 ff.
- <sup>134</sup> Vgl. Peterson 1965, 13 ff.
- <sup>135</sup> Bruyère 1939, 7 f.
- <sup>136</sup> Z.B. Nr. 217: Davies 1927.
- <sup>137</sup> Stevenson-Smith 1965, 158 f.
- <sup>138</sup> Ibidem, 160 ff.
- <sup>139</sup> Ibidem, 168.
- <sup>140</sup> Frankfort 1929, Bissing 1941; auch Petrie 1894 und Peet—Woolley 1923, Taf. 36 ff.
- <sup>141</sup> Vgl. Davies 1921, 1 ff., auch Petrie 1894, Taf. 5.
- <sup>142</sup> Davies 1921, 1 ff.
- <sup>143</sup> Schott 1964, 80 f.
- <sup>144</sup> Eine Darstellung in einem Fürstengrab im Tal der Königinnen, die einen sitzenden Mann aus der königlichen Familie zeigt, ist nicht fern von der Familiendarstellung aus Amarna (Davies 1921, 1 ff.), Rachewiltz 1965, Taf. 21.
- <sup>145</sup> Hayes 1937; auch Müller 1961, 20 ff.
- <sup>146</sup> Vgl. Vandier d'Abbadie 1946, 1. Einige Ostraka in den französischen Publikationen sind ausserdem gekauft oder in anderer Weise erworben, stammen also nicht aus registrierten Grabungen.
- <sup>147</sup> Porter—Moss 1964, 691 f., Bruyère 1953, 17 ff.
- <sup>148</sup> Von den Bildostraka sind einige in Vandier d'Abbadie 1959 zu finden.
- <sup>149</sup> Im Grab 290 gefunden: Bruyère 1924, 33 f., Bruyère—Kuentz 1926, 54 und Taf. 15 u. 17; VA 2722.
- <sup>150</sup> Aus Grab 210: Bruyère 1928, 22 f.; VA 2335.
- <sup>151</sup> Bruyère 1933, 112 f.
- <sup>152</sup> Bruyère 1934, 38.
- <sup>153</sup> Bruyère 1937 A, 17 f. (neben einem Grab); Bruyère 1925, 95 f.
- <sup>154</sup> Bruyère 1937, 133.
- <sup>155</sup> Bruyère 1934, 33.
- <sup>156</sup> Z.B. Bruyère 1952 B, 65 f.
- <sup>157</sup> Bruyère 1939, 294 f.
- <sup>158</sup> Bruyère 1953, 116.
- <sup>159</sup> Hier könnten auch einige Bilder (VA 2729—2735) angeführt werden, die schon 1912 bei kleineren Untersuchungen im Tempelgebiet von Deir el Medineh gefunden wurden, vgl. Baraize 1914, 19 ff., bes. 41.
- <sup>160</sup> Bruyère 1930, 28 ff., 57 ff.
- <sup>161</sup> Wie für VA 2655—2658, die in einer Höhle zusammen gefunden sind, vgl. Vandier d'Abbadie 1946, 102; sie sind interessant auch deshalb, da sie die Variationsmöglichkeit der Votivbilder zeigen.
- <sup>162</sup> Besonders Bruyère 1952, 46 ff.
- <sup>163</sup> Vandier d'Abbadie 1936, 1937, 1946 bzw. 1959. Bei Dokumenthinweisen nur VA + ihre Inventarnummer zitiert.
- <sup>164</sup> Z.B. schon Schäfer 1916, 48.
- <sup>165</sup> Vgl. Vandier d'Abbadie 1946, 5; Schäfer 1916, 46.
- <sup>166</sup> Z.B. die Punt-Fürstin, BT 76.
- <sup>167</sup> Vandier d'Abbadie 1946, 117 ff.
- <sup>168</sup> VA 2001—2034, 2734—2742, Vandier d'Abbadie 1946, 6 ff.
- <sup>169</sup> Vandier d'Abbadie 1966, 194 ff. Dieselbe Ikonographie aber mit Menschen im Baum, Petrie 1890, Taf. 18. Vgl. auch Davies 1930, I, Taf. 14.
- <sup>170</sup> Vandier d'Abbadie 1946, 16.
- <sup>171</sup> VA 2035—2061, 2743—2751, Vandier d'Abbadie 1946, 16 ff.
- <sup>172</sup> Ibidem, 21.
- <sup>173</sup> Vandier d'Abbadie 1966, 143 ff. Vgl. z.B. Davies 1943, II, Taf. 17 und 19.
- <sup>174</sup> Vandier d'Abbadie 1946, 19.
- <sup>175</sup> Peet—Woolley 1923, Taf. 23, Nr. 2.
- <sup>176</sup> Vandier 1969, 250 ff.
- <sup>177</sup> VA 2062—2106, 2752—2758, Vandier d'Abbadie 1946, 22 ff.
- <sup>178</sup> Vgl. Vandier 1969, 250 ff.
- <sup>179</sup> Frankfort 1929, Taf. 13; Stevenson-Smith 1965, Taf. 122.
- <sup>180</sup> Vgl. Vandier d'Abbadie 1946, 42; Lacau 1909, Taf. 66 (Stele); Lythgoe 1927, 37 (Gefäss).
- <sup>181</sup> VA 2107—2156, 2759—2782, Vandier d'Abbadie 1946, 22 ff.
- <sup>182</sup> Vandier d'Abbadie 1946, 29 f.
- <sup>183</sup> Frankfort—Pendlebury 1933, Taf. 30, Nr. 1. Vgl. Frankfort 1927, Taf. 51, auch Pendlebury 1951, Taf. 62, Nr. 3.
- <sup>184</sup> VA 2157—2189, 2783—2796, Vandier d'Abbadie 1946, 31 ff.
- <sup>185</sup> Vandier 1964, 825 f.
- <sup>186</sup> Der fein gekleidete Grabherr als Wagenlenker ist ein seltenes Motiv; ein Beispiel bei Davies 1923, Taf. 18.



<sup>87</sup> Z.B. Lacau 1909, Taf. 21 (König im Wagen), Taf. 66 (Privatmann).  
<sup>88</sup> Brunner-Traut 1956, 102.  
<sup>89</sup> Davies 1903—1908, I, Taf. 20, II, Taf. 13, VI, Taf. 0. Für Tempelreliefs vgl. Roeder 1969, Taf. 67, Nr. 71—V. Auch später in ramessidischen Tempelreliefs mit Schlachtdarstellungen.  
<sup>90</sup> Capart 1941, 190 ff.  
<sup>91</sup> Grab Nr. 90: Baud 1935, 134 f.  
<sup>92</sup> Z.B. Wreszinski 1923, Taf. 191, 231, 260, 347, 424.  
<sup>93</sup> Z.B. die Truhe Tutanchamuns, Porter—Moss 1964, 77 f. Vgl. auch die Stele Lacau 1909, Taf. 21.  
<sup>94</sup> Bruyère 1953, Taf. 15.  
<sup>95</sup> Liebowitz 1967, 129 ff.  
<sup>96</sup> Z.B. Grab 155: Säve-Söderbergh 1957, Taf. 16.  
<sup>97</sup> Z.B. im Grab 74: Mekhitarian 1954, 99.  
<sup>98</sup> VA 2157; Hayes 1959, 393.  
<sup>99</sup> Bruyère 1926, 42; Nagel 1930, 185 ff., Nagel 1949, 29 ff.  
<sup>100</sup> Vgl. Kayser 1969, 192.  
<sup>101</sup> Leclant 1960, 1 ff. Vgl. Daressy 1905, 97 f. Jetzt auch Helck—Otto 1972 ff., s.v. Astarte.  
<sup>102</sup> Vgl. Stadelmann 1967, 101 ff., bes. 104.  
<sup>103</sup> Ibidem, 57.  
<sup>104</sup> Helck 1962, 490 ff., Helck 1966, 11.  
<sup>105</sup> Brunner-Traut 1956, 31.  
<sup>106</sup> Vgl. Schulman 1957, 263 ff.  
<sup>107</sup> VA 2190—2200, 2797—2808, Vandier d'Abbadie 1946, 18 ff. Einige wie VA 2191 können vielleicht Votive sein.  
<sup>108</sup> VA 2192. Vgl. Schäfer 1963, 256 ff.; Keimer 1954, 180, auch Ostrakon Kairo 69 408: Forman—Kischkewitz 1971, 19.  
<sup>109</sup> Vandier d'Abbadie 1946, 40 f., auch Varille 1938, Taf. 16.  
<sup>110</sup> Davies 1927, Taf. 34.  
<sup>111</sup> Vgl. Bruyère 1926, 36; Bruyère 1953, Taf. 13; Weigall 1906, 137.  
<sup>112</sup> VA 2201—2210, 2809—2813, Vandier d'Abbadie 1946, 14 ff.  
<sup>113</sup> Z.B. Grab 217: Davies 1927, Taf. 26 A. Vgl. auch Stockholm MM 14 095, unten Nr. 124.  
<sup>114</sup> Vgl. Brunner-Traut 1968, 16 f. (unter 16 d).  
<sup>115</sup> Im Grab Nr. 1 (Sennedjem) gibt es eine Szene, die dem Bild VA 2202 sehr ähnlich ist; hinter der Katze steht auch der Baum, Stevenson-Smith 1965, Taf. 165. Dies ist der heliopolitanische Kater.  
<sup>116</sup> Z.B. Bruyère 1933, Taf. 25.  
<sup>117</sup> Z.B. Bruyère 1937, 113.  
<sup>118</sup> Vandier 1964, 815 ff.  
<sup>119</sup> VA 2211—2217, 2814—2815, Vandier d'Abbadie 1946, 47 ff.  
<sup>120</sup> Z.B. Daressy 1902, Taf. 11. Auch als Textilornament: Crowfoot—Davies 1941, Taf. 20 und 22.  
<sup>121</sup> Vandier d'Abbadie 1946, 51 f.  
<sup>122</sup> VA 2715 (ohne Bild); früher in Capart 1931, Taf. 74

veröffentlicht. Die Beschreibung bei Vandier d'Abbadie nicht ganz korrekt.  
<sup>123</sup> VA 2218—2225, 2816—2817, Vandier d'Abbadie 1946, 52 f.  
<sup>124</sup> VA 2226—2242, 2818—2828, Vandier d'Abbadie 1946, 53 ff.  
<sup>125</sup> Hamza 1930, 46 ff.; Schweitzer 1948, Taf. 12; Bruyère 1952 A, 53 ff.  
<sup>126</sup> Vgl. Piankoff 1933, 166.  
<sup>127</sup> Parrot 1961, 152 f., (British Museum 127 412).  
<sup>128</sup> Z.B. Naville 1886, I, Taf. 30 (B.a.).  
<sup>129</sup> Eine auffallende Parallele ist ein Löwe in einem Grab im Tal der Königinnen aus der 20. Dynastie, Stevenson-Smith 1965, Taf. 150 A.  
<sup>130</sup> Brunner-Traut 1968, 15 (unter 13 b).  
<sup>131</sup> So bei Keimer 1956, 336 ff.  
<sup>132</sup> Keimer 1936, 85 ff. Vgl. jetzt Sauneron 1972 A, 160 ff.  
<sup>133</sup> Vgl. z.B. Mekhitarian 1954, 103.  
<sup>134</sup> Z.B. Davies 1943, II, Taf. 20; Davies—Gardiner 1926, Taf. 27.  
<sup>135</sup> Vandier d'Abbadie 1936 A, 117 ff. Eine Bronzefigur aus der Spätzeit kann vielleicht das Tier als in der Spätzeit heilig bezeugen, Roeder 1956, 384.  
<sup>136</sup> Vandier d'Abbadie 1946, 59 f.  
<sup>137</sup> VA 2243—2248, 2829—2831, Vandier d'Abbadie 1946, 64 ff.  
<sup>138</sup> Glanville 1926, Taf. 19; Krönig 1934, Taf. 23.  
<sup>139</sup> Vgl. auch Vandier d'Abbadie 1946, 67; Bruyère 1937 A, 88 f.; Dambach—Wallert 1966, 273 ff.  
<sup>140</sup> Z.B. Mekhitarian 1954, 88 f.  
<sup>141</sup> VA 2249—2255, 2256—2263, 2832—2843, Vandier d'Abbadie 1946, 67 f.  
<sup>142</sup> Vgl. für Theben Werbrouck 1934, 21 ff.  
<sup>143</sup> VA 2264—2334, 2844—2857. Vandier d'Abbadie 1946, 68 ff.  
<sup>144</sup> Zuletzt in Curto o.J., Abb. 12.  
<sup>145</sup> Ibidem, Abb. 10—11. Vgl. Brunner-Traut 1955 A, Taf. 3.  
<sup>146</sup> Zuletzt in Terrace—Fischer 1970, 149 ff. Auch Curto o.J. Abb. 13.  
<sup>147</sup> Vgl. Brunner-Traut 1968, 2 ff.  
<sup>148</sup> Brunner-Traut 1955 A, 30.  
<sup>149</sup> Z.B. die Tefnut-Geschichte, siehe unten im Katalog der Stockholmer Sammlung unter Nr. 47.  
<sup>150</sup> Z.B. Brunner-Traut 1954, 347 ff.  
<sup>151</sup> Brunner-Traut 1965 A, 61.  
<sup>152</sup> Ibidem.  
<sup>153</sup> Brunner-Traut 1955 A, Taf. 1.  
<sup>154</sup> Rossi—Pleyte 1869—1876, Taf. 145, Scamuzzi 1964, Taf. 90. Eine vollständige Veröffentlichung ist von J. A. Omlin zu erwarten.  
<sup>155</sup> Nach ihr können sie auch „*sans but pratique*“ gemacht worden sein, Vandier d'Abbadie 1946, 71.  
<sup>156</sup> Z.B. das Motiv mit dem Kater oder der Katze als Gänsehirtin oder mit dem Fuchs in dieser Rolle, vgl.

Brunner-Traut 1968, 12 (17 a und b).

<sup>287</sup> Vgl. z.B. Davies 1922—1923, I, Taf. 12.

<sup>288</sup> Vgl. Vandier d'Abbadie 1946, 70 f., auch Brunner-Traut 1955, 29 f.

<sup>289</sup> Terrace—Fischer 1970, 152.

<sup>290</sup> Forman—Kischkewitz 1971, 28 f.

<sup>291</sup> VA 2335—2389, 2858—2867, Vandier d'Abbadie 1946, 80 ff.

<sup>292</sup> VA 2390—2403, 2868—2880, Vandier d'Abbadie 1946, 85 ff.

<sup>293</sup> Vandier 1964, 364 ff.

<sup>294</sup> Z.B. Vandier d'Abbadie 1972, 16 f., Nr. 22.

<sup>295</sup> Vandier d'Abbadie 1938, 27 ff.

<sup>296</sup> VA 2868; vgl. Vandier d'Abbadie 1957, 21 ff.

<sup>297</sup> Scamuzzi 1964, Taf. 54.

<sup>298</sup> VA 2404—2445, 2881—2891, Vandier d'Abbadie 1946, 88 ff.

<sup>299</sup> VA 2446—2504, 2892—2926, Vandier d'Abbadie 1946, 90 ff.

<sup>300</sup> Vgl. Vandier d'Abbadie 1940, 467 ff., auch Wilson 1931, 211 ff.

<sup>301</sup> Z.B. Davies 1933, I, Taf. 44; Davies 1948, Taf. 11 und 12; Foucart 1935, Taf. 15; Fakhry 1943, Taf. 47. Vgl. das Bild auf einer Standarte im Grab Nr. 74: Mekhitarian 1954, 97.

<sup>302</sup> VA 2505—2550, 2927—2957, Vandier d'Abbadie 1946, 96 f.

<sup>303</sup> Z.B. Piankoff—Maystre 1939, Taf. 6.

<sup>304</sup> VA 2551—2567, 2958—2968, Vandier d'Abbadie 1946, 97 ff.

<sup>305</sup> Vgl. Peterson 1968, 21 ff.

<sup>306</sup> VA 2568—2592, 2969—2986, Vandier d'Abbadie 1946, 99 ff.

<sup>307</sup> Vandier d'Abbadie 1946, 101.

<sup>308</sup> Desroches-Noblecourt 1947, 185 ff.

<sup>309</sup> VA 2593—2665, 2987—3018, Vandier d'Abbadie 1946, 101 ff.

<sup>310</sup> VA 2655—2658; vgl. Vandier d'Abbadie 1946, 102.

<sup>311</sup> Vgl. Capart 1912, Taf. 20.

<sup>312</sup> VA 2666—2673, 3019—3027, Vandier d'Abbadie 1946, 113 f.

<sup>313</sup> Vgl. z.B. Bruyère 1928, 121.

<sup>314</sup> Edgar 1925, Taf. 1.

<sup>315</sup> Vandier d'Abbadie 1946, 113 f. Der Typ des Nachens auch in Privatgräbern, z.B. Davies 1927, Taf. 30.

<sup>316</sup> Z.B. Wallert 1967, 29 f.; Kayser 1969, Taf. 5; Vandier d'Abbadie 1972, Nr. 29.

<sup>317</sup> Bruyère 1939, 286. Vgl. auch die Szene in Neferhoteps Grab, Davies 1933, II, Taf. 3.

<sup>318</sup> VA 2674—2687, 3028—3034, Vandier d'Abbadie 1946, 114 f.

<sup>319</sup> Bruyère 1925, 97; Bruyère 1927, 53; Bruyère 1934, Taf. 6; Bruyère 1937, 112 f.

<sup>320</sup> Bruyère 1924, 42; Wreszinski 1923, Taf. 19, 66, 222. Ein anderes Beispiel ist die Darstellung von Bäumen beim

Teich, Wreszinski 1923, Taf. 3. Einzelne Palmen können oft einen dekorativen, fast monumentalen Charakter bekommen, Wreszinski 1923, Taf. 111.

<sup>321</sup> VA 2688—2703, 3035—3053, Vandier d'Abbadie 1946, 115 f.

<sup>322</sup> Schäfer 1916, 47 ff.; Davies 1917, 237.

<sup>323</sup> Vgl. Frankfort 1929, 1 f.

<sup>324</sup> Z.B. ist die Spannweite des Keramikdekors nicht ausreichend untersucht, vgl. die neueren Funde in Theben, Arnold 1972, 33 ff. und Taf. 17—20, auch früher oft unbeachtete Stücke wie ein Gefäß in Moskau, Hodjache 1971, Nr. 44—45.

<sup>325</sup> Hermann 1957, 112 ff.

<sup>326</sup> Capart 1941, 190 ff. Vgl. auch eine Kalksteinplatte in Hannover, Woldering 1958, Nr. 38.

<sup>327</sup> Capart 1927, Taf. 73; auch Keimer 1952, 59 ff. und Taf. 1.

<sup>328</sup> S. zuletzt Smith 1967, 24 ff., Smith 1970, 634 ff., Sauneron 1970, 36 ff.

<sup>329</sup> Z.B. Bissing 1914. Vgl. auch Ware 1927, 185 ff.

<sup>330</sup> Vgl. Hermann 1936, 150 ff. Für Künstlersignaturen, die jedoch manchmal vorkommen, vgl. Ware 1927, 185 ff.

<sup>331</sup> VA 2218, vgl. Vandier d'Abbadie 1946, 53.

<sup>332</sup> Vandier d'Abbadie 1946, 94 f.

<sup>333</sup> Bruyère 1926, 175; Bruyère 1933, 9 f.; Bruyère 1953, 62 ff., 99.

<sup>334</sup> Z.B. Varille 1940, 563 ff.

<sup>335</sup> Model für die Herstellung von Schmuckelementen und Amuletten sind in Deir el Medineh gefunden worden. Bruyère 1939, Taf. 25; Bruyère 1953, 52 f. Diese sind gewissermassen mit den Bildhauerarbeiten verwandt.

<sup>336</sup> Vgl. z.B. Robichon—Varille 1938, Taf. 9; Jaquet 1971, Taf. 42 ff.

<sup>337</sup> Vgl. Černý 1956, Taf. 4, 13, 18, 21, 27, 28, 31.

<sup>338</sup> Spiegelberg 1921.

<sup>339</sup> Ibidem, (60), (95).

<sup>340</sup> Daressy 1914, 43 ff.

<sup>341</sup> Emery 1938, Taf. 19, Nr. 431.

<sup>342</sup> Muhammed 1966, Taf. 98.

<sup>343</sup> Morgan 1903, 93 ff.

<sup>344</sup> Z.B. Bruyère 1929, 106 f., 117.

## Bildostrakonfunde aus Tempeln und Privatgräbern in Westtheben

<sup>1</sup> Spiegelberg 1898, bes. Taf. 48—49.

<sup>2</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>3</sup> Petrie 1897, Taf. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Vgl. Baud 1935, 229.

<sup>5</sup> Sämtliche in Naville 1907—1913, III, Taf. 22.

<sup>6</sup> Ibidem, I, 24 und III, 18.

<sup>7</sup> Ibidem, I, 24.

<sup>8</sup> Winlock 1923, 34 f.; Winlock 1942, 78 und Taf. 41.

<sup>9</sup> Hayes 1942. Die einzelnen Ostraka werden unten mit

+ Katalognummer zitiert.  
 Grab Nr. 71: Porter—Moss 1960, 139 ff.  
 Hayes 1942, 3.  
 Ibidem.  
 Ibidem, 6.  
 Grab Nr. 39: Porter—Moss 1960, 71 ff.; Davies 1922—23.  
 Davies 1922—1923, II, Taf. 79, D; I, 15.  
 Ibidem, II, Taf. 79, B.  
 Ibidem, II, Taf. 79 C. Vgl. das Stockholmer Ostrakon M 14 087, unten Nr. 33.  
 Ibidem, II, 63.  
 Grab Nr. 192: Porter—Moss 1960, 298 ff.; Fakhry 43, 447 ff.; Habachi 1958, 325 ff.  
 Habachi 1958, 334 f. und Taf. 6—7.  
 Ibidem, 335.  
 Muhammed 1966 A, 154 f. und Taf. 28.  
 Hayes 1959, 390 ff.  
 Winlock 1923, 20 f. und Abb. 16. Vgl. auch Winlock 42, 82 und Taf. 92.  
 Grab Nr. 312: Porter—Moss 1960, 387 f.  
 Hayes 1959, 392 f.  
 Vgl. Vandier d'Abbadie 1946, 37 f.

## Sammlungen von Bildostraka aus Theben

Davies 1917, 234 ff.  
 Davies 1927, 16.  
 Vgl. Brunner-Traut 1968, 15 (unter 14 b).  
 Jetzt im Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, vgl. Sewell 1968, 1.  
 Vgl. Leclant 1960, 45, Nr. 7 f.  
 Keimer 1941. Im folgenden werden die einzelnen Ostraka mit K + Katalognummer zitiert.  
 Vgl. z.B. Stevenson-Smith 1965, Taf. 150 A; VA 2818.  
 Champollion 1835—1845, Taf. 221, vgl. weiter Porter—Moss 1972, 518 ff.  
 Grab Nr. 72 und 143, vgl. Porter—Moss 1960.  
 Capart 1927, Taf. 68.  
 Vgl. Brunner-Traut 1968, 10 (unter 5 c).  
 Rossi—Pleyte 1869—1876, Taf. 145.  
 Vandier 1964, 639 ff.  
 Vgl. Brunner-Traut 1968, 17.  
 Werbrouck 1932, 106 ff.; Werbrouck 1934 A, 138 ff.; Werbrouck 1939, 41 ff.; Werbrouck 1953, 93 ff. (vgl. hier Anm. 1); eine Anzahl ist auch bei de Wit 1966, 27 ff. zu finden.  
 Werbrouck 1932, 108 f.  
 Werbrouck 1953, 93 f.  
 Ibidem, 98.  
 Werbrouck 1932, 107.  
 Ibidem, 107, hier „épisodes de la vie militaire“ genannt, vgl. auch Capart 1941, 190 ff.  
 Werbrouck 1953, 99.

<sup>22</sup> Ibidem, 100 ff.  
<sup>23</sup> Werbrouck 1932, 107.  
<sup>24</sup> Werbrouck 1953, 104.  
<sup>25</sup> Ibidem, 106.  
<sup>26</sup> Ibidem, 107.  
<sup>27</sup> Werbrouck 1939, 43.  
<sup>28</sup> Etwas unklar, Werbrouck 1953, 109.  
<sup>29</sup> Ibidem, 98.  
<sup>30</sup> Capart 1941, 190.  
<sup>31</sup> Werbrouck 1932, 108; Werbrouck 1953, 103.  
<sup>32</sup> Ibidem, 108.  
<sup>33</sup> Ibidem, 94.  
<sup>34</sup> Ibidem, 108 f.; Werbrouck 1934 A, 139.  
<sup>35</sup> Werbrouck 1934 A, 139; Werbrouck 1953, 110—111; Werbrouck 1932, 106; alle bei Brunner-Traut 1968.  
<sup>36</sup> Werbrouck 1953, 98.  
<sup>37</sup> Ibidem, 97.  
<sup>38</sup> Terrace—Fischer 1970, 125 f.  
<sup>39</sup> Peterson 1968, Taf. 9.  
<sup>40</sup> Davies 1921, 1 ff.  
<sup>41</sup> Rachewiltz 1965, Taf. 21.  
<sup>42</sup> Werbrouck 1939, 45.  
<sup>43</sup> Capart 1927, Taf. 70.  
<sup>44</sup> Werbrouck 1932, 109.  
<sup>45</sup> Werbrouck 1939, 42 ff.  
<sup>46</sup> Werbrouck 1953, 95.  
<sup>47</sup> Ibidem, 105 (die Göttin jedoch ohne Namen).  
<sup>48</sup> Ibidem, 105.  
<sup>49</sup> Ibidem, 101; vgl. Leclant 1960, Nr. 7 g.  
<sup>50</sup> Z.B. Pendlebury 1951, Taf. 70 ff.  
<sup>51</sup> Terrace—Fischer 1970, 125 f.  
<sup>52</sup> Petrie 1894, Taf. 1: 4.  
<sup>53</sup> Frankfort—Pendlebury 1933, Taf. 35: 2.  
<sup>54</sup> Ibidem, Taf. 35: 2.  
<sup>55</sup> Pendlebury 1951, Taf. 70: 2.  
<sup>56</sup> Ibidem, Taf. 72: 4.  
<sup>57</sup> Ibidem, Taf. 78: 8.  
<sup>58</sup> Ibidem, Taf. 74: 3.  
<sup>59</sup> Samson 1972, 65.  
<sup>60</sup> Peet—Woolley 1923, Taf. 12: 2.  
<sup>61</sup> Frankfort—Pendlebury 1933, Taf. 35: 3, vielleicht auch 35: 1.  
<sup>62</sup> Ibidem, Taf. 35: 2.

## Die Gayer-Anderson-Sammlung von Bildostraka in Stockholm

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. Gayer-Anderson 1948.  
<sup>2</sup> Allam 1963, 66.  
<sup>3</sup> Vgl. Bleeker 1973, 51 ff.  
<sup>4</sup> Vgl. z.B. Lepsius 1849—1859, 3, Taf. 215; Sandman-Holmberg 1946, 16 und Abb. 18.  
<sup>5</sup> Vgl. Schäfer 1914, 76 f.  
<sup>6</sup> Z.B. D 25 121; Capart 1927, Taf. 70; VA 2578; Wer-

brouck 1939, 45.

<sup>7</sup> Hayes 1959, 390, Abb. 245.

<sup>8</sup> Wolf 1926, 21, Anm. 3.

<sup>9</sup> Vandier 1964, 678 f.

<sup>10</sup> Smith 1970, 654 f.

<sup>11</sup> Borchardt 1931, 29 ff.

<sup>12</sup> Vgl. zum Thema Brunner-Traut 1956, 44 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Černý 1927, 159 ff.

<sup>14</sup> Zibelius 1972, 197 und VII.

<sup>15</sup> Vgl. Cooney 1965, 6 f.

<sup>16</sup> Vandier 1964, 639 ff.; Hölscher 1931, 43 ff.; vgl. auch Hermann 1963, 49 ff.

<sup>17</sup> Vgl. Vandier 1964, 660 ff.

<sup>18</sup> Die Sonnenscheibe kommt auch in Darstellungen des Königs vor, wo dieser mit Falkenkopf auftritt, Bonnet 1952, Abb. 97.

<sup>19</sup> Vgl. Kees 1912, 125 ff.

<sup>20</sup> Z.B. in Ramoses Grab (Nr. 55): Davies 1941, Taf. 33.

<sup>21</sup> Horus kann Löwengestalt annehmen, Kees 1942, 82.

<sup>22</sup> Immer wird der Wildstier geopfert; zahme Stiere sind nur Substitut, vgl. ibidem, 77.

<sup>23</sup> Daressy 1901 A, 10.

<sup>24</sup> Frankfort 1954, 12.

<sup>25</sup> Faulkner 1969, 39 (§ 128).

<sup>26</sup> Z.B. Černý 1958, Nr. 4 und 5; Hall 1925, Taf. 37.

<sup>27</sup> Tosi—Roccati 1972, 50 046.

<sup>28</sup> Vgl. Morenz—Schubert 1954, 42 ff.

<sup>29</sup> Vgl. Allam 1963, 113 ff.; Bleeker 1973, 65 f.

<sup>30</sup> Tosi—Roccati 1972, 50 025; auch Černý 1958, Nr. 13.

<sup>31</sup> Bruyère 1926, 87; Wreszinski 1923, Taf. 198; Säve-Söderbergh 1957, Taf. 42.

<sup>32</sup> Vgl. zuletzt Valbelle 1972, 179 ff., bes. 193 f.

<sup>33</sup> Daressy 1919 A, 77; VA 2729.

<sup>34</sup> Kees 1941, 25; Gardiner 1947, II, 9\* f.

<sup>35</sup> Diese Schreibung ist abnormal, aber nicht einzigartig.

<sup>36</sup> Vgl. zuletzt Leclant in Helck—Otto 1972 ff. s.v. Astarte; auch Helck 1971, 213 ff.

<sup>37</sup> Sethe 1923, 197 ff.

<sup>38</sup> Allam 1963, 67; Kees 1941, 357; Otto 1952, 51 f.; Bleeker 1973, 30 ff.

<sup>39</sup> Bleeker 1973, 42 ff.

<sup>40</sup> Allam 1963, 118 f.

<sup>41</sup> Vgl. Bleeker 1973, 60 f.

<sup>42</sup> Z.B. Bruyère 1924, Taf. 12; Hall 1925, Taf. 32; Tosi—Roccati 1972, 50 204.

<sup>43</sup> Bruyère 1929—1930.

<sup>44</sup> VA 2653—2665, 3011—3018; BT 86—87; Mekhitarian 1957, 61 f. (Turin). Siehe auch Parallelenverzeichnis.

<sup>45</sup> Evers 1929, II, 24.

<sup>46</sup> Keimer 1940.

<sup>47</sup> Vgl. z.B. Schott 1965, Taf. 2—4. Auch oben 112, Anm. 48.

<sup>48</sup> Z.B. Tosi—Roccati 1972, 50 061.

<sup>49</sup> Vgl. Sethe o.J., Nr. 539 a.

<sup>50</sup> Brunner 1958, 5 ff.; Munro 1962, 48 ff.

<sup>51</sup> Z.B. Maystre 1936, Taf. 4; Bruyère 1959, Taf. 20.

<sup>52</sup> Vgl. Junker 1911; Junker 1917.

<sup>53</sup> Leiden I 384: Spiegelberg 1917; vgl. Helck—Otto 1972 ff. s.v. Augensagen.

<sup>54</sup> Spiegelberg 1917, 7 f.; Brunner-Traut 1956, 91 f.; Brunner-Traut 1965, 120 ff.

<sup>55</sup> Roeder 1930, II, Taf. 115; Spiegelberg 1917, 6.

<sup>56</sup> Brunner-Traut 1956, 92.

<sup>57</sup> Vgl. Kees 1941, 9 ff.

<sup>58</sup> Wenn die Farbe der Katze ursprünglich grün war, was nicht ganz klar festzustellen ist, könnte der Mak vielleicht Farbensymbolik angewandt haben. Es gibt Beispiele dafür, dass die wilden bzw. die milden Aspekte einer Göttin in rot bzw. grün wiedergegeben wurden. Kees 1943, 425 ff., 433 f.

<sup>59</sup> Vgl. Kees 1931, 56 ff.

<sup>60</sup> Vgl. den Text einer Statuenbasis, Brunner-Traut 1956, 92.

<sup>61</sup> Gardiner 1905, 20 f.; Kees 1941, 353.

<sup>62</sup> Keimer 1941, 15 und Taf. 12 (Nr. 39).

<sup>63</sup> Brieflich hat J. Černý die Ansicht vertreten: „I believe we must read *m3't*, not *h3p* for such name does not exist among DeM people. The name was not filled in.“

<sup>64</sup> Z.B. Bruyère 1925 A, Taf. 1; Tosi—Roccati 1972, 50 070.

<sup>65</sup> Brunner-Traut 1968, 10 f. (unter 5 m: Inventarnummer dort falsch).

<sup>66</sup> Eine identische Darstellung, vgl. Bruyère 1939, 318, auch Taf. 23; auch Tosi—Roccati 50 013—50 015.

<sup>67</sup> Vgl. BT 17. Es kann sich auch um ein kleineres Gebäude zwischen der Sphinx und dem Naos handeln, vgl. Foucart 1935, Taf. 6.

<sup>68</sup> Vgl. die Beschreibung eines Amunsschiffes in Pap Harris, z.B. Breasted 1906—1907, IV, § 209.

<sup>69</sup> Vgl. vor allem Wolf 1931.

<sup>70</sup> Um ein Seil kann es sich oft handeln, z.B. im Pfortenbuch, Piankoff—Rambova, 1954, 174, Abb. 47.

<sup>71</sup> Vgl. z.B. Hornung 1968, Taf. 6.

<sup>72</sup> Daressy 1902, Taf. 55. Vgl. auch das Ostrakon mit der Darstellung einer Grablegung, das stilistisch verwandt ist, Gardiner 1913, 229.

<sup>73</sup> Z.B. im Grab Nr. 278: Baud 1935, Taf. 32.

<sup>74</sup> Davies 1930, I, Taf. 58.

<sup>75</sup> Borchardt 1932, 261; Davies 1917, 239.

<sup>76</sup> Vgl. Brunner-Traut 1956, 59, Anm. 5; D 25 132; Werbrouck 1953, 99.

<sup>77</sup> Vgl. vor allem Wilsdorf 1939.

<sup>78</sup> Vgl. Vandier 1964, 527 ff., auch Wilsdorf 1939. Eine Darstellung in Amarna ist von der informelleren Art wie das Stockholmer Bild, Davies 1903—1908, II, Taf. 38.

<sup>79</sup> Z.B. Wreszinski 1923, Taf. 11. Vgl. die Scherbe D 25 139.

<sup>80</sup> Grab Nr. 113, vgl. Brunner-Traut 1956, 65, Abb. 20.

<sup>81</sup> Davies 1933, I, Taf. 39.

<sup>82</sup> Davies 1925, Taf. 23.

Leimer 1956, 336 ff. Vgl. auch Helck—Otto 1972 ff.,  
 Bär.  
 Bonnet 1926, 207 f.; Wolf 1926, 97.  
 Schulman 1957, 264.  
 B. Cooney 1965; 52 f.; Roeder 1969, Taf. 67, (671 V).  
 Nagel 1930, 185 ff.; Nagel 1949, 129 ff.  
 ap. d'Orb. 15,2: Möller 1910, II, 16.  
 A 2071; auch Hayes 1959, 392. Vgl. oben Nr. 22.  
 gl. Klebs 1934, 67.  
 Frankfurt 1929, Taf. 13.  
 A 2072; Vandier d'Abbadie 1946, 29.  
 Abgebildet in Laurent-Täckholm 1951, 212 (mit  
 dem Bildtext).  
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 Erwähnt bei Brunner-Traut 1968, 9 f. (unter 5 c).  
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 Ibidem, 10 (unter 5 c).  
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 osi—Roccati 1972, 50 053.  
 Erwähnt bei Brunner-Traut 1968, 7 (unter 1 c).  
 Brunner-Traut 1954, 347 ff.; Brunner-Traut 1968,  
 im.  
 BT 97; vgl. Curto o.J., Abb. 10.  
 Schäfer 1916, Abb. 5.  
 Erwähnt bei Brunner-Traut 1968, 8 (unter 3 g), 9 f  
 ar 5 b).  
 Brunner-Traut 1955 A, 20 f.; Brunner-Traut 1968, 7 f.  
 Ibidem, 9 f.  
 Brunner-Traut 1965 A, 64.

<sup>108</sup> Abgebildet in Lugin 1937, 195 und bei Brunner-Traut  
 1968, Abb. 35, vgl. S. 12 (unter 6 c).  
<sup>109</sup> Vandier 1964, 515 f.; Helck—Otto 1972 ff., s.v. Ball-  
 spiel.  
<sup>110</sup> Erwähnt bei Brunner-Traut 1968, 12 (unter 7 a).  
<sup>111</sup> Ibidem, 12.  
<sup>112</sup> Nr. 79: Wreszinski 1923, Taf. 255.  
<sup>113</sup> Nr. 39: Davies 1922—1923, I, Taf. 12.  
<sup>114</sup> Nr. 127: Wreszinski 1923, Taf. 345.  
<sup>115</sup> Curto o.J. Abb. 12.  
<sup>116</sup> Erwähnt bei Brunner-Traut 1968, 14 (unter 12 a, 3).  
<sup>117</sup> Brunner-Traut 1968, Abb. 9.  
<sup>118</sup> Ibidem, Abb. 11.  
<sup>119</sup> Brunner-Traut 1955 A, 24; Brunner-Traut 1965, 58;  
 Brunner-Traut 1968, 14.  
<sup>120</sup> Davies 1917, Taf. 50, 1.  
<sup>121</sup> Erwähnt bei Brunner-Traut 1968, 16 (unter 15 d).  
<sup>122</sup> Siehe Porter—Moss 1964, 683, 710, 727, 729, 734.  
<sup>123</sup> Uschebti jedoch selten: z.B. Naville 1912, Taf. 1.  
<sup>124</sup> Morenz 1964, Faksimile, rechts.  
<sup>125</sup> Vgl. Bruyère 1939, 252.  
<sup>126</sup> Werkstatt für funeräre Ausrüstung, Davies—Gardiner  
 1915, 73.  
<sup>127</sup> Ankleideraum des Königs, Blackman 1918, 148 ff.  
<sup>128</sup> Hier undeutlich, aber klar Gardiner 1964, F 9.  
<sup>129</sup> Vgl. Daressy 1901, 81 ff.; Daressy 1902, 64 f.; Bruyère  
 1953, Taf. 18. Vgl. Roeder 1969, Taf. 219.  
<sup>130</sup> Bruyère 1937 A, 62; auch BT 153.

# Zitierte Literatur

Für Hinweise auf einzelne Ostraka wurden zusammen mit Inventar- oder Katalognummern einige Sigel verwandt, die sich auf folgende Werke beziehen:

BT: Brunner-Traut 1956.

D: Daressy 1901.

H: Hayes 1942.

K: Keimer 1941.

VA: Vandier d'Abbadie 1936, 1937, 1946 und 1959.

## Abkürzungen im Literaturverzeichnis

AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung
ASAE	Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte
BIE	Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte
BIFAO	Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale
BMMA	Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art
CdE	Chronique d'Égypte
FIFAO	Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale
JARCE	Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt
JEA	The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
JEOL	Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap „Ex Oriente Lux“
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
MÄS	Münchener Ägyptologische Studien
MDAIK	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo (Band 1—13: Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts für Ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo)
Mem. Miss.	Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire
MIFAO	Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire

MIO	Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientalische Forschung
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
RdE	Revue d'égyptologie
Rec. Trav.	Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes pour servir de bulletin à la Mission française au Caire
ZÄS	Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

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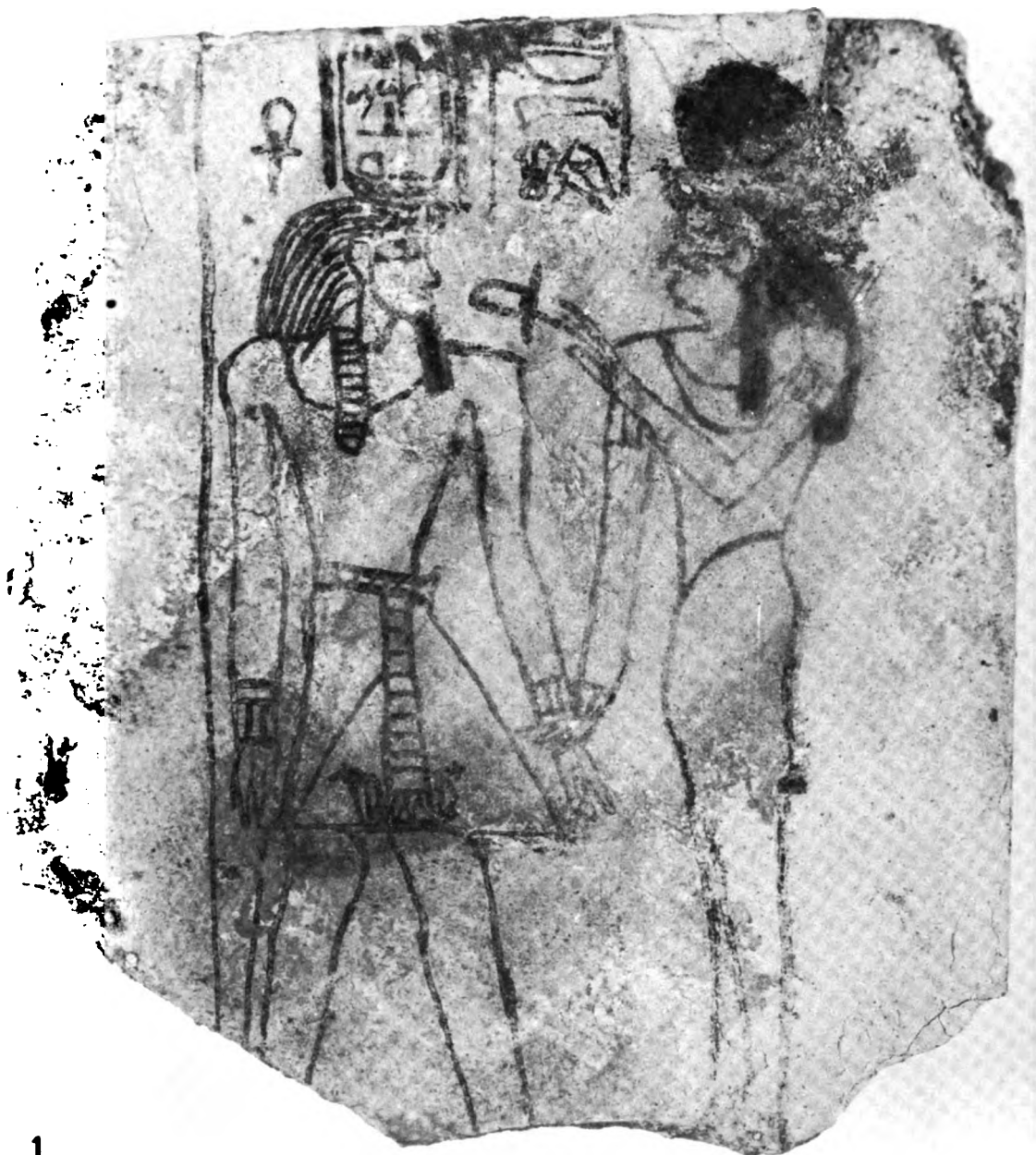
Allgemeine thematische Parallelen, die bei D, VA und BT leicht zu finden sind, sind meistens nicht besonders erwähnt.

<i>Katalognummer:</i>	<i>Tafelnummer:</i>	<i>Wichtigere Parallelen:</i>
1	1	D 25 108
2	2	D 25 107
3	2	Brüssel E 7359 (Werbrouck 1939, 45); Boston (Capart 1927, Taf. 70); D 25 121; ferner VA 2560, 2578
4	3	
5	3	VA 2958; BT 28—29
6	4 & 5	
7	10	
8	6	Vgl. stilistisch BT 32
9	11	Vgl. D 25 072
10	6	Stilistisch vgl. etwa D 25 159; K 26
11	7	K 34
12	8	
13	9	
14	9	
15	10	
16	10	VA 2938
17	9	
18	12	
19	13	Vgl. VA 2469 ff., auch 2893
20	14	Vgl. BT 26
21	15	
22	15	
23	16	
24	16	
25	16	
26	17	D 25 043
27	17	
28	18	VA 2622, vgl. D 25 071
29	19	
30	20	
31	18	Vgl. Leclant 1960, 40 ff.
32	18	
33	21	
34	21	

<i>Katalognummer:</i>	<i>Tafelnummer:</i>	<i>Wichtigere Parallelen:</i>
35	22	VA 2731, 3013; BT 87; Brüssel E 6573 (Werbrouck 1953, 105); Turin 111 und 127 (Mekhitarian 1957, 61 f.)
36	23	
37	23	Vgl. BT 88
38	22	
39	24	VA 2816
40	24 & 25	
41	25	
42	26	
43	26	
44	26	
45	27	VA 2998
46	27	
47	28	VA 2723
48	29	
49	28	
50	30	Vgl. K 38
51	31	D 25 041
52	31	D 25 031, 25 032
53	30	
54	32	
55	32	
56	33	
57	34	H 7; Davies 1922—1923 II, Taf. 79 B
58	34	
59	35	
60	35	
61	36	
62	37	
63	37	
64	38	BT 51
65	39	Brüssel E 6770 (Werbrouck 1953, 99); D 25 132; BT 52
66	39	Siehe Nr. 65
67	39	VA 2450
68	38	
69	40	
70	40	
71	42	
72	41	Vgl. BT 52
73	40	
74	41	VA 2524
75	41	
76	42	
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79	43	D 25 272; VA 2931
80	43	
81	45	
82	45	Vgl. VA 2169
83	46	
84	46	
85	46	
86	47	VA 2070; K 1; BT 110
87	49	

<i>Catalognummer:</i>	<i>Tafelnummer:</i>	<i>Wichtigere Parallelen:</i>
88	47	VA 2063—2064; Brüssel E 6771 (Werbrouck 1953, 101)
89	48	VA 2067, 2076; Brüssel E 6314 (Werbrouck 1953, 100); BT 106—108
90	49	VA 2069, 2074, 2081, 2083, 2755; Brüssel E 6314 (Werbrouck 1953, 100); BT 106, 107
91	48	
92	49	
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94	50	
95	50	Brüssel E 6435 (Werbrouck 1953, 102); VA 2071; ferner typologisch New York: Hayes 1959, 392
96	51	
97	51	Brüssel E 6434 (Werbrouck 1953, 107)
98	53	
99	52	Brüssel E 6372 (Werbrouck 1953, 102)
00	53	Vgl. VA 2072
01	54	Stilistisch VA 2116
02	52	
03	55	VA 2035 ff., 2041; Davies 1917, Taf. 51: 3; Brüssel E 6437, stilistisch auch E 6377 (Werbrouck 1953, 103 und 1932, 108)
04	55	VA 2035 ff., 2044, 2047; BT 120
05	56	VA 2001 ff.; BT 122
06	55	VA 2001 ff.; BT 122
07	55	
08	59	Vgl. VA 2274 ff.
09	57	VA 2291; K 12
10	58	
11	59	VA 2846
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24	64	VA 2809—2810 (Katze)
25	64	VA 2674
26	65	Vgl. VA 2304, 2305; BT 97
27	66	Stilistisch VA 2309; BT 95; Brüssel E 6727 und 6442 (Werbrouck 1934, 139 und 1953, 110)
28	66	
29	67	VA 2264 ff.
30	67	Chicago 13 951 (Brunner-Traut 1968, Abb. 9); Kairo 29/12/21/2 (ibidem Abb. 11)
31	68	
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33	70	
34	70	
35	71	VA 2341; BT 70
36	72	Vgl. VA 2335 ff.

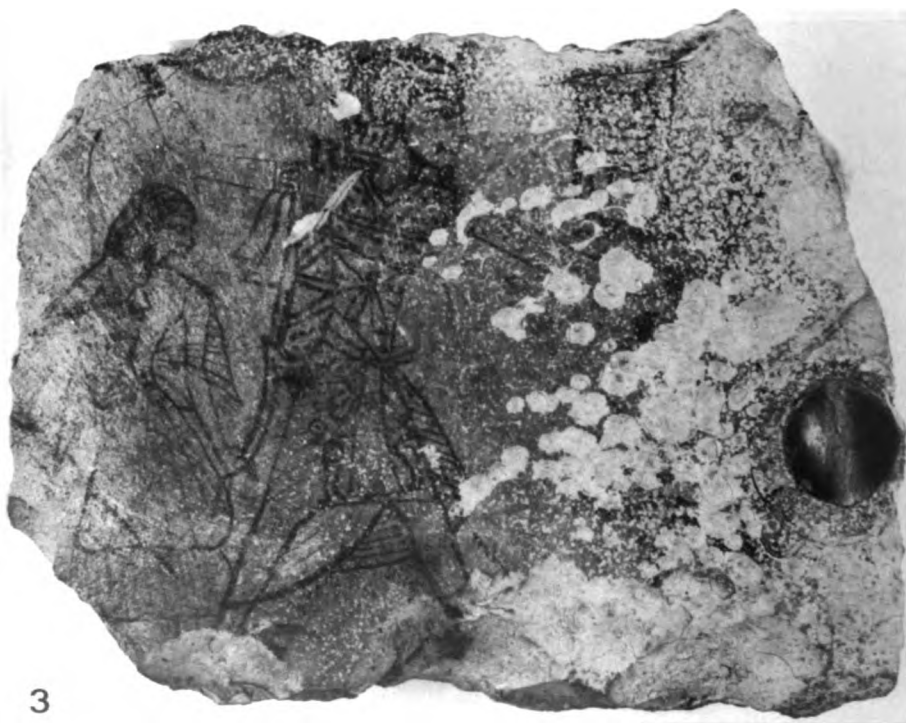
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137	70	VA 2512
138	73	
139	76	
140	76	
141	74	
142	77	
143	74	D 25 195
144	75	
145	78	BT 42 (Affe)
146	77	
147	79	
148	79	D 25 315 ff.; Daressy 1902, 24 105 ff.; Bruyère 1953, Taf. 18
149	80	BT 153; vgl. Bruyère 1937 A, 62



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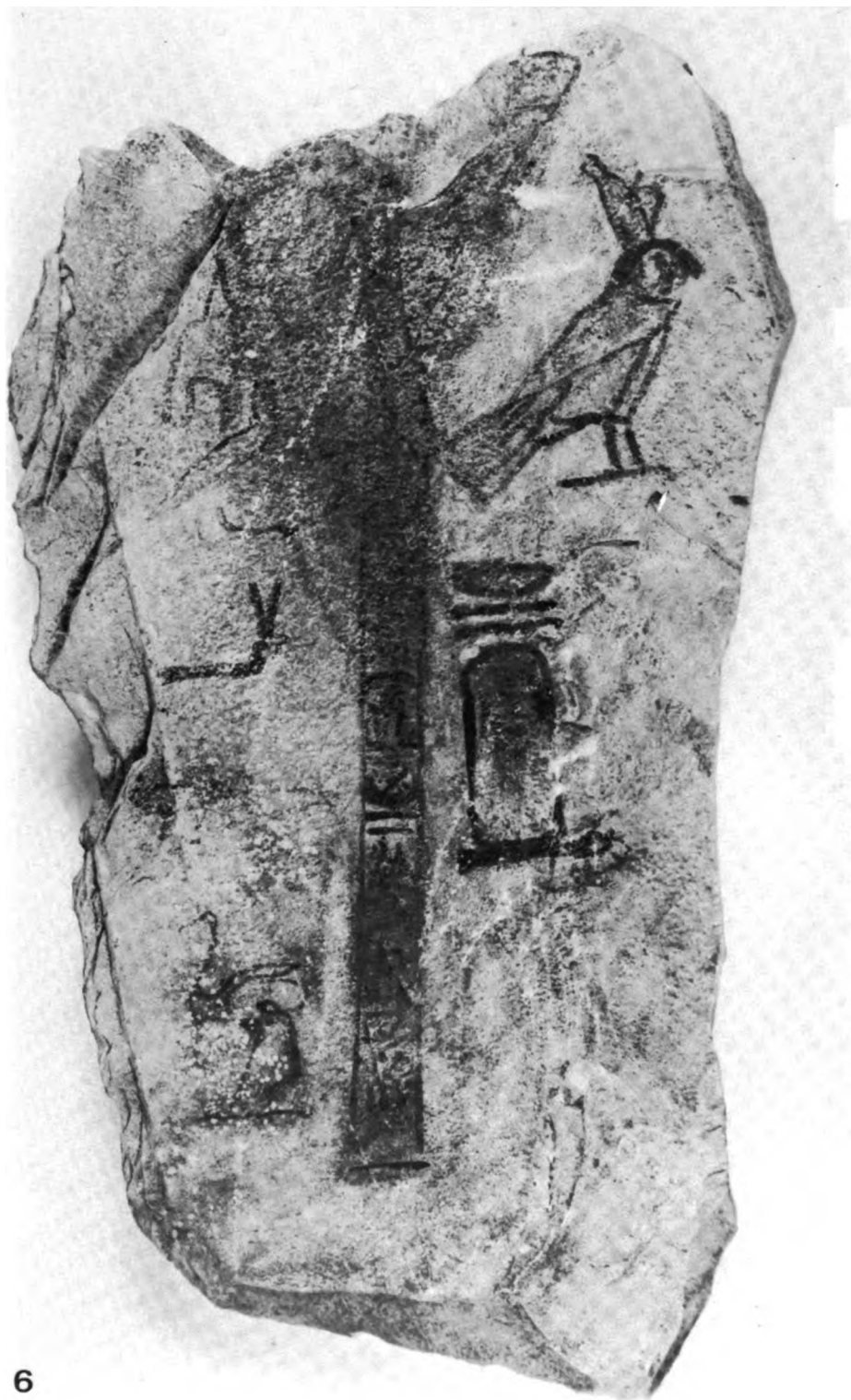
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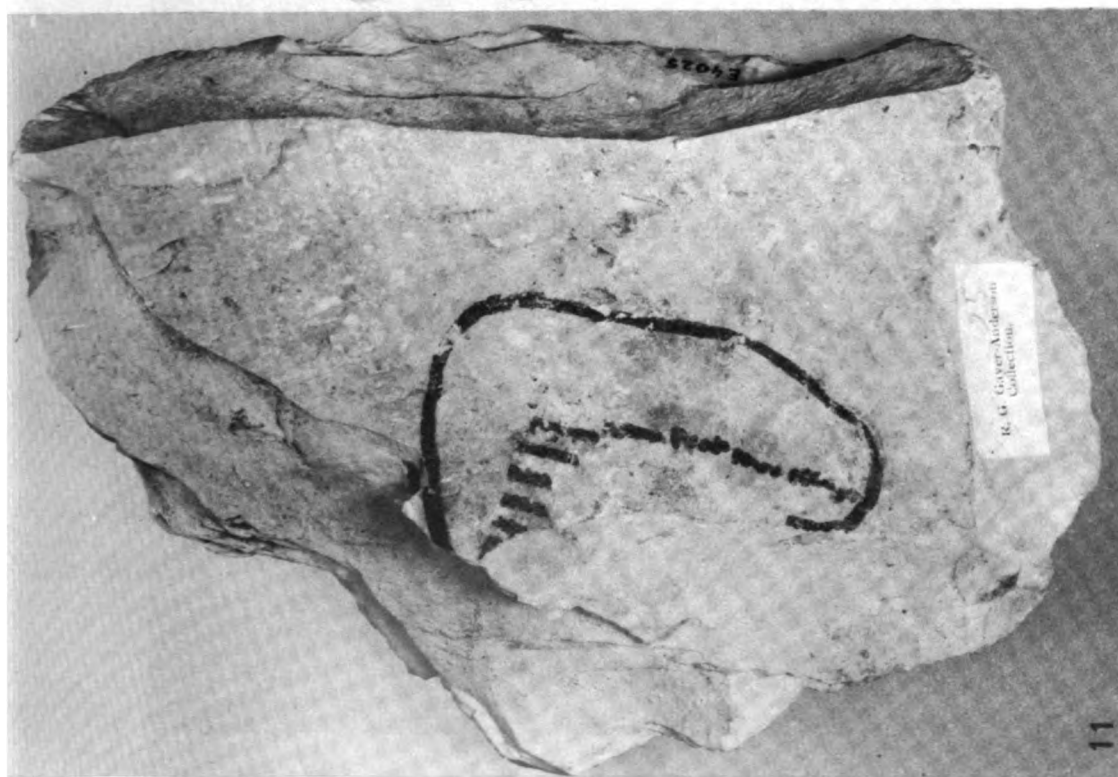
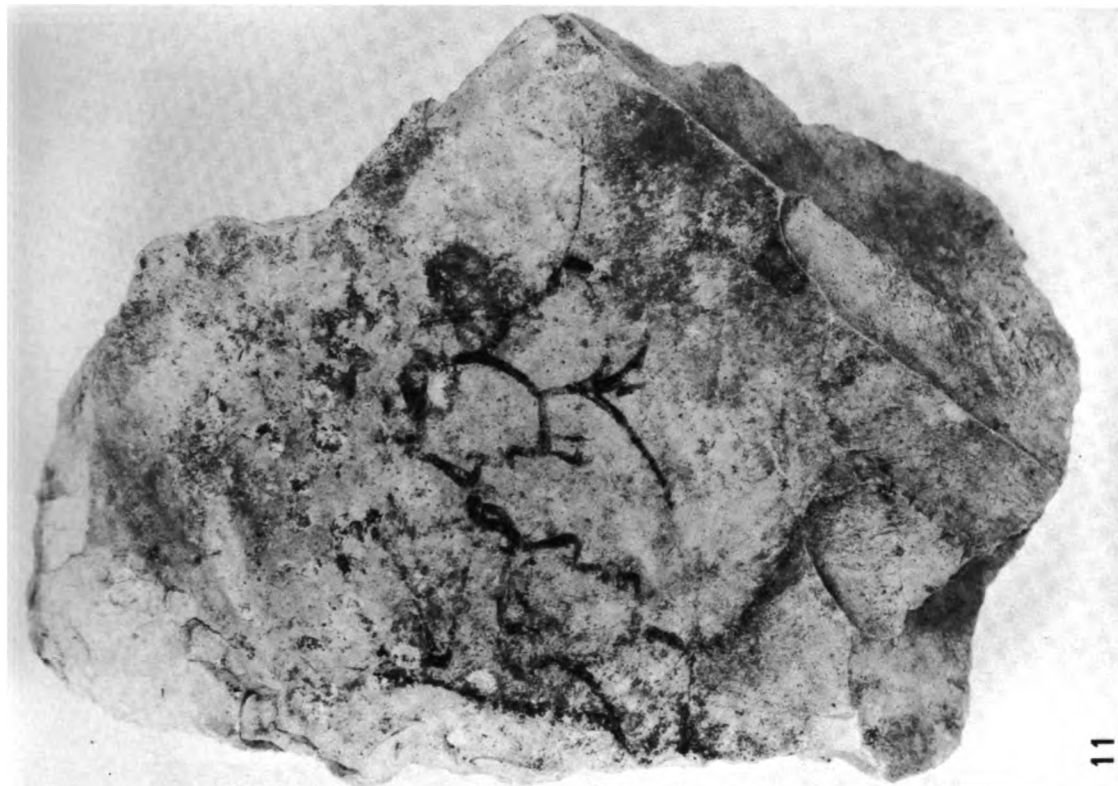
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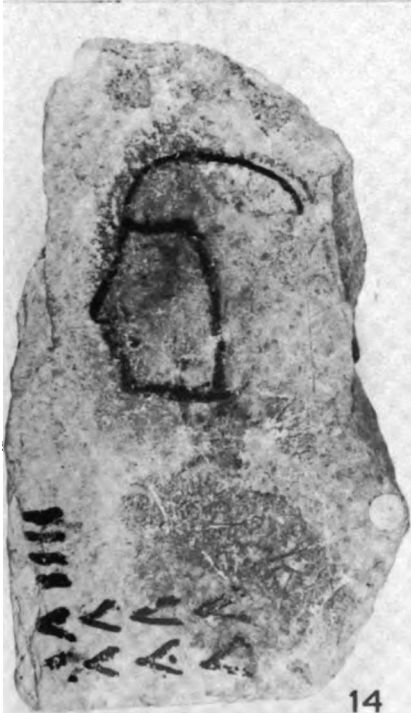




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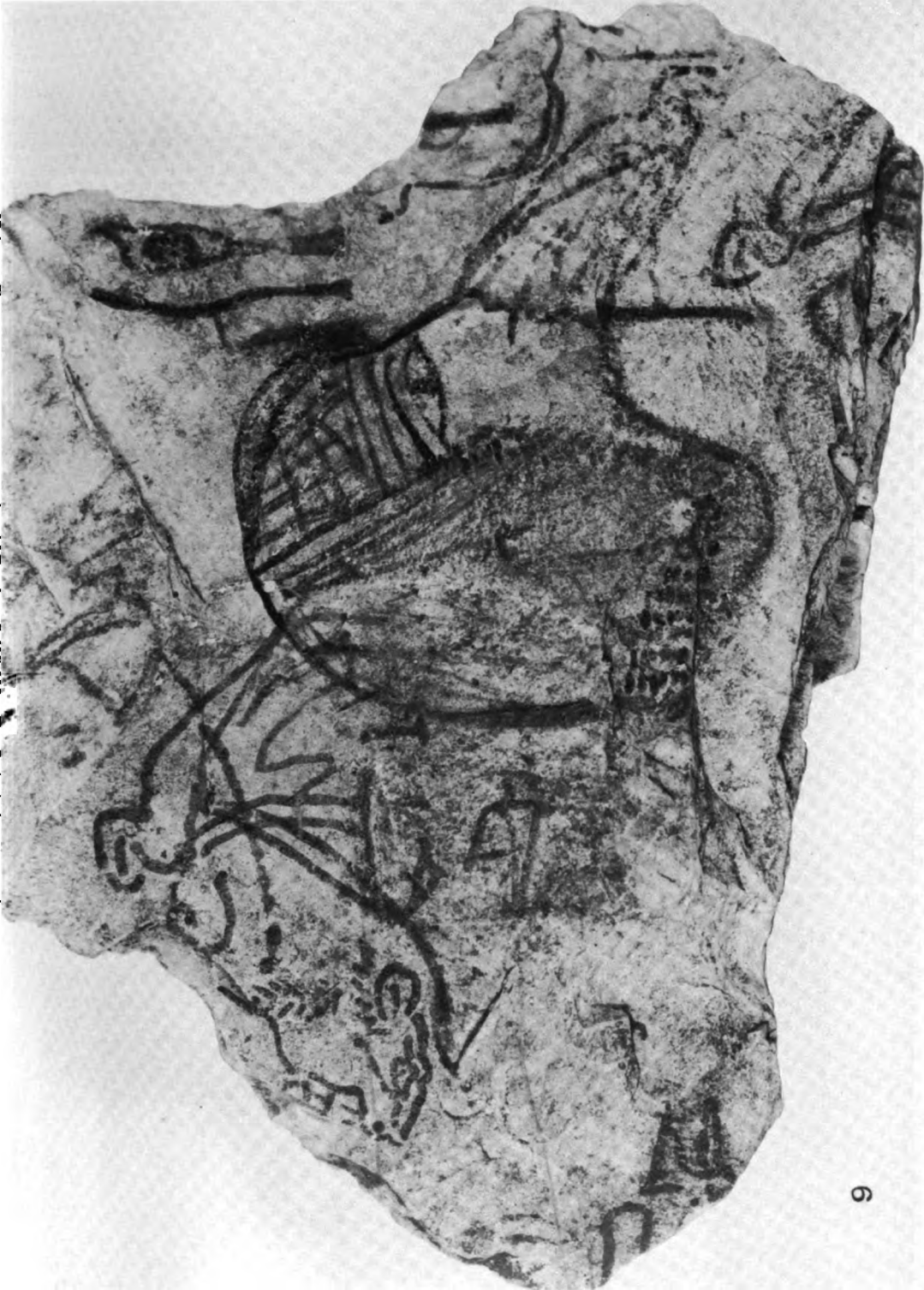


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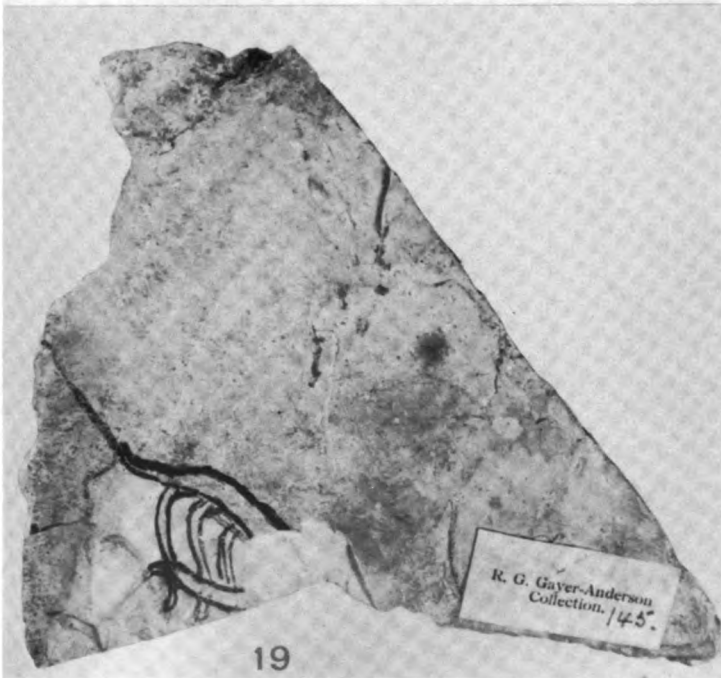
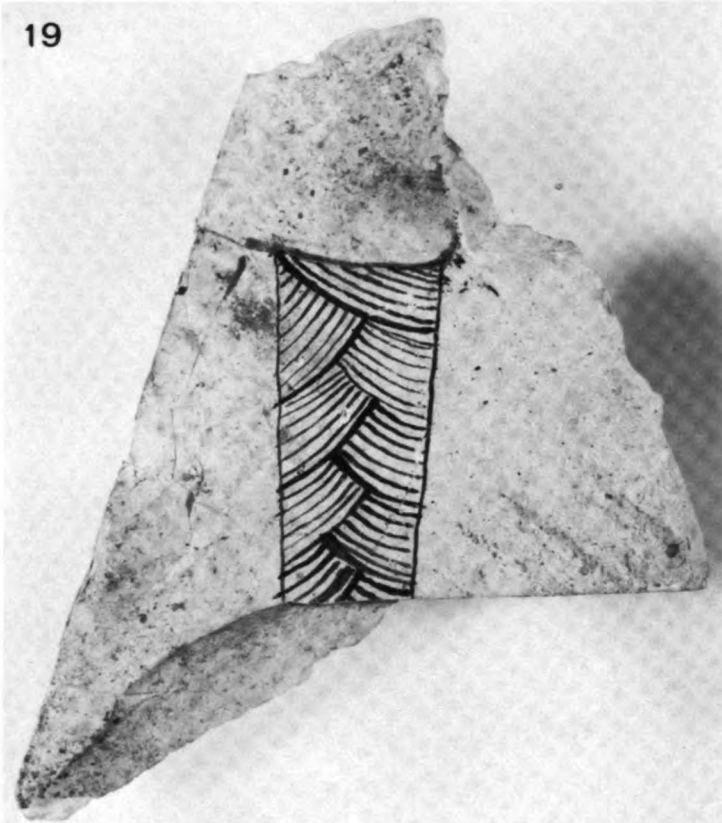






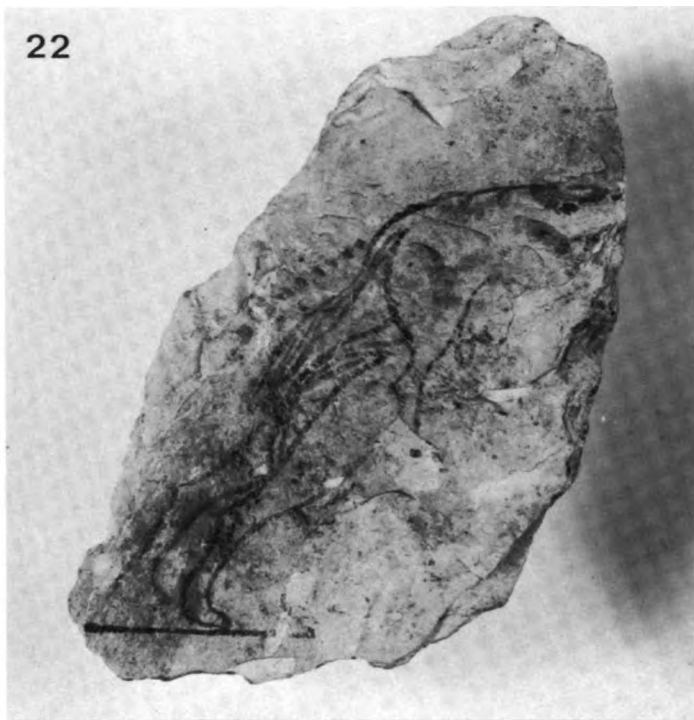


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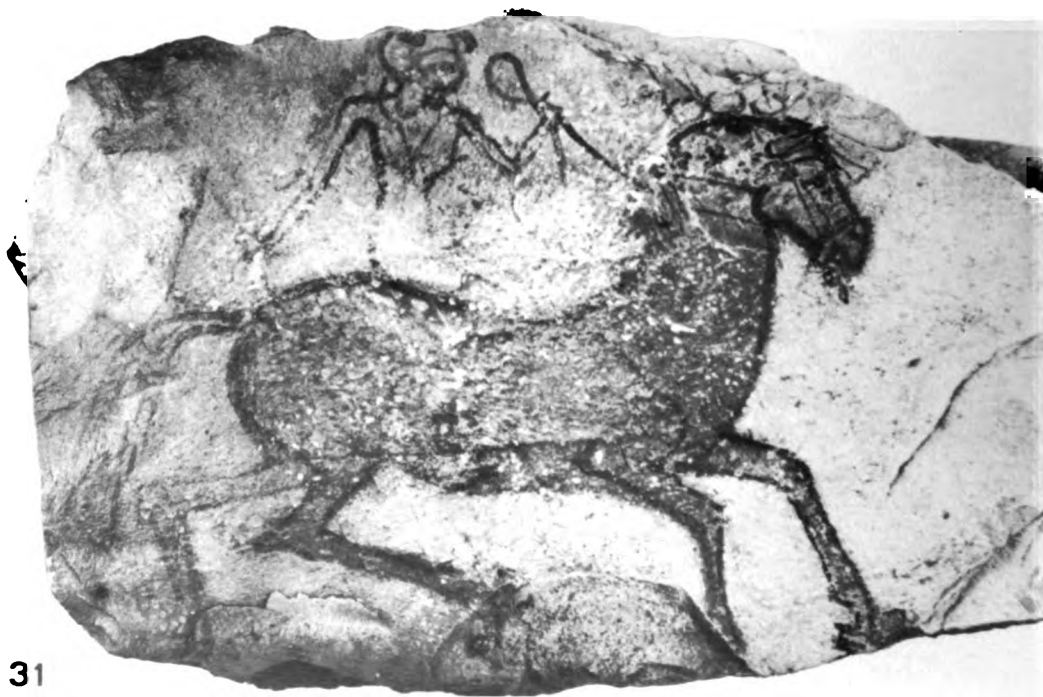
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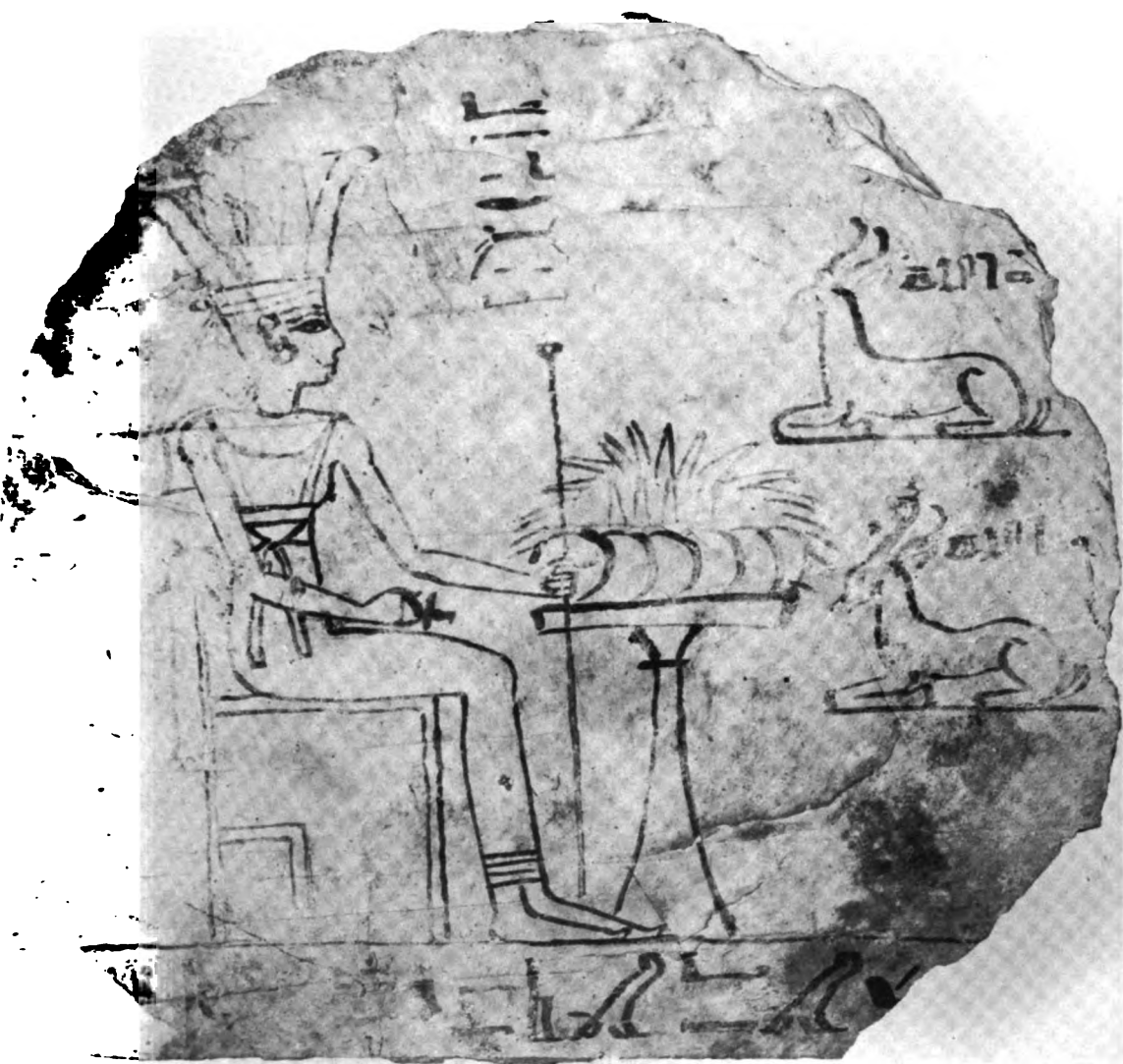


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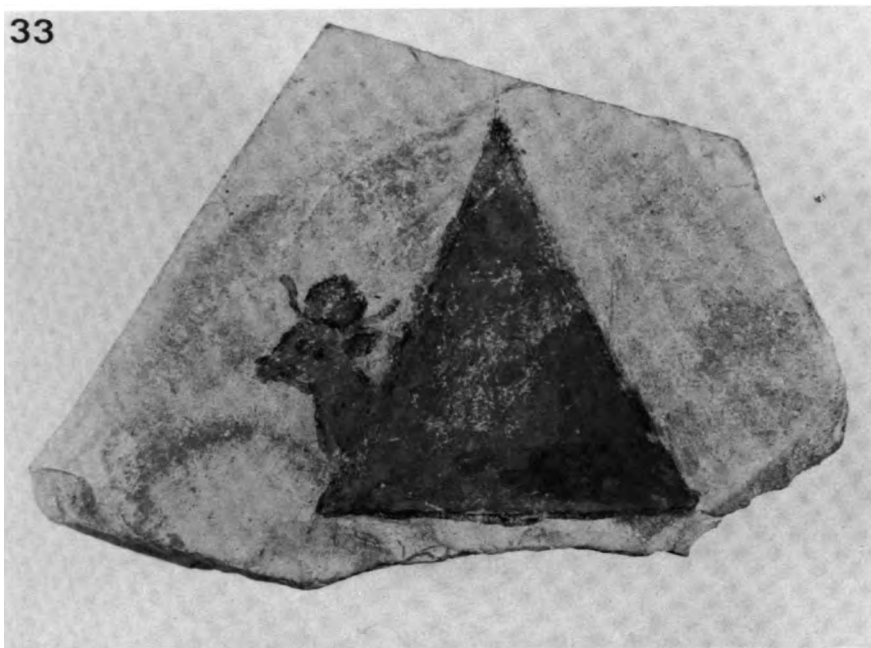




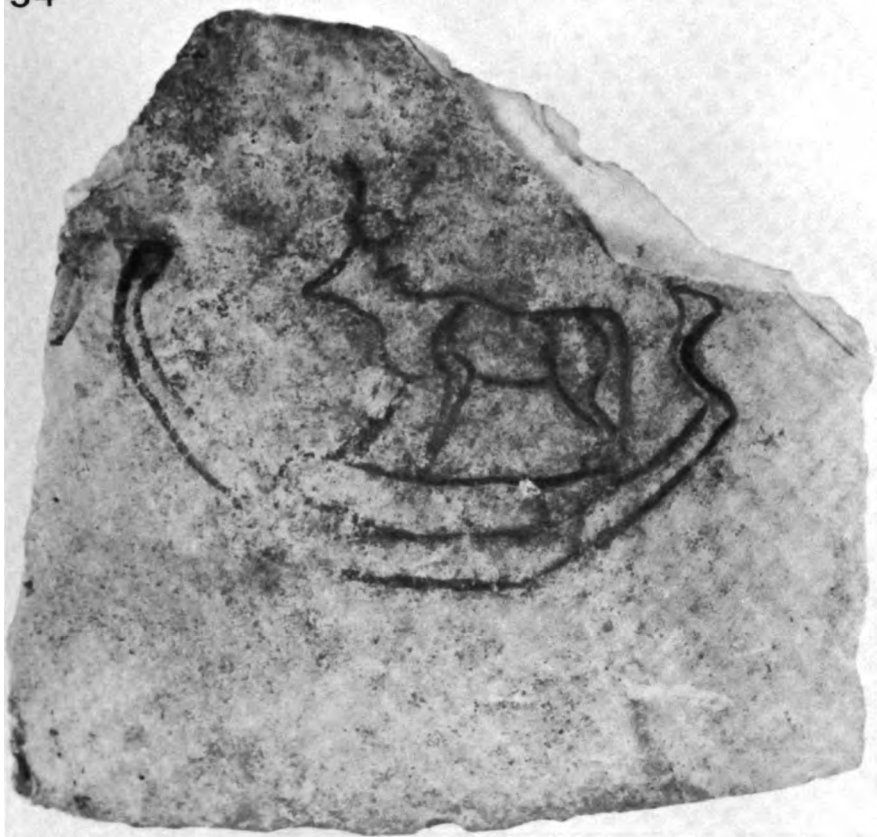




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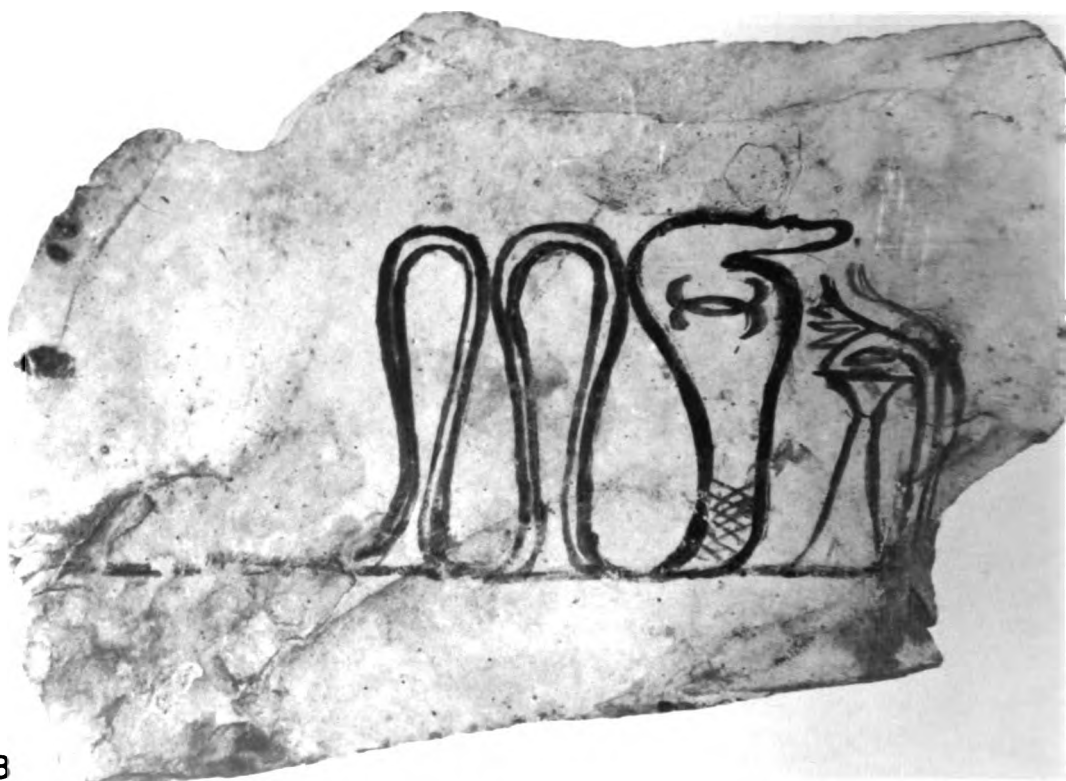


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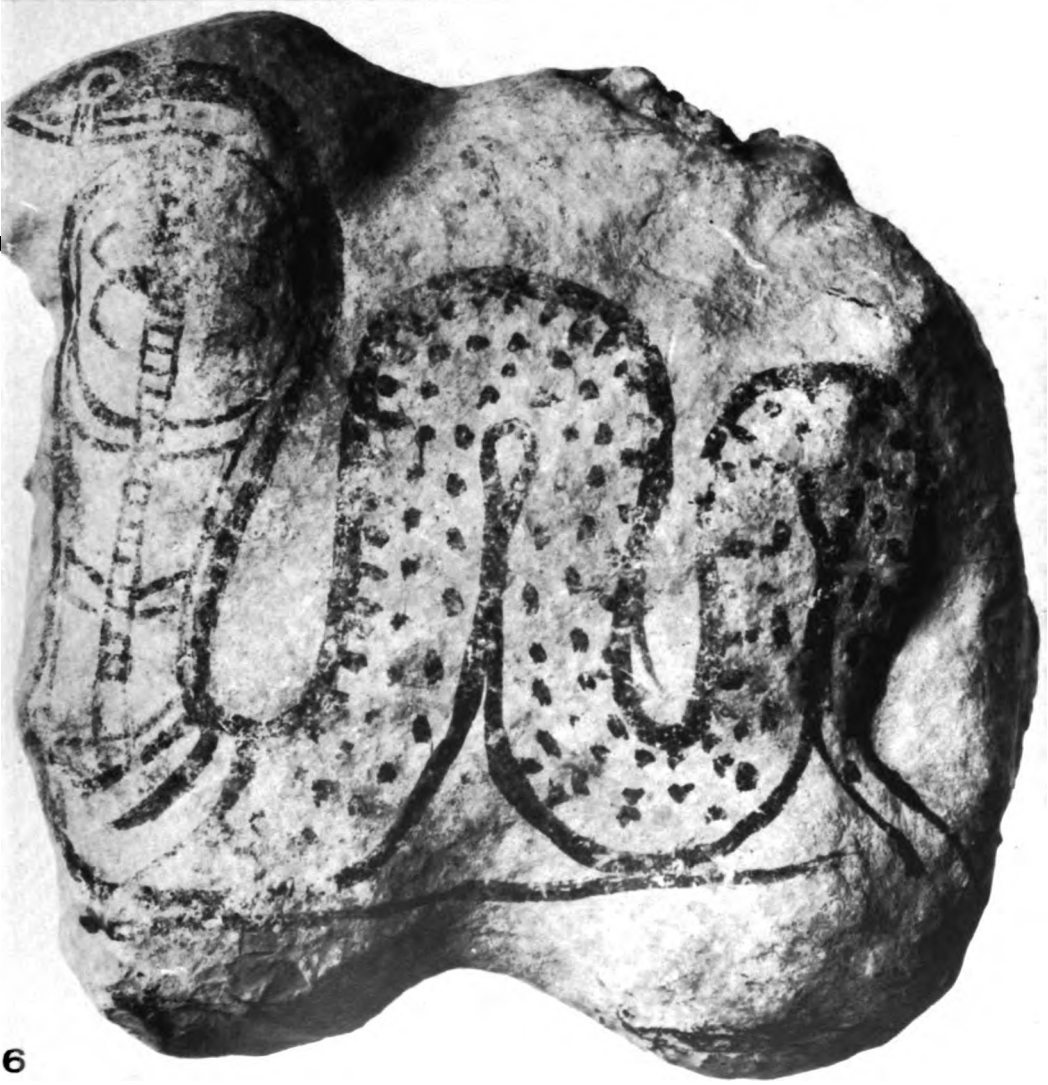


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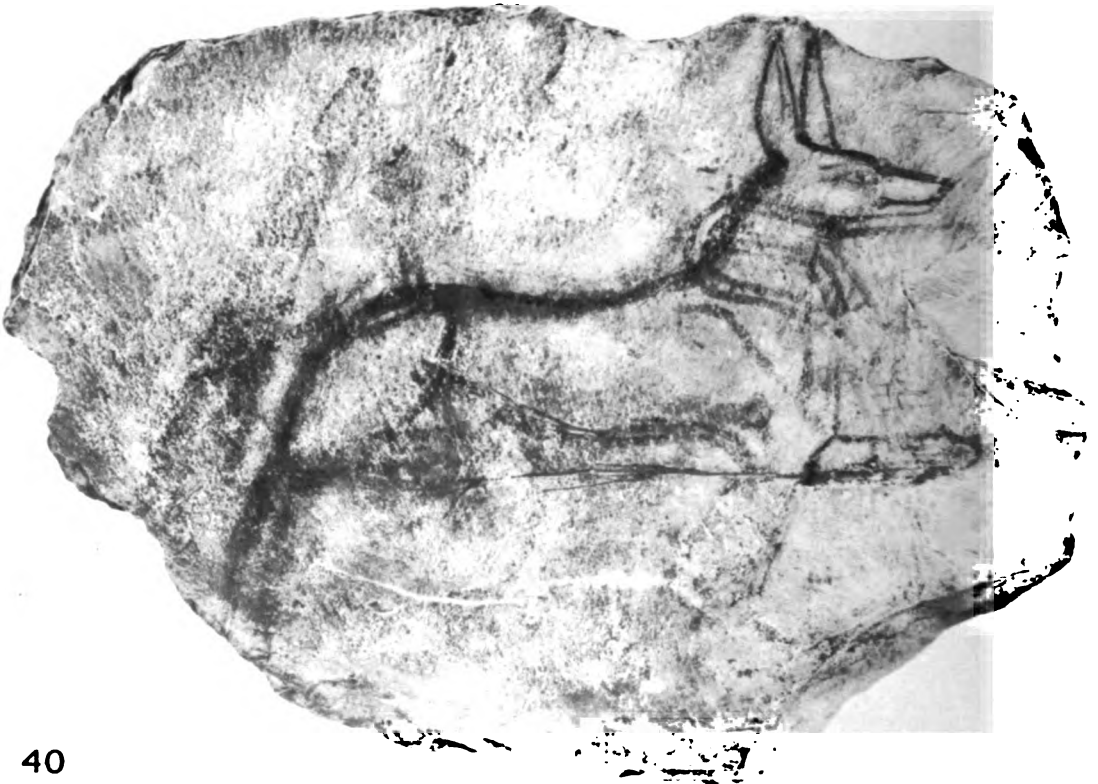
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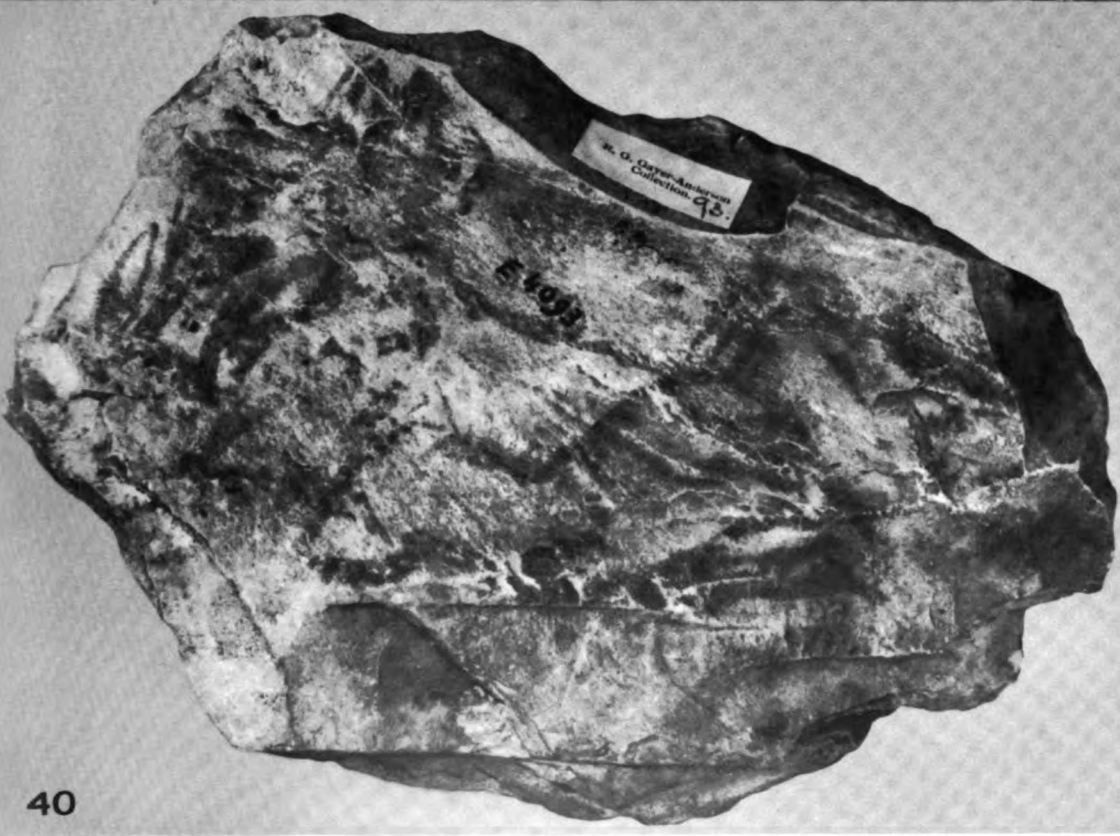


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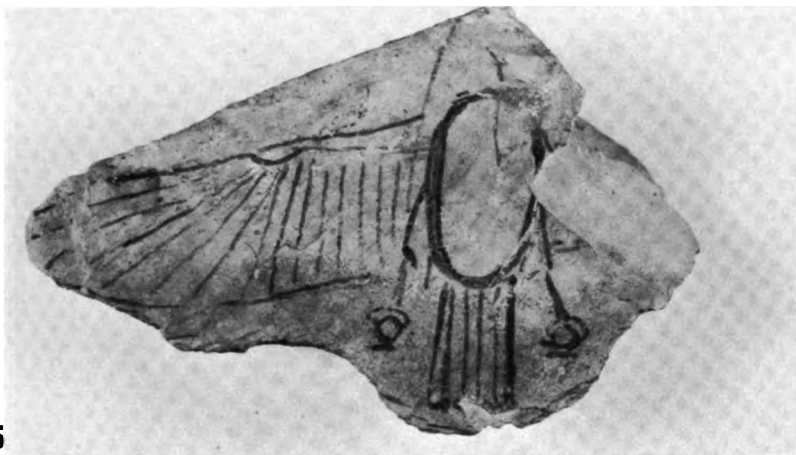


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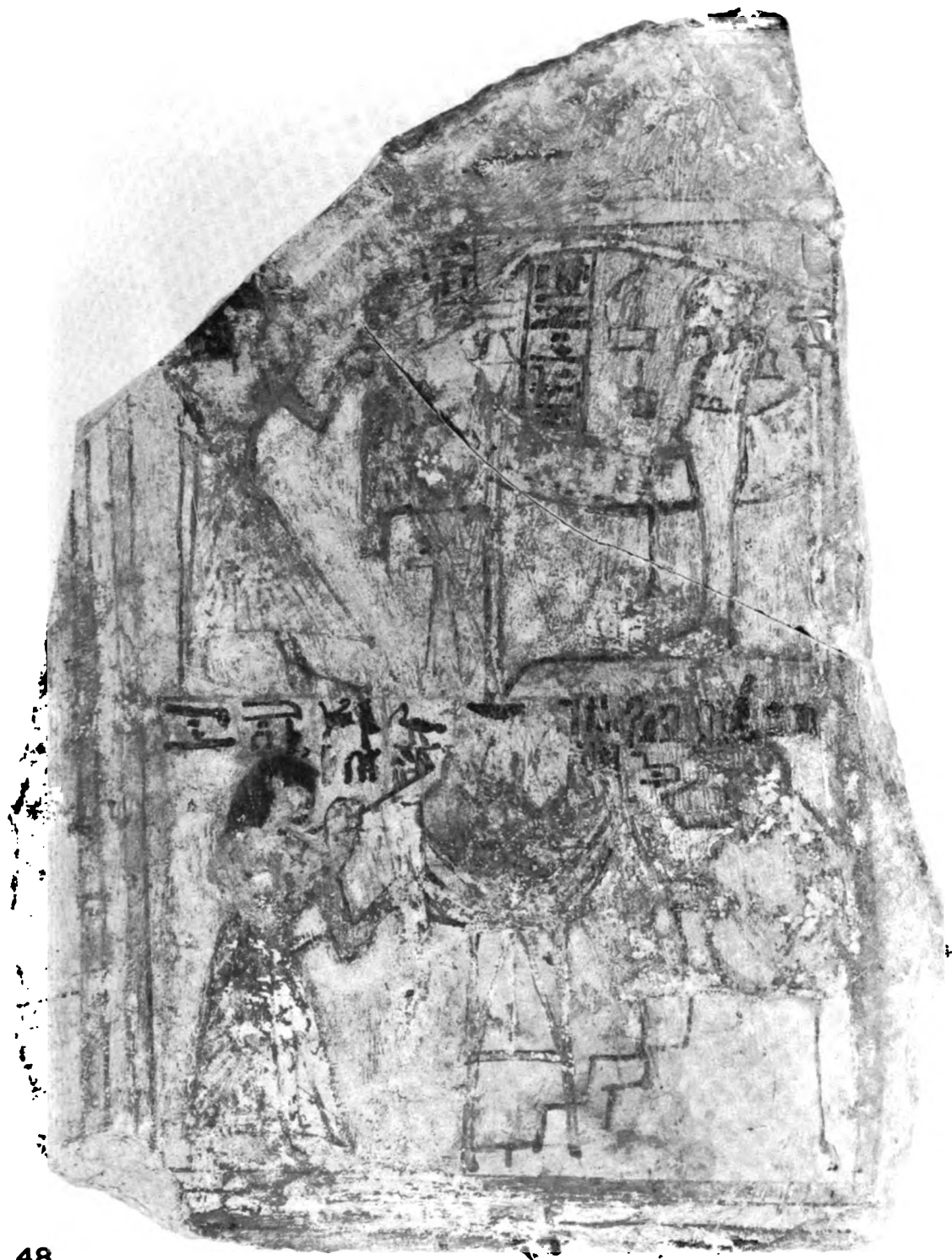


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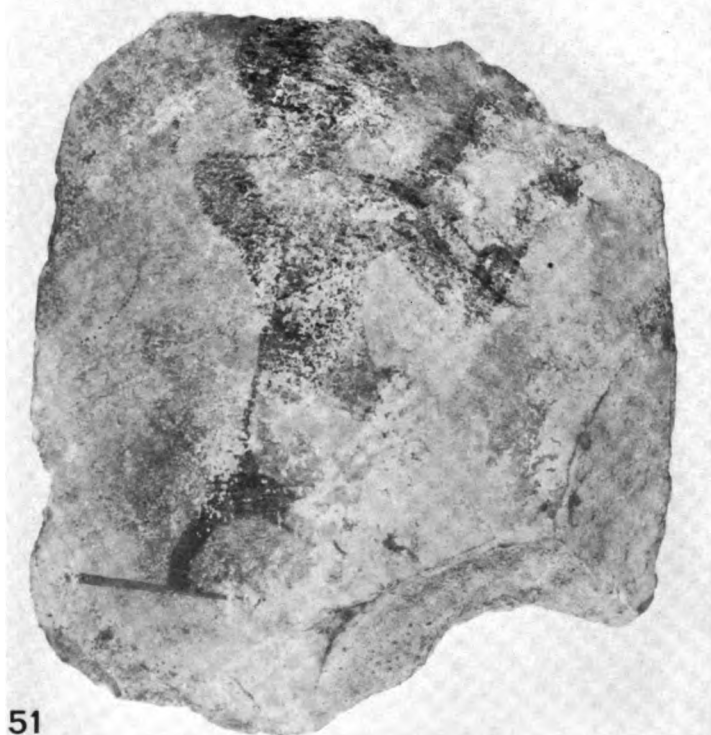


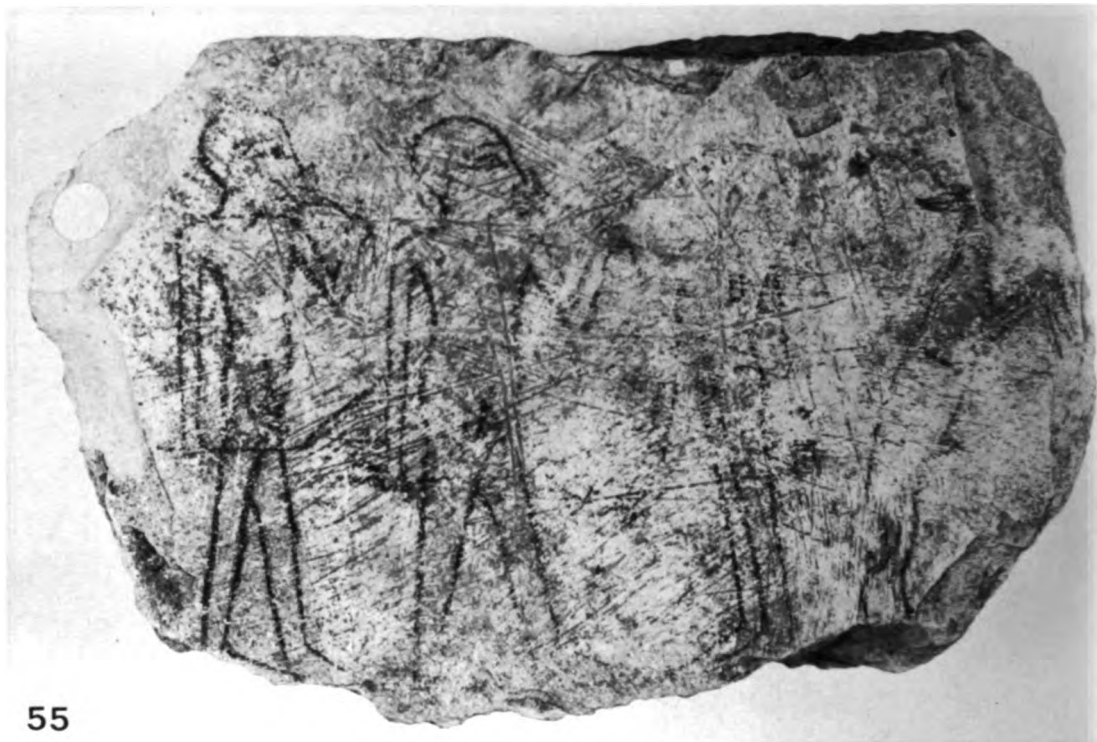


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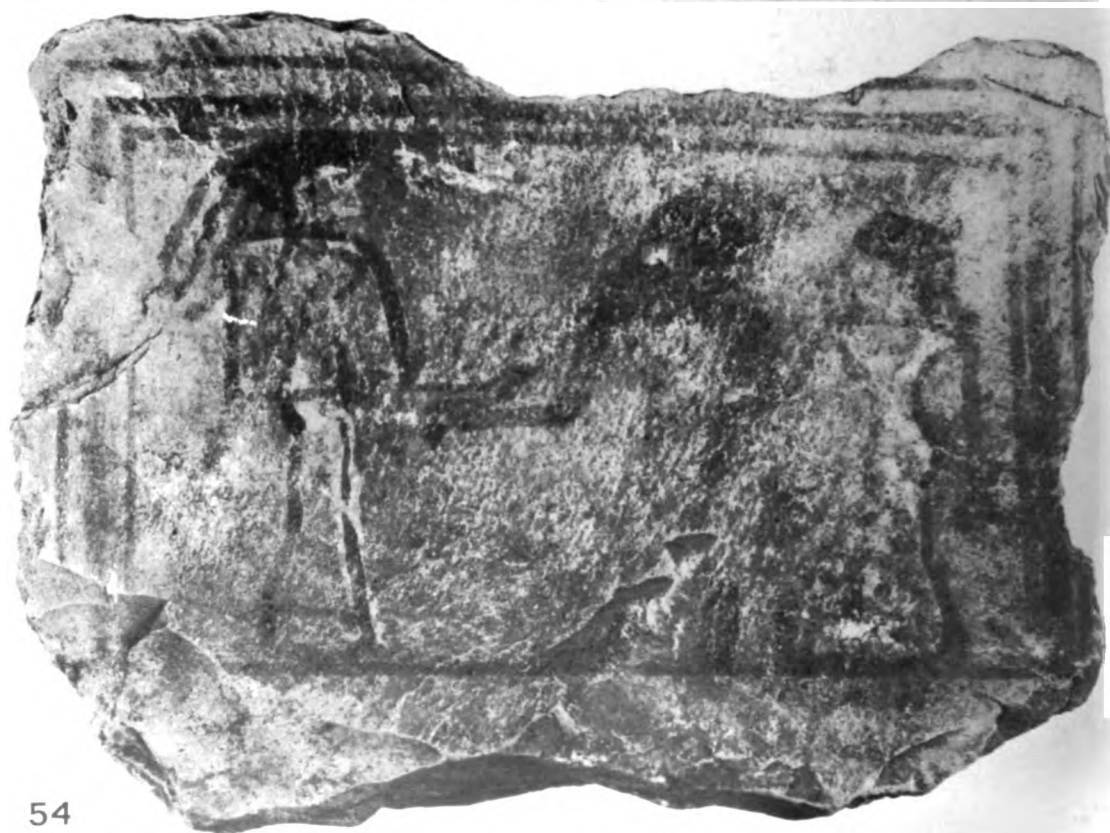


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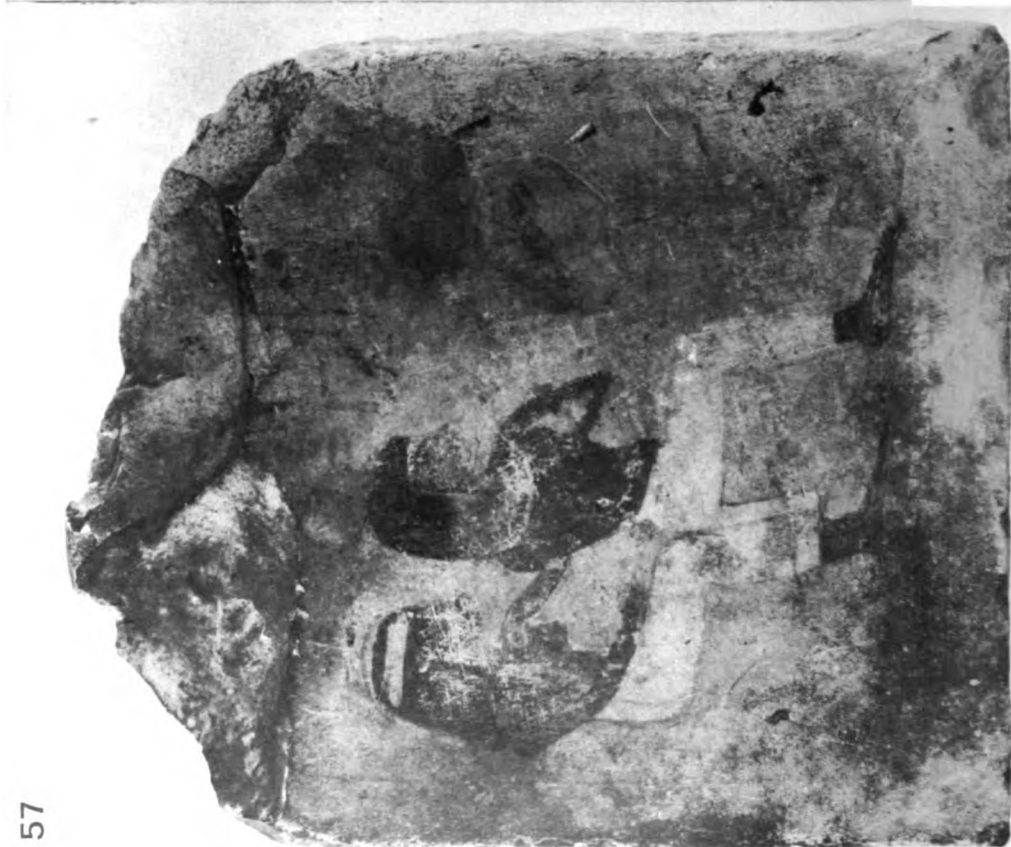
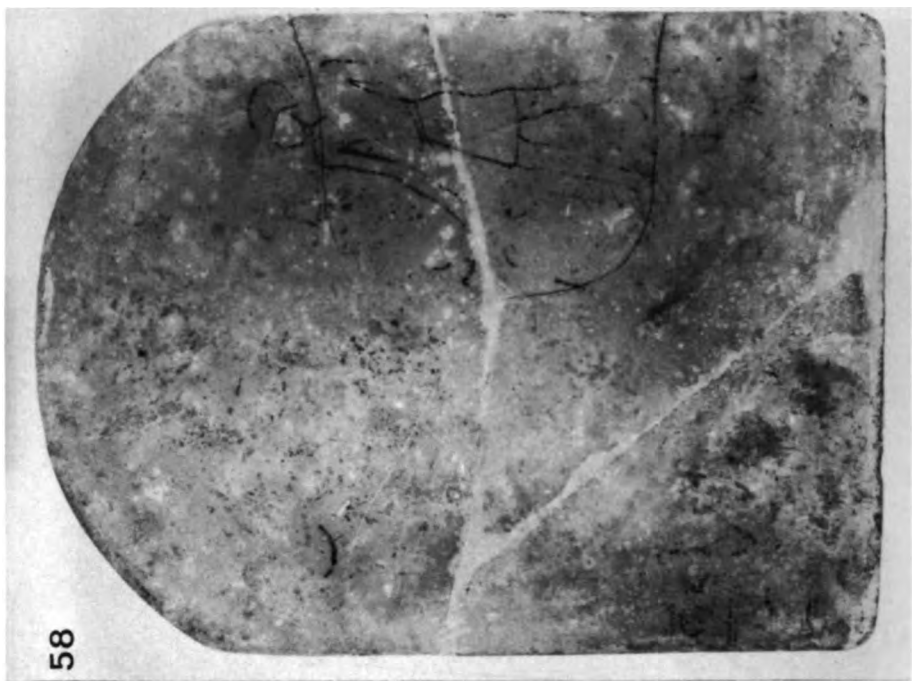
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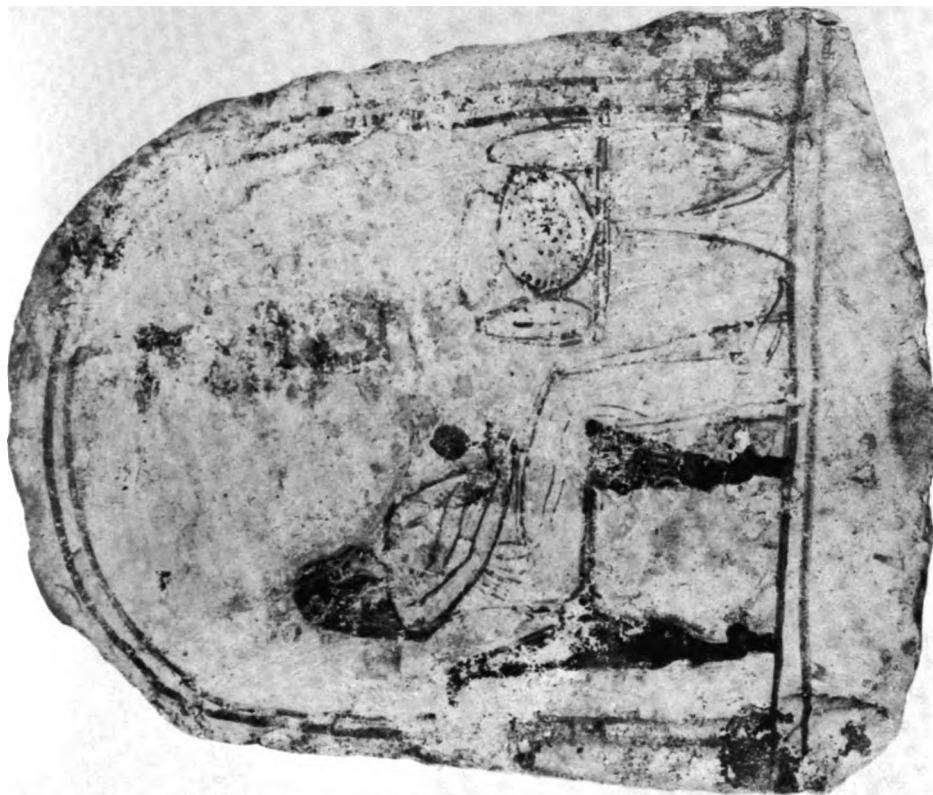
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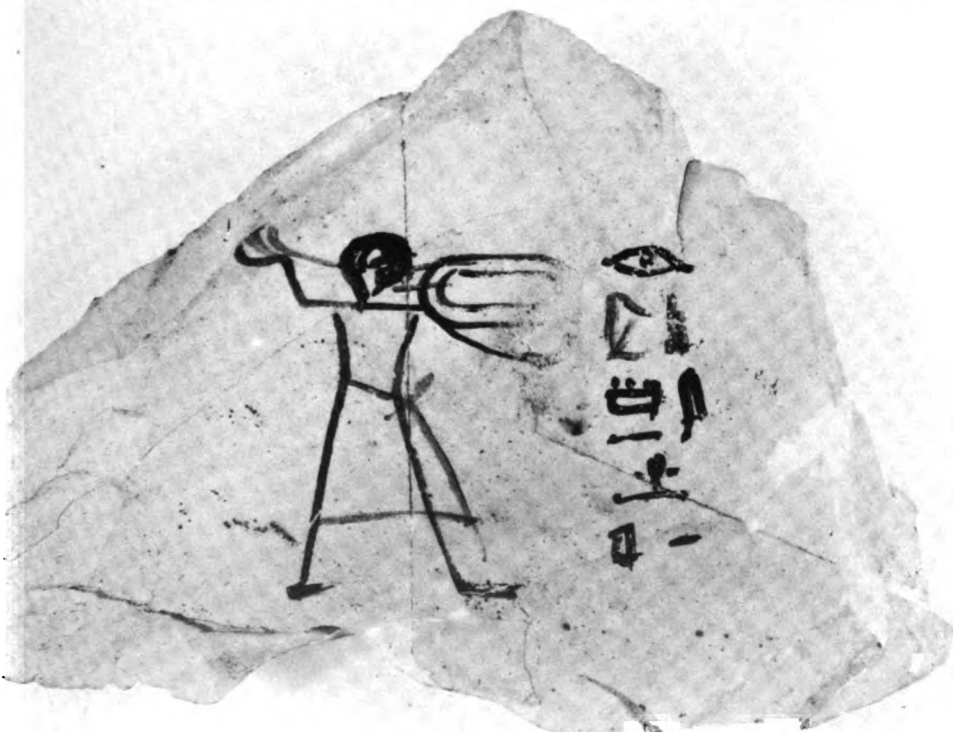


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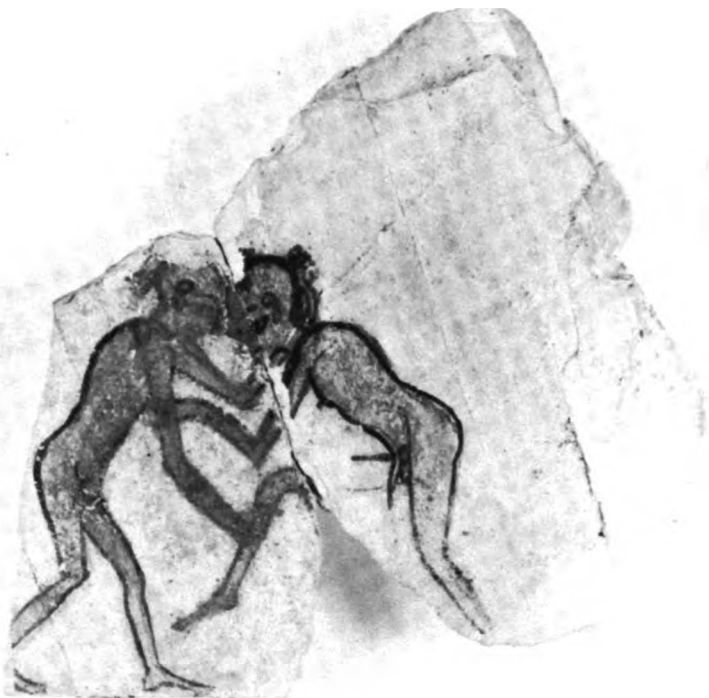


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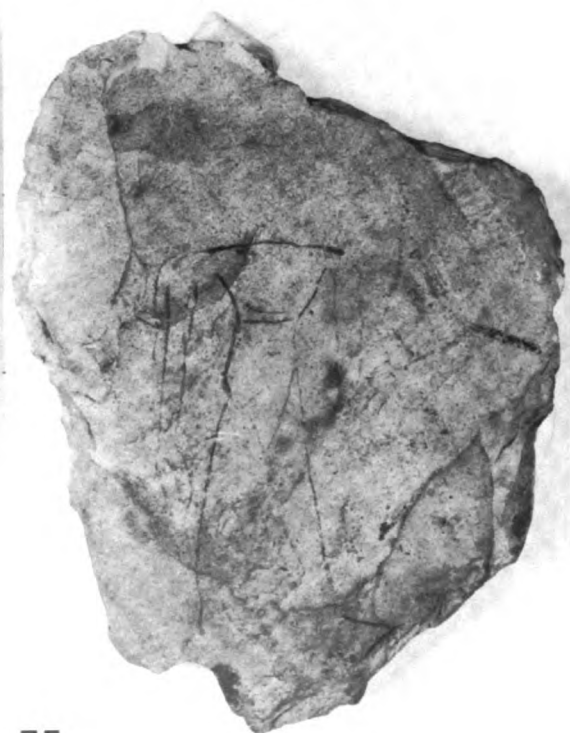
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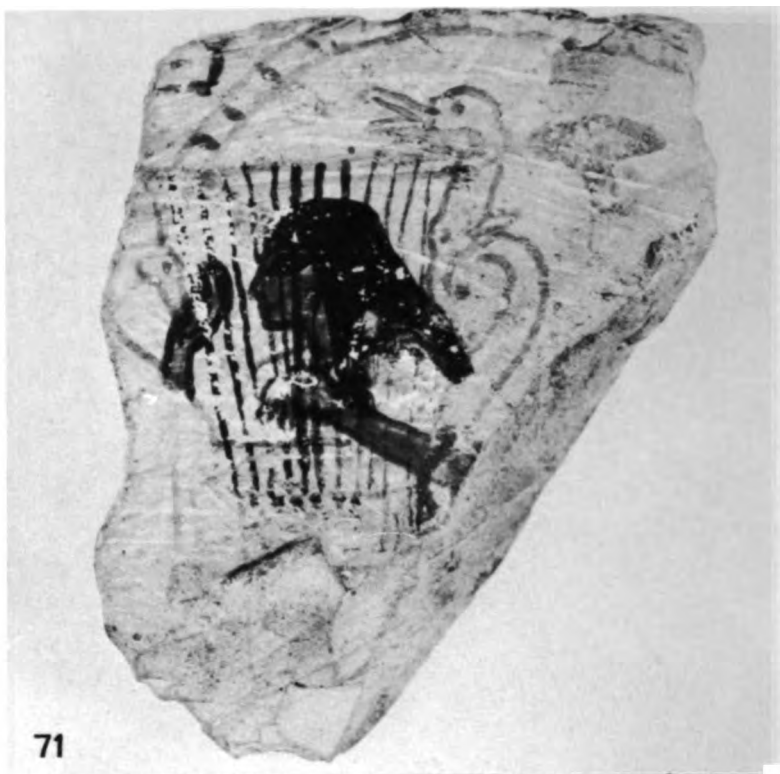
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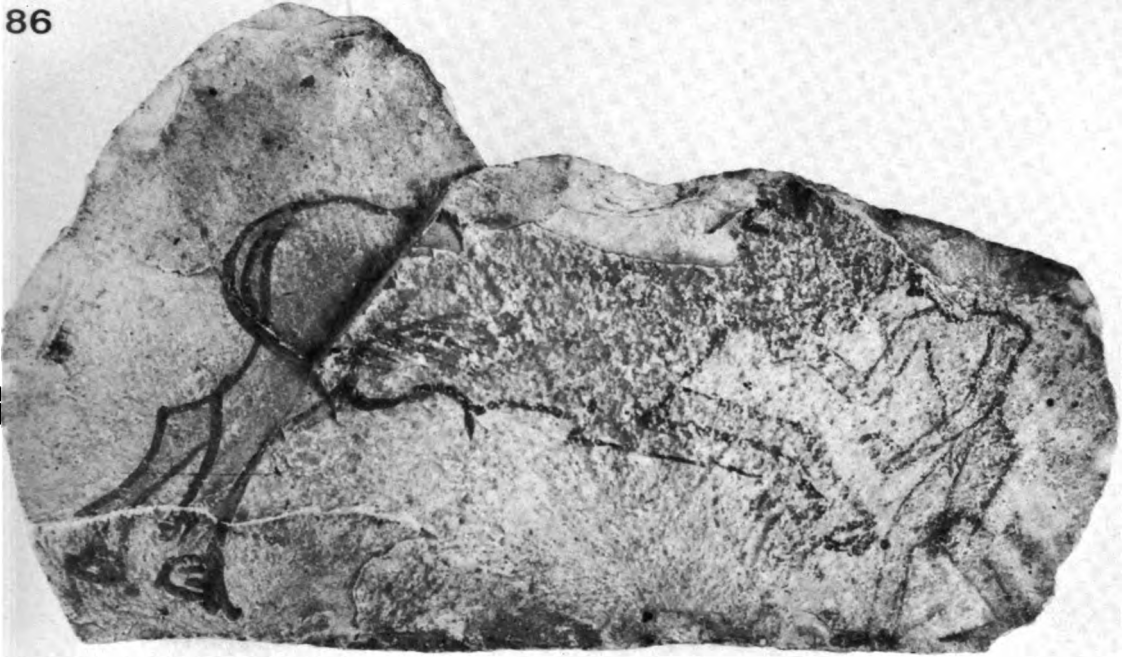


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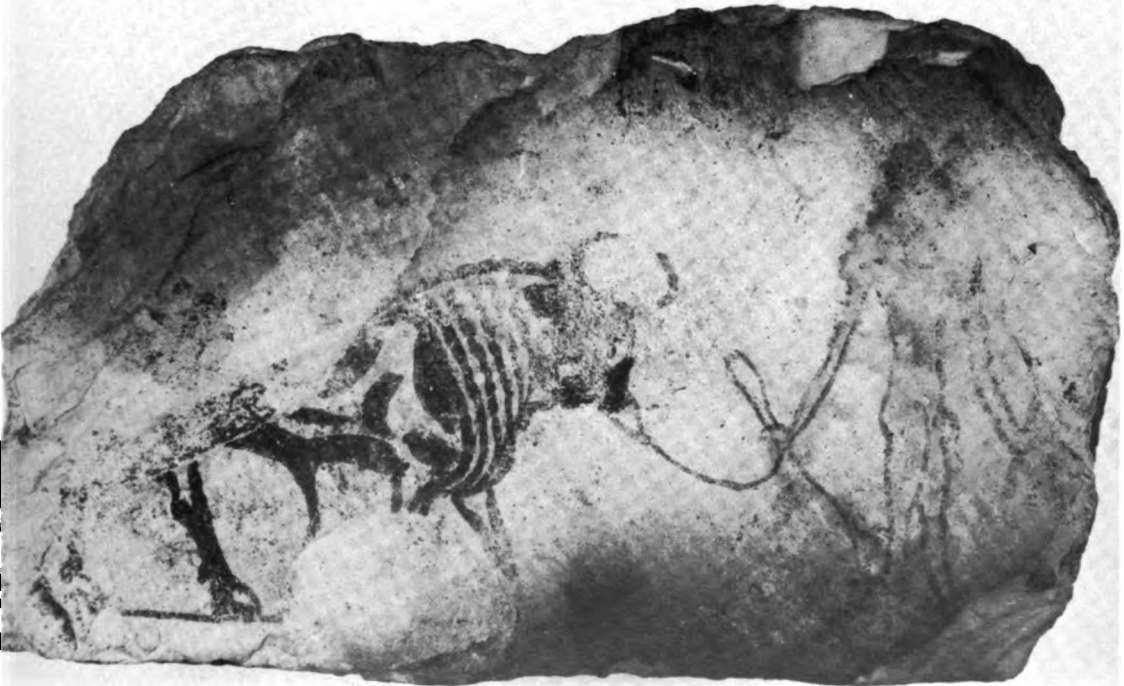


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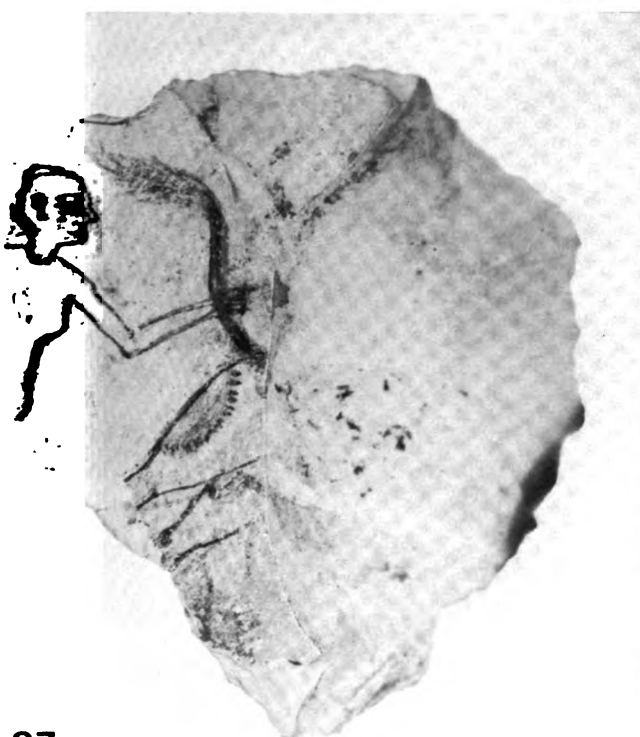
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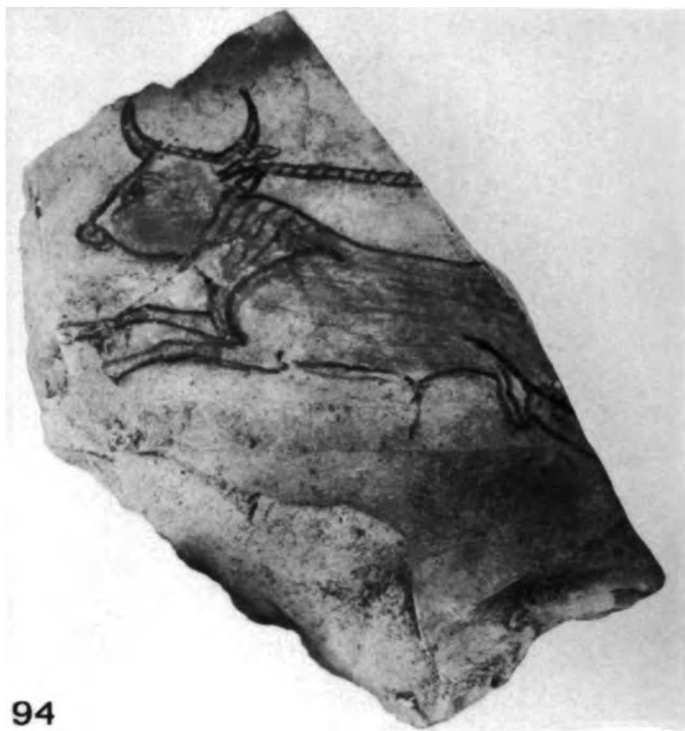


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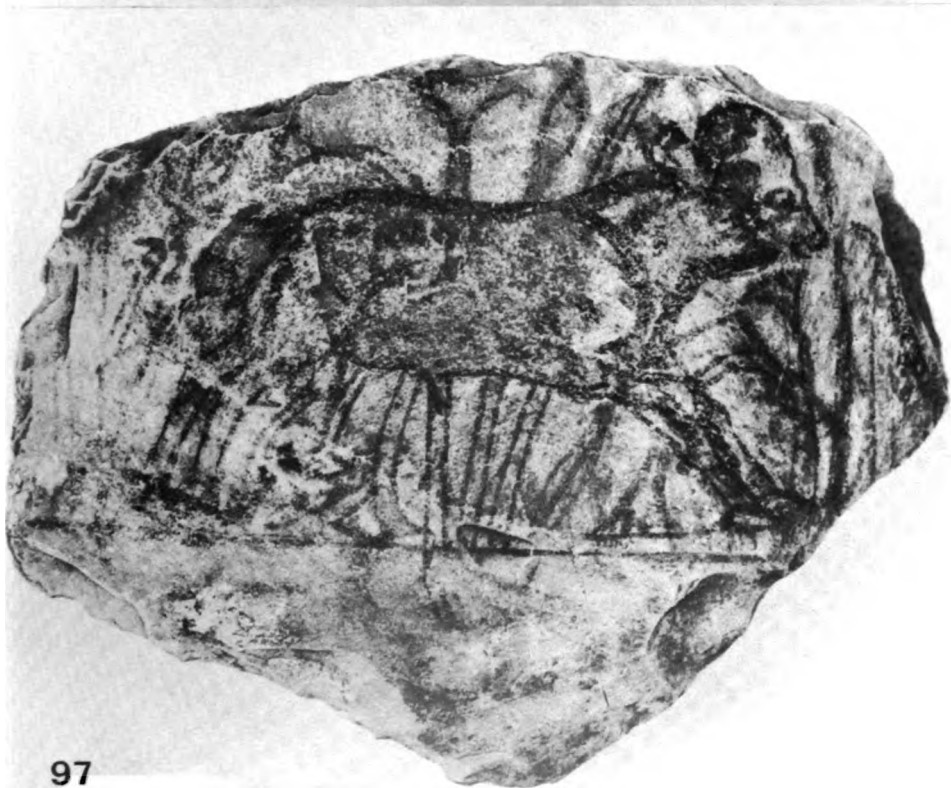


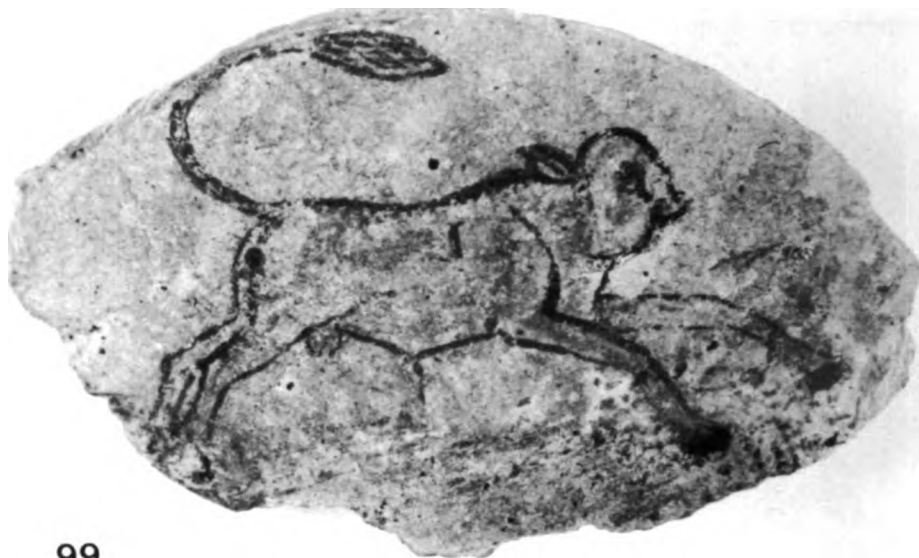
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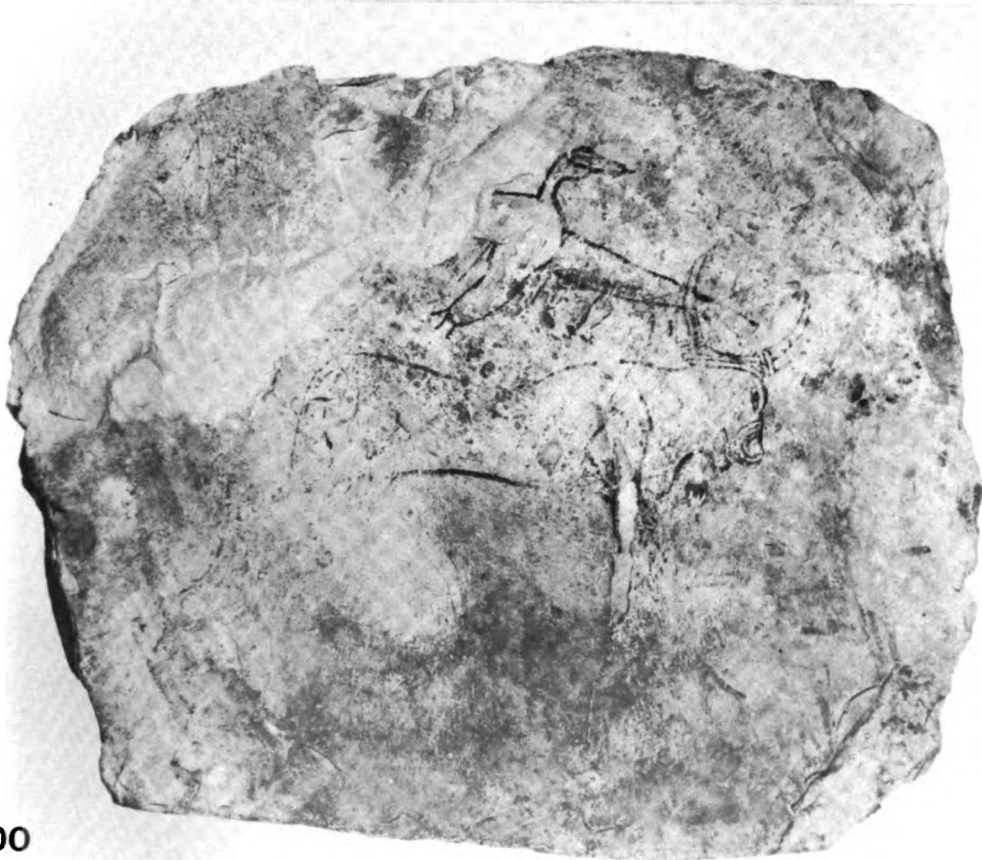


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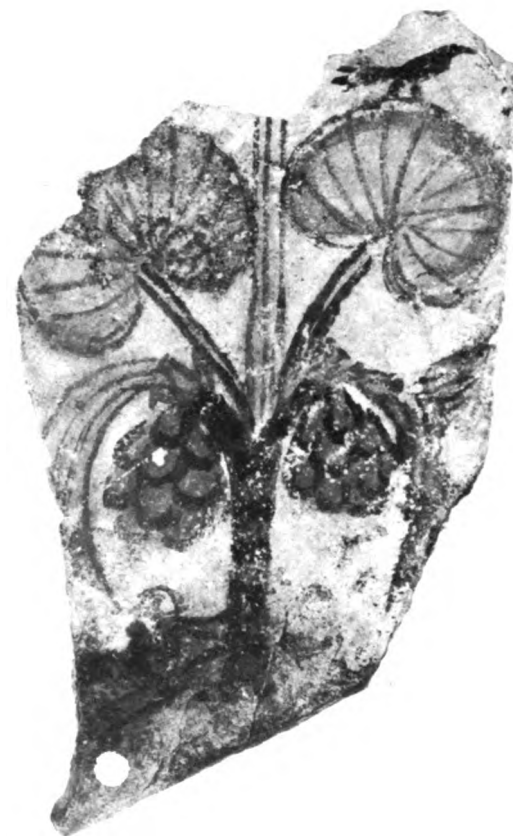
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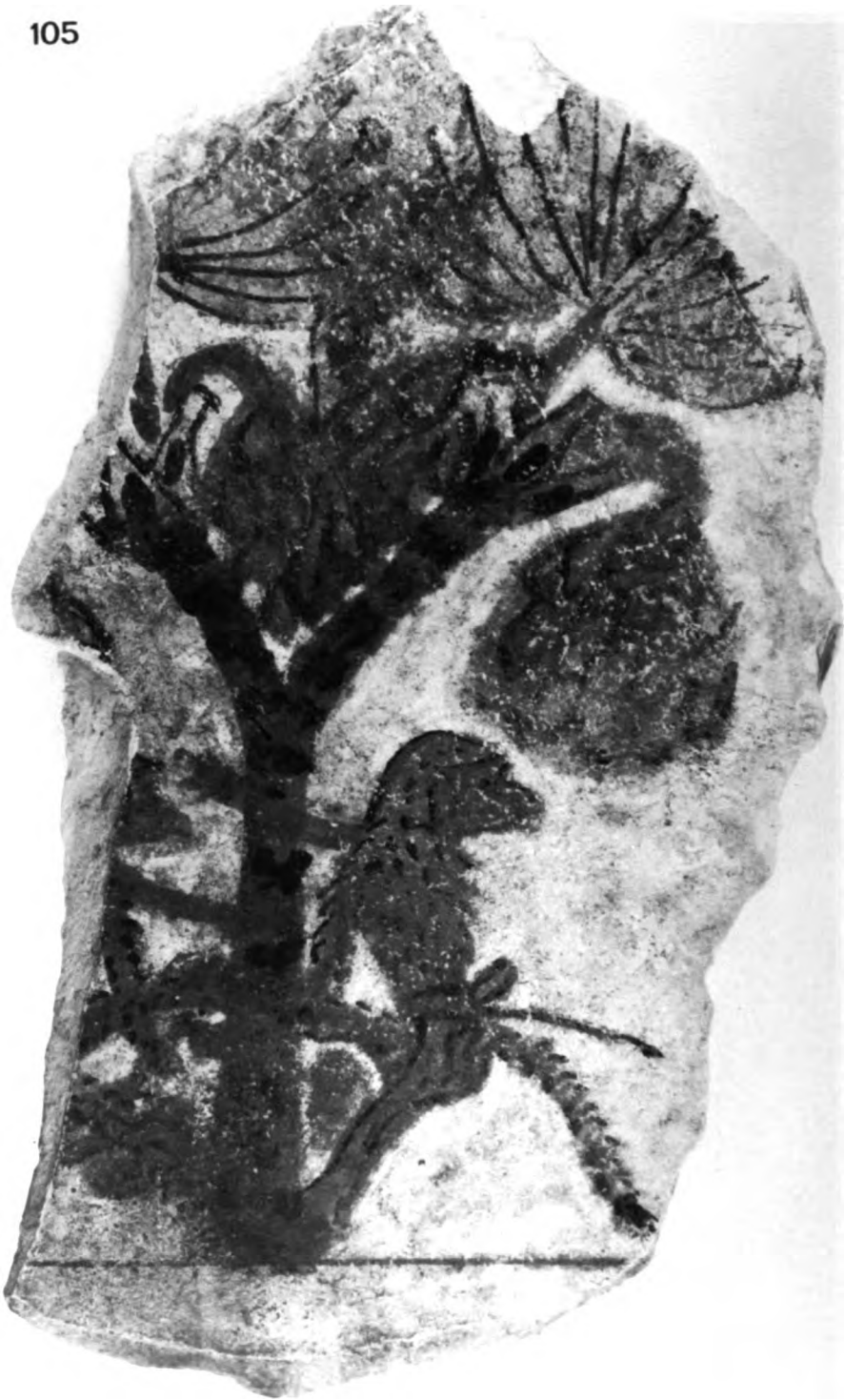
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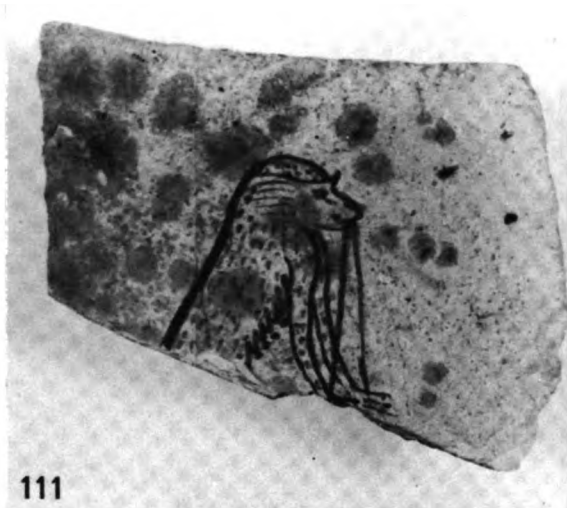




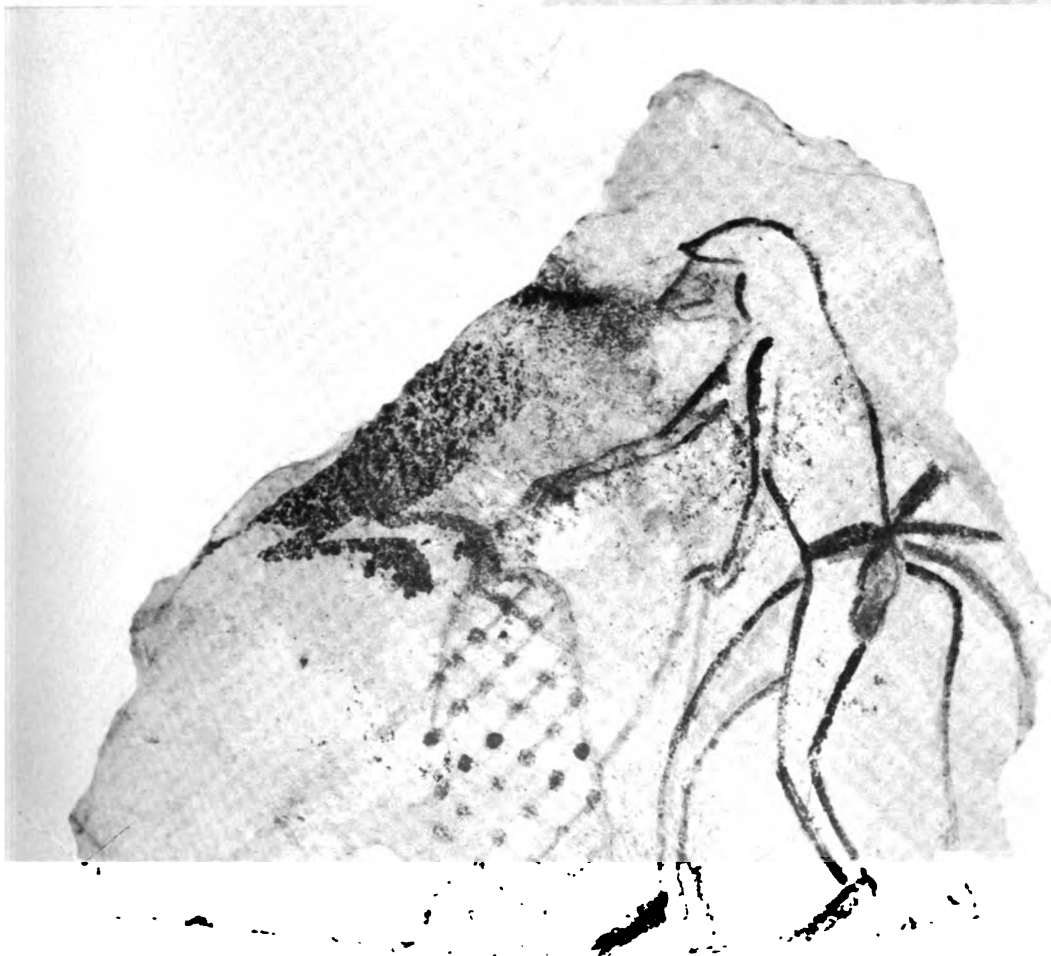




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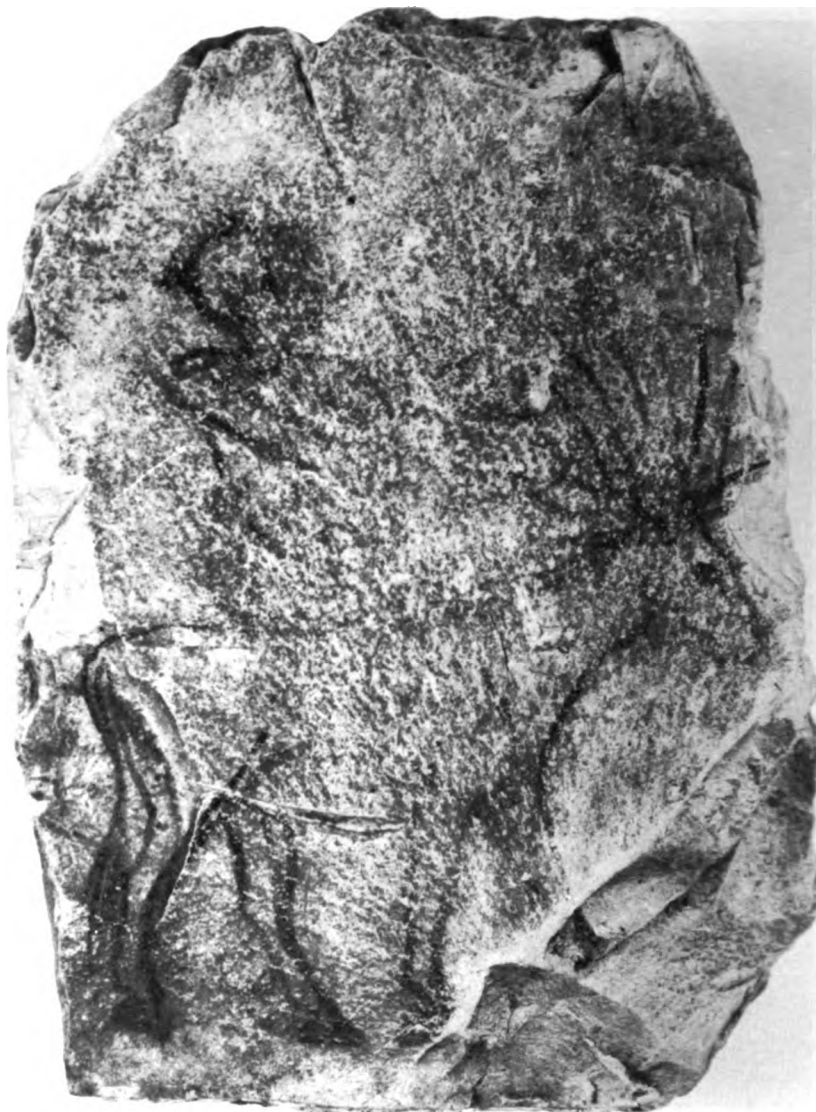
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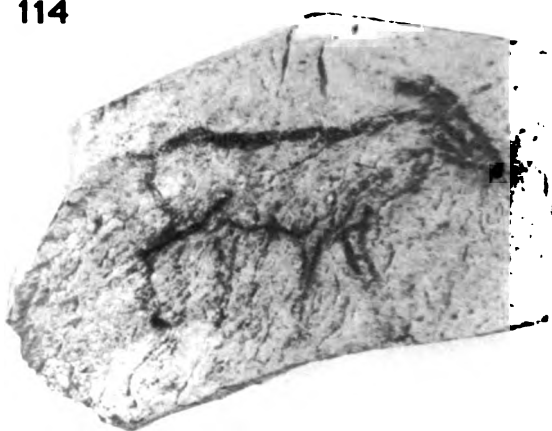
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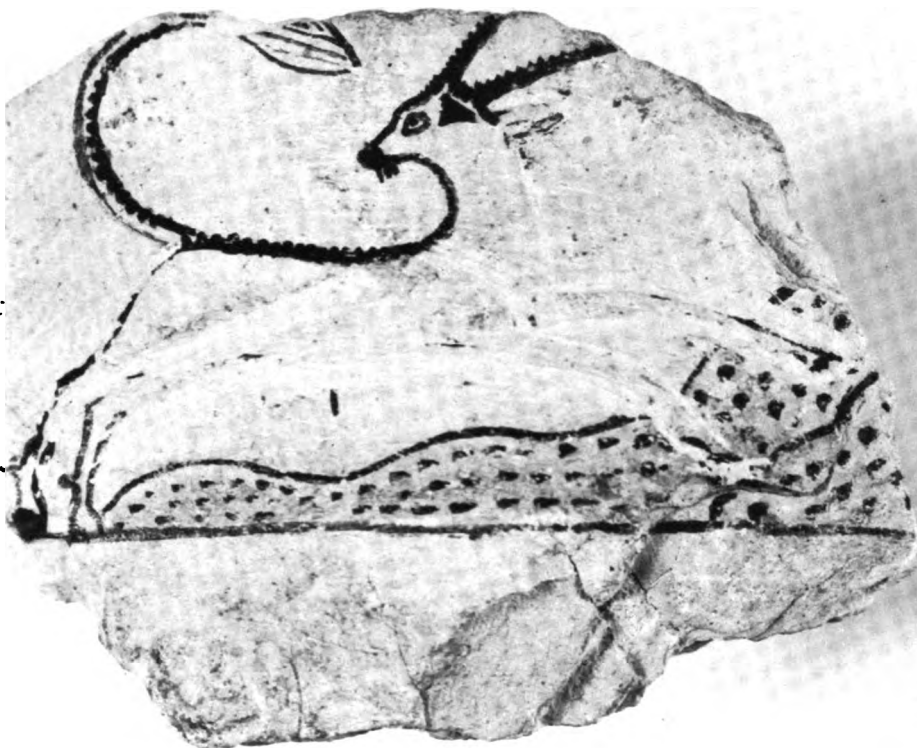
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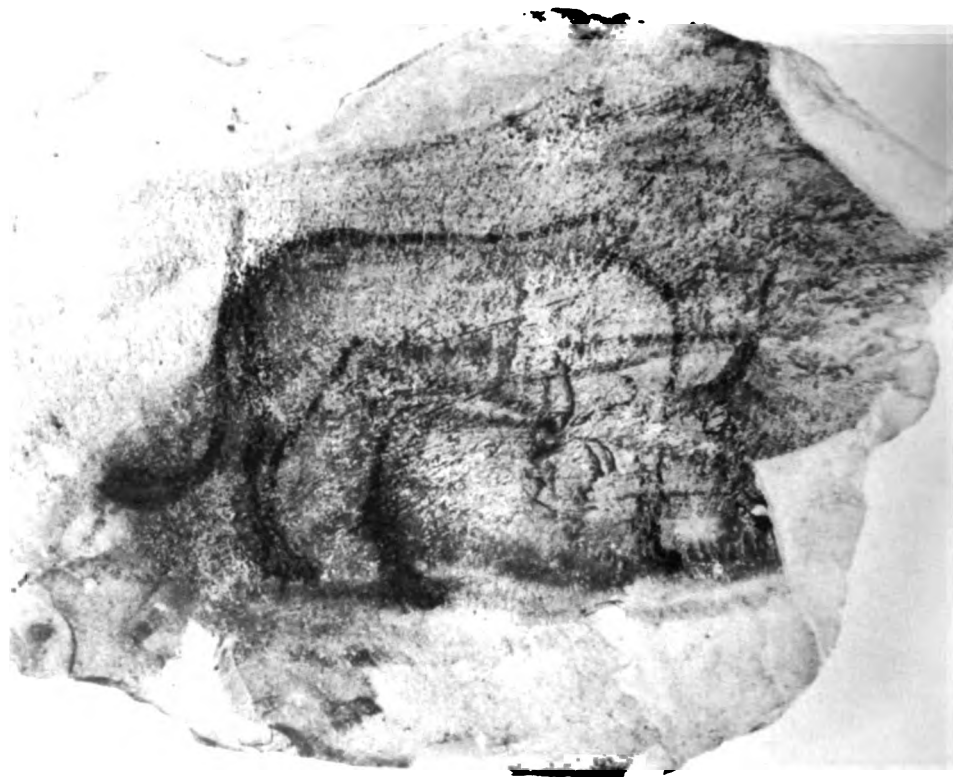


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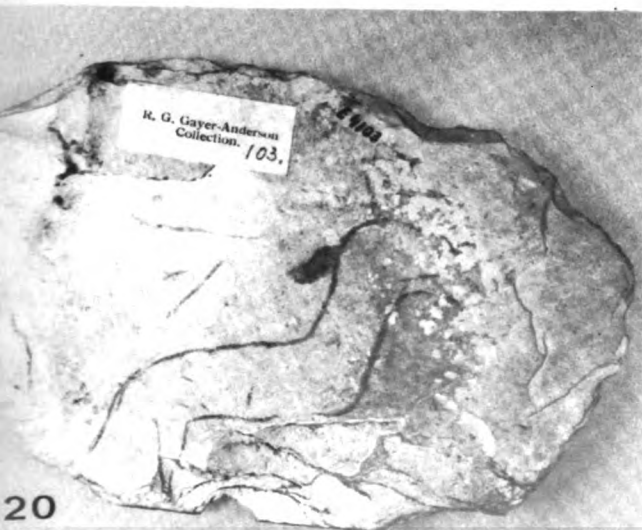
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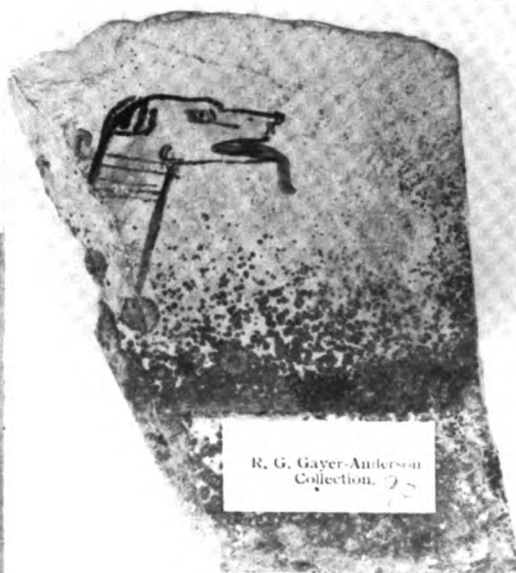
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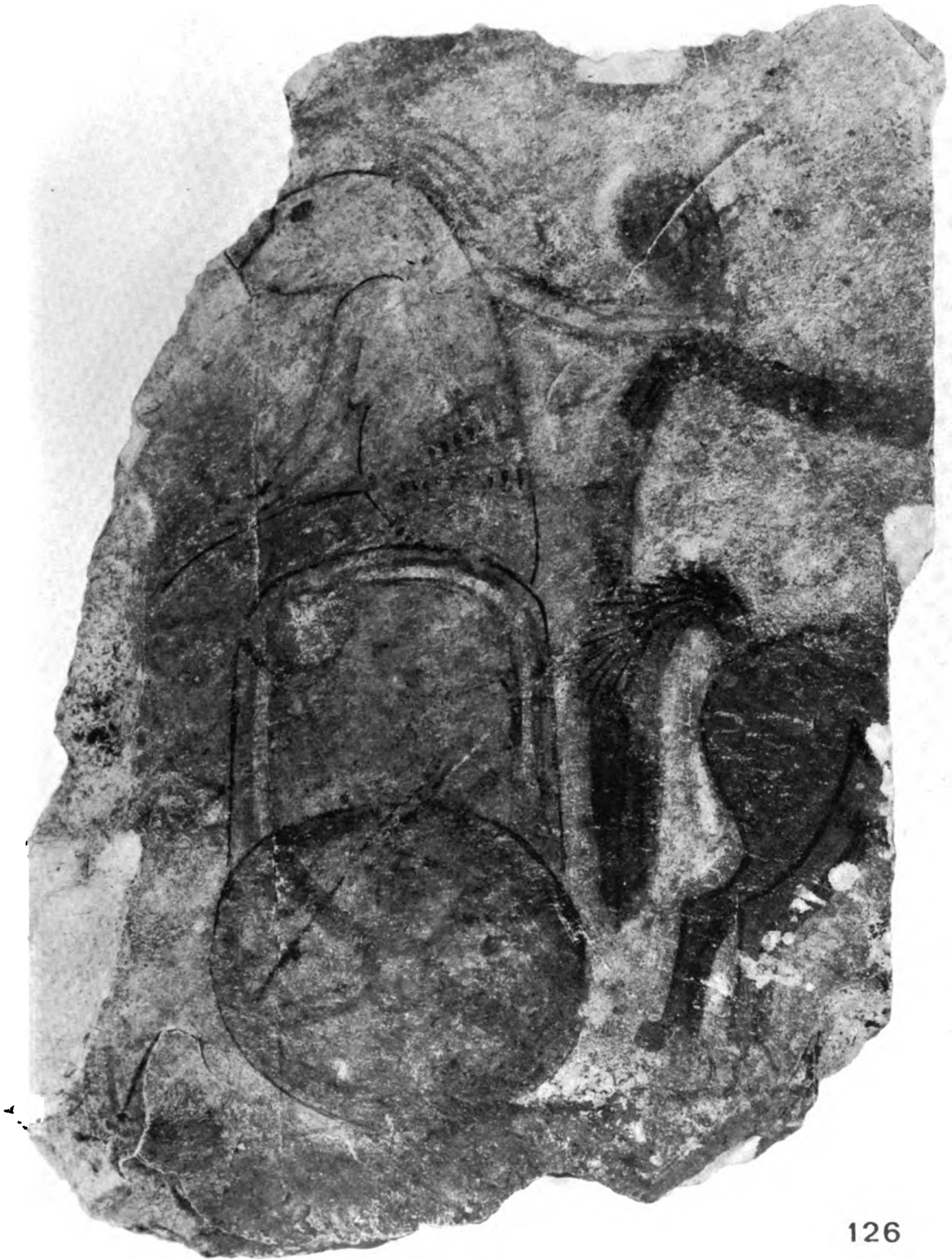
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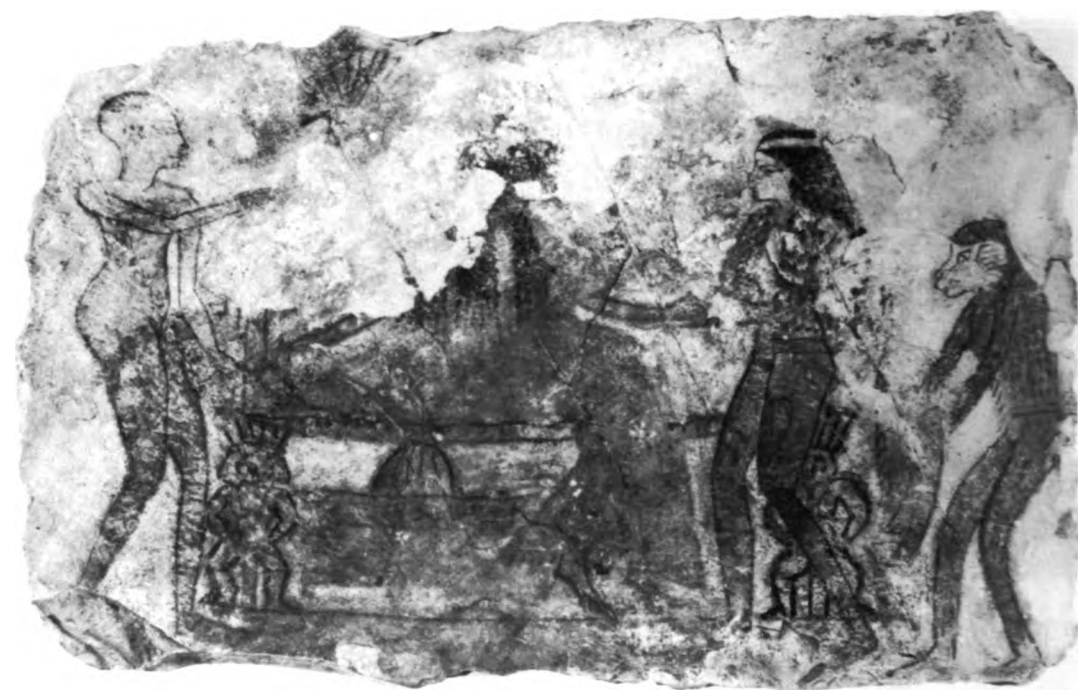
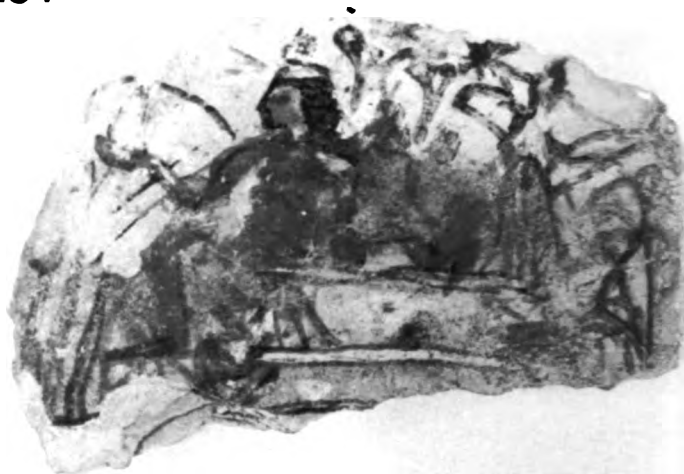


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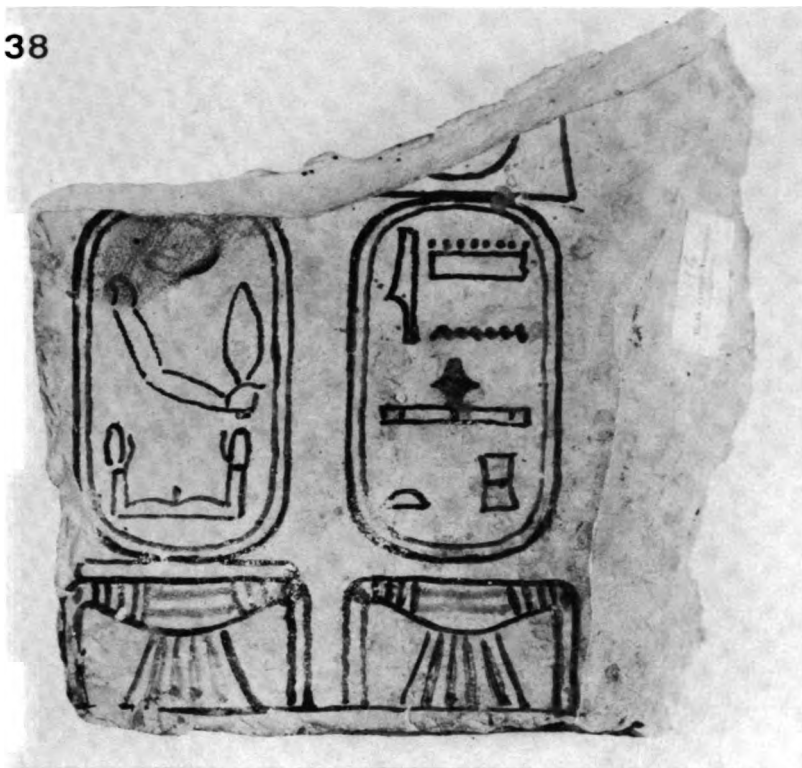
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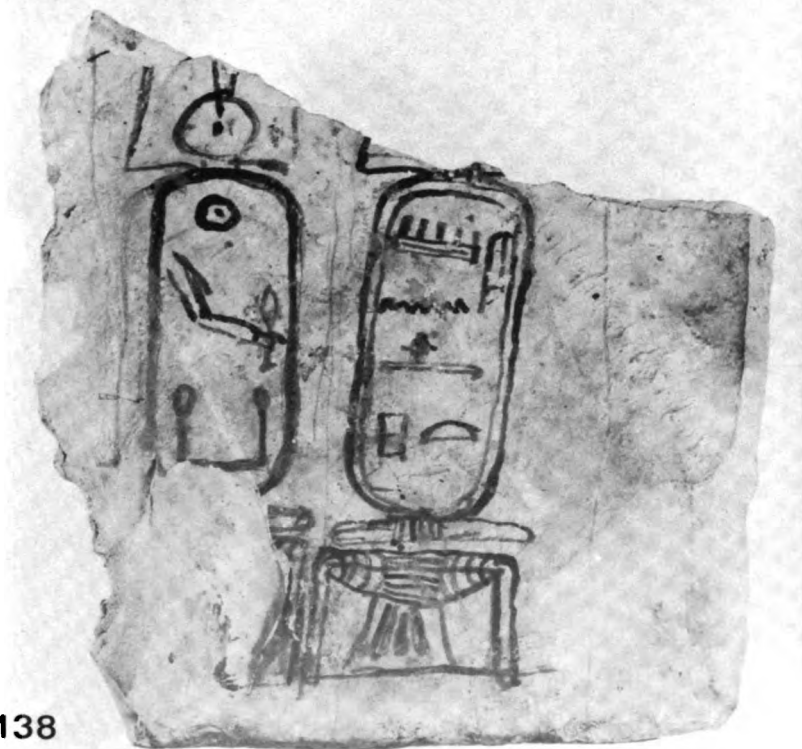
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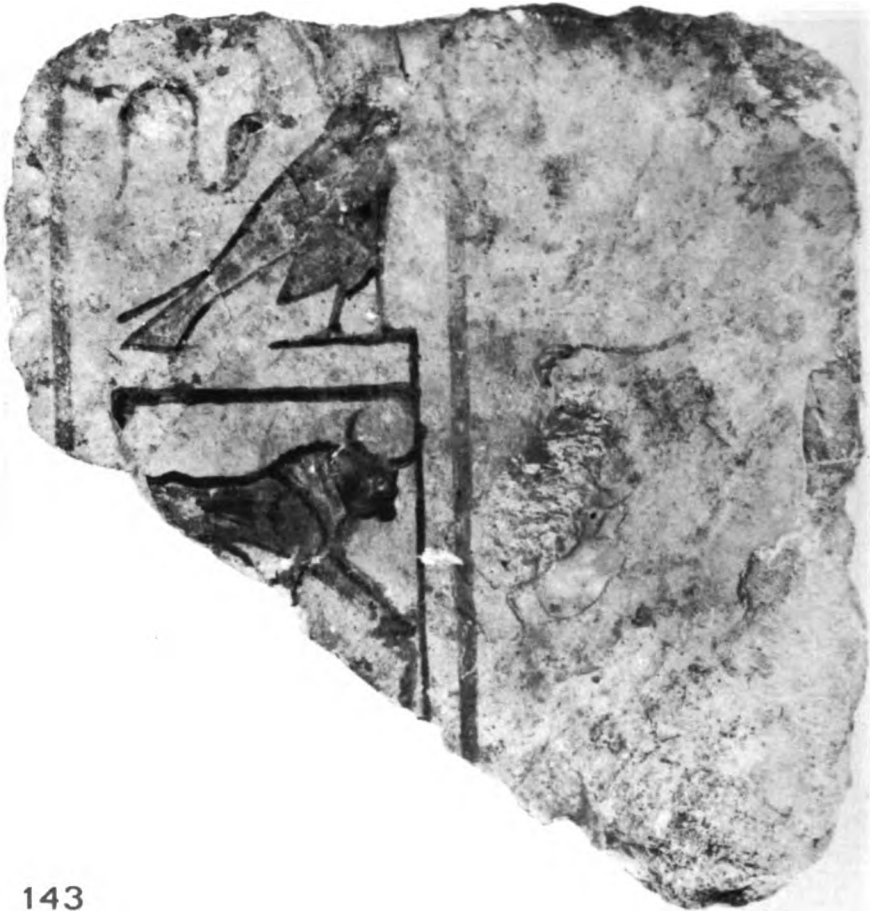


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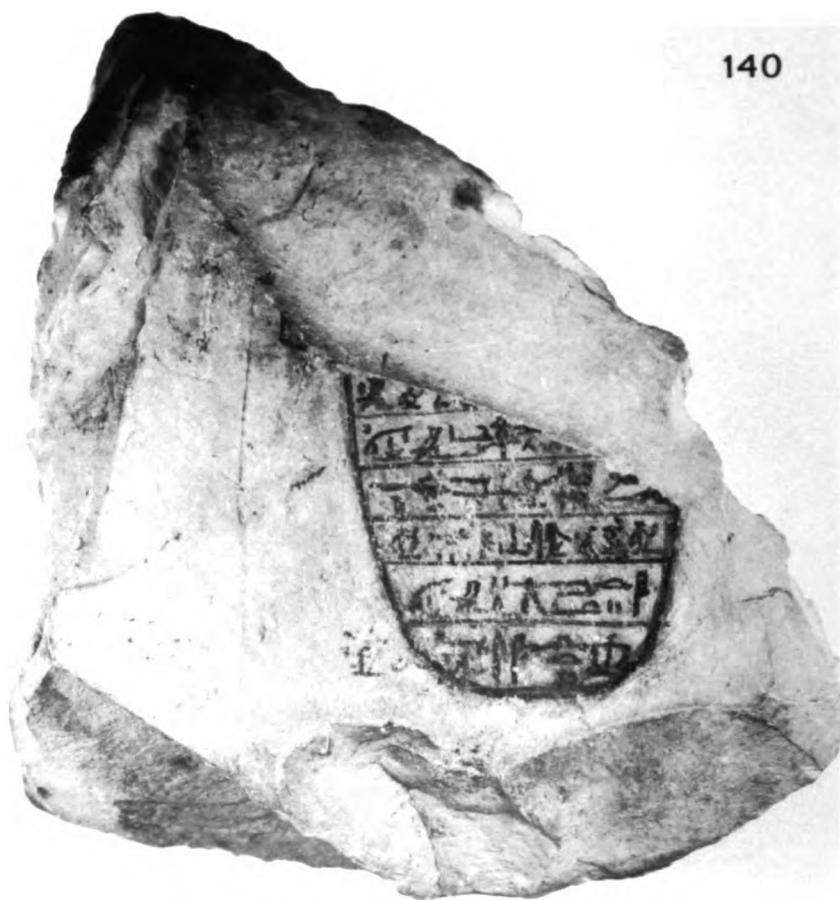


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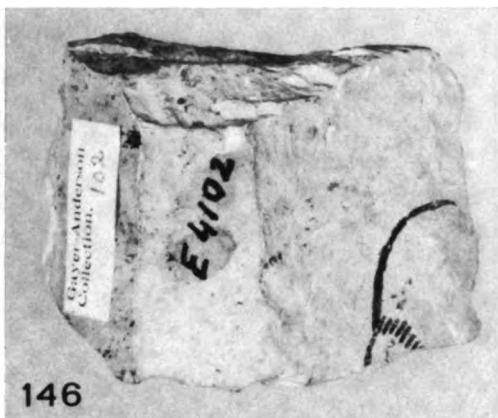








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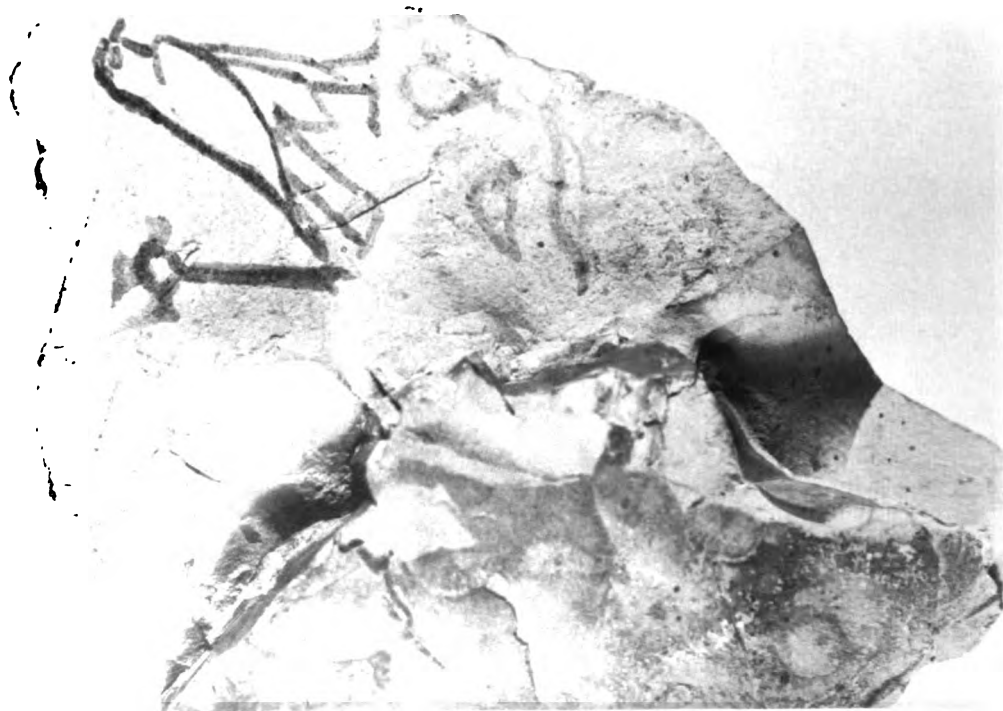
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# MEDELHAVSMUSEET

The Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities

Bulletin, Vol. 1, 1961, 64 pp. (out of print)

*Olof Vessberg*, The Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities, Medelhavsmuseet—A Presentation. *Hjalmar Larsen*, Finds from Badarian and Tasian Civilizations. *Hans Henning von der Osten*, Altorientalische Siegelsteine. *Sten V. Wängstedt*, Einige ägyptische Grabdenkmäler. *Olof Vessberg*, Recently Acquired Roman Portraits.

Bulletin, Vol. 2, 1962, 63 pp. Sw. Crs 16.

*Ture J. Arne*, The Collection of Luristan Bronzes. *Sten V. Wängstedt*, Ägyptische Siegelamulette. *Pär Göran Gierow*, A Latial Iron Age Tomb-Group. *Olof Vessberg*, Sculptures in the Throne-Holst Collection.

Bulletin, Vol. 3, 1963, 72 pp. Sw. Crs 20.

*Einar Gjerstad*, Supplementary Notes on Finds from Ajia Irini in Cyprus. *Evert Baudou*, Kreta, Tiber und Stora Mellösa, Bemerkungen zu zwei Bronzeschwertern aus dem Tiber. *Tullia Rönne-Linders*, A Black-Figured Neck-Amphora of the Leagros Group. *Olof Vessberg*, A Republican Portrait from the Sabina.

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Bulletin, Vol. 6, 1972, 55 pp. Sw. Crs 20.

*Vassos Karageorghis*, Notes on Some Cypro-Mycenaean Vases in the Medelhavsmuseet. *Sylvia Törnkvist*, Arms, Armour and Dress of the Terracotta Sculpture from Ajia Irini, Cyprus.

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**THE MUSEUM OF MEDITERRANEAN AND NEAR EASTERN ANTIQUITIES**

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# **The Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities MEDELHAVSMUSEET**

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Painting by Lasse Johnson

## King Gustaf VI Adolf

11/11 1882—15/9 1973

Our deceased monarch has played a decisive role in the history of the Medelhavsmuseet. When excavating sites in Greece and in Cyprus he worked with the aim of building up a representative collection of Mediterranean antiquities in Sweden. As an initiator of the Egyptian Museum at the end of the 1920's his personal contribution towards the acquisition of magnificent works of art was outstanding. For several years he participated in the work of the museum as a wise and benevolent counsellor. His judgment, based on a broad outlook and wide learning, could always be appreciated by the museum staff. After the founding of the Medelhavsmuseet in 1954 his

aid was substantial in the rapid enlargement of the collections. He also ensured international contacts and willingly gave his help and advice in any matter. As a gracious patron he followed the development of the young museum, often proudly bringing gifts acquired on travels. He participated in the meetings of the Society of Friends of the Museum and was an honoured guest at the openings of large exhibitions. He was never to see the museum in a building of its own as he so eagerly desired. Fulfilling this wish in the future will be a concrete and worthy tribute to the memory of one of the greatest art lovers and museum friends of this century.

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# Ramesside Mannerism

## Bengt Peterson

The eternal life of Egyptian reliefs and paintings from tombs and temples continues also in all the *membra disiecta*—fragments representing gods and pharaohs, priests and scribes, devotioners and offering-bearers &c.—which are scattered in collections all over the world. The peace of the deceased was early disturbed. Already in antiquity tombs were pillaged. The dead lost his house and furniture—even his existence in life after death was him deprived, as the mummy was often destroyed. So is the case if we turn e.g. to Memphis, where the spacious necropolis was always decaying to some extent, old tombs often being quarries supplying materials for new constructions. In the Christian epoch a great number of New Kingdom tombs were used as building-material for the monastery of Apa Jeremias. In the first half of the 19th century European travellers began to collect decorated stone-slabs in the ruins of the Memphite necropolis. These reliefs—chiefly of the New Kingdom—are now the most representative material illustrating the tomb-art of the epoch mentioned, besides, of course, the overwhelming number of Theban tombs and the very special Amarna group. In these fragmentary pictures continue still pious actions and sacrifices, and life undisturbed. Here death it still conquered. The pictures represent a fixed life, the tomb-walls being a multitude of approaches to manifold aspects of human life. Their dynamic character does not lie in gestures and attitudes but in the force of life contained in the figures. These are full of true life, real appearances of persons or things represented.

Memphite in character is a fragment of a tomb-relief (Fig. 1) which was given to *Medelhavsmuseet* by a private collector.<sup>1</sup> It is made of limestone of a quality which is often met with in Memphite

reliefs. The fragment is small, 44.5 cm in length and 38.5 in breadth. There are no traces of the customary original colouring. The representation is made entirely in sunken relief. Before a heap of offerings a man is standing with raised arms. Behind him can be seen the hand of a second person. There is also a hieroglyphic inscription.

The offerings to the right consist of a lotus flower and two buds of the same species, the three stalks being knotted together. Below these there is a loaf of bread in the form of a cone. On the left hand side of that can be seen a bird, probably a duck, and beneath it is the foreleg of an ox. All these offerings are things usually given.

The man with raised hands is dressed in a garment which probably leaves the upper part of his body bare.<sup>4</sup> Two sleeves of this garment are seen, one on the upper part of his right arm, the other hanging down in front of his breast from the left arm. The lower part of the body is entirely covered by the garment, the front part of which is pleated.<sup>5</sup> The man wears also a wig, of which single rows of hair are visible. The type is tripartite. On the top of the wig he has put an ointment cone.



Behind the man a second person was represented. Only a hand is now preserved. In front of this person there are three stalks of papyrus.

The inscription consists of fragments of six vertical lines. The beginning is to the right:

... giving praise to  
Osiris, the Lord of  
Heaven, the Lord  
 ... holy ..., the Ruler  
 ... to the soul of the  
deceased



Fig. 1. MM 10025.

44      ... y  
 ...  
 = ..., the justified

#### Commentary:

1. The reading of  $\text{ḥw}$  is uncertain because of the damage to the stone. A possible reading is  $\text{ḥw}$ . The epitheton "Lord of Heaven" of Osiris is important showing his cosmic role. It occurs already in the Middle Kingdom, e.g. on the Stockholm stela MM 32004 (NME 15).<sup>4</sup>
2.  $\text{ḥst}$  with the  $\text{ḥ}$  determinative is rare. The word is written with the female ending like the following  $\text{ḥst}$ . There is no reason to read the words as part of Osiris' titlature. They can refer to a female goddess.
3. The spelling of  $\text{wsr}$  deviates from the one in line 1. Here it is the common expression for a gift to the  $\text{k}$ -soul of a deceased person, an Osiris.
4. The first sign may be a single stroke without phonetical value. The two  $\text{ḥ}$ ,  $\text{y}$ , could be the end of a personal name.
- 5–6. Both lines contain fragments of personal determinatives, in line 5 a female, in line 6 a male.

It is difficult to say how long an inscription was contained in the original design. The action of the persons in front of the offerings is described. They praise the god Osiris and perhaps also other gods—a female one can also have been mentioned. They invoke the gods so that those may give offerings<sup>5</sup> "to the soul of" certain persons implied, whose names have followed, but which are no longer preserved.

There is reason to assume that the persons represented stood in front of Osiris. Such a scene can be found e.g. on a large stela from the tomb of Paatenemheb in Memphis.<sup>6</sup> The garment of the man is well attested at the end of the 18th dynasty onwards, e.g. in the tomb just referred to from the second half of the 14th century B.C. The type of the wig, however, is a type which is very frequent in the Ramesside times, the 19th and 20th dynasties, and which is with very few exceptions never worn in the 18th dynasty.<sup>7</sup> The ointment cone is used from the 18th dynasty onwards but is rare after the end of the New Kingdom. The look of the fragment is clearly Ramesside. There are no evident indications of an earlier dating than the 19th dynasty. The standardized, manneristic representation is so very typical of the Ramesside period. The outlines which till the end of the 18th dynasty and the beginning of the 19th still can be vibrating, forceful

and bold but sometimes also mellow, now have just the character of having been stamped into the stone. An assumption that the fragment has been made in Memphis is quite subjective. It is an impression based on the entire look of the fragment, the type of representation, the quality of the limestone, the outlines of the figures and the way of incising the hieroglyphs, compared with impressions of Memphite material. The piece may well derive from Memphis, but one does not know for sure.

The representations of the Ramesside period are most often of an explicitly manneristic character. There are new trends in the Egyptian tomb art of that period, but the motives are partly paraphrases of the iconographic themes of the 18th dynasty. It is a repetition of a formula. The New Kingdom could be conceived of as a *Spätkultur*. The end of the period erects in its monuments—private or official—idealistic and illusory projections of a world and a faith lacking correspondence in actual life—one could think of the monuments as consequences of a conscience of guilt in religious matters. If in tombs of the 18th dynasty the profane scenes occupy a rather dominant part of the tomb-walls, there is in the 19th and 20th dynasties a change; now, the religious scenes extend all over the walls. This is evident in the abundant Theban material and must have had a counterpart in the development of tomb-decorations in the Memphite region. It is also evident from the Theban material that religious scenes have not inspired the artists to do their utmost; N. de G. Davies has remarked how the rare profane scenes of the period in question are of a fairly better quality.<sup>8</sup>

In Egyptian art the pictures represent ideas, are combinations of ideas forming a totality of aspects. There are in principle no individual representations, all pictures being *Urbilder*. It is important to emphasize, that the decisive conception of representations-to-be must have been founded on the artist's personal experience of these *Urbilder*, an individual vision, but the weight of the technical and artistic traditions implying the role of society is also added. In periods of pronounced mannerism the prototypes seem to have been veiled, there is the phenomenon of alienation, and routine without feeling, an objective mechanical repetition comes to dominate.

New prototypes exist in Egyptian art of the 19th dynasty, the living royal art of the temples with







Fig. 2. NME 26.





Fig. 3.  
NME 41.



*Commentary:*

The *ir.n* usually introduces the name of the father. Hence certainly the name of the seated man was given just before. The title *rwḏ* is used in connection with several different administrations.<sup>12</sup>

The name *pī-bīk*, "The Servant", is a New Kingdom name<sup>13</sup> like the one of the wife "The Woman of Dendera".<sup>14</sup>

Also in this case there is no doubt of the Ramesside date of the monument. Dresses, inscriptions, style and character point to such a date. It is uncertain whether the fragments belonged to a tomb-wall or

to a large tomb-stela; in any case the scenes are typical of the tomb-decoration.

The monuments presented are all characterized by a rapid work and a sketchy style. There is no evident lack of technical competence but there is certainly a lack of that overwhelming inspiration which is so often attested by artists of the 18th dynasty. The figures are stiff and hieratic. They are like written characters, a mere report of an action established to be a monument of eternal presence. The fragments show the accentuated decline of tomb-art. The late flowering of Egyptian art lies within the 18th dynasty, in the Ramesside epoch there is no revival.

<sup>1</sup> MM 10025, presented by Dr. O. Smith in 1933. Provenience unknown.

<sup>2</sup> In some instances the person can wear also a tunic which is not always especially indicated on reliefs. Cf. e.g. the statue of Ptahmose in Leiden, P. A. A. Boeser, Beschreibung der ägyptischen Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altertümer in Leiden, Die Denkmäler des Neuen Reiches IV, Erste Abteilung, Gräber, Den Haag 1911, pl. 31.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. J. Vandier, Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne III, Paris 1958, 497 f.

<sup>4</sup> B. J. Peterson, Two Egyptian Stelae, Orientalia Suecana 14—15, 1966, 3 ff.

<sup>5</sup> In similar inscriptions there is often inserted a *dī=f* or a *dī=sn* with a following list of offerings.

<sup>6</sup> Boeser, op. cit., pl. 9.

<sup>7</sup> Vandier, op. cit., 488 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. N. de G. Davies, Two Ramesside Tombs at Thebes, New York 1927, 16.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. W. Wolf, Die Kunst Ägyptens, Stuttgart 1957, 534.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. the remarks by L. Curtius, Die antike Kunst I, Berlin—Babelsberg 1923, 71.

<sup>11</sup> Phenomena like the exceptional Deir el Medineh-group shall not be forgotten in this context.

<sup>12</sup> NME 26, acquired before 1868, provenience unknown. Inscriptions previously published in M. Mogensen, Stèles

égyptiennes au Musée National de Stockholm, Copenhagen 1919, 50 f.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Boeser, op. cit., pl. 5.

<sup>14</sup> Vandier, op. cit., 496.

<sup>15</sup> Ibidem, 485.

<sup>16</sup> Ibidem, 489.

<sup>17</sup> Parallels in the 19th dynasty, cf. Boeser, op. cit., pl. 13.

<sup>18</sup> Vandier, op. cit., 484.

<sup>19</sup> W. Helck, Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs, Leiden—Köln 1958, 254 f.

<sup>20</sup> H. Ranke, Die ägyptischen Personennamen I, Glückstadt 1935, 219: 3.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. H. Grapow, Ägyptische Personenbezeichnungen zur Angabe der Herkunft aus einem Ort, ZÄS 73, 1937, 44 ff.

<sup>22</sup> NME 41, acquired before 1868, provenience unknown. Inscriptions previously published in Mogensen, op. cit., 43 f.

<sup>23</sup> Vandier, op. cit., 497 f.

<sup>24</sup> Boeser, op. cit., pl. 8.

<sup>25</sup> Vandier, op. cit., 486 ff.

<sup>26</sup> A. Erman—H. Grapow, Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache II, 413.

<sup>27</sup> Ranke, op. cit., 104: 20.

<sup>28</sup> Ibidem, 357: 24.

# Eine Stockholmer Statuette des Gottes Osiris-Min

Beate George

*H. Brunner zum 60. Geburtstag*

Im *Medelhavsmuseet* befindet sich eine Steatitstatuette — NME 401 — die in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts erworben worden ist (Abb. 1—4). Sie stellt eine Osirisfigur von 10,5 cm Höhe dar, die mitten auf einer 1,9 cm dicken Basisplatte (5,8 cm Länge und 2,5 cm Breite) steht, deren Schmalseiten leicht bogenförmig gerundet sind. Während der Platz vorne vor Osiris' Füßen leer ist, ist der Raum hinter ihm ganz von einem Rückenpfeiler ausgefüllt, der bis zu den Schultern hinaufreicht und dann zur Krone hin abgearbeitet ist. Auf der Rückseite dieses Pfeilers ist in flachem Relief die Gestalt des Gottes Min eingeritzt. Auf der rechten Kante des Sockels befindet sich eine flüchtige schwer lesbare Hieroglyphenzeile. Sie scheint mit *Wsjr*,  $\text{𓂏}$   $\text{𓂐}$  zu beginnen,  $\text{𓂑}$  ist deutlich zu erkennen,  $\text{𓂒}$  aber wegen einer Beschädigung oder eines Fehlers im Stein nicht sicher zu lesen. Darauf könnten Epitheta folgen und zum Schluss möglicherweise der Name *Hr-n-sj*,  $\text{𓂓}$   $\text{𓂔}$ . Die Statuette dürfte wohl eine Votivgabe an einen Tempel gewesen sein; in solchen Fällen sind manchmal Gottes- und Stiftername auf den Weihgeschenken angebracht.

Osiris — obwohl in Stein ausgeführt — ist dem Stile nach ganz wie eine Bronzefigur der Spätzeit<sup>1</sup> behandelt; eine Datierung in diese Epoche bis in die Ptolemäerzeit ist daher aus stilistischen Gründen anzunehmen. Der ziemlich hohe und breite Körper ist eng von einer Mumienhülle umschlossen, unter welcher Füße, Unterschenkel und Knie, im Profil auch der Rücken leicht hervorgehoben sind. Die Hände — mit Einritzungen, die die Finger wiedergeben, und plastischen Daumen versehen — treten in unterschiedlicher Höhe aus der Mumienhülle hervor: die Linke liegt etwa vor der Leibesmitte und hält einen Krummstab, dessen zum Halse gewandte

Krücke ein Stück unterhalb der linken Schulter aufrucht und dessen Schaft unterhalb der Hand in die Senkrechte umbogend ist. Die rechte Hand — vor der Brust liegend — umfasst einen Wedel, dessen herabhängende Streifen detailliert wiedergegeben sind. Die Profilansichten der Figur zeigen, dass die Mumienhülle im Nacken steif in die Höhe stehend gedacht ist. Der Kopf ist im Verhältnis zum Körper zu klein. Gesichtszüge, Ohren und der Bart, der seiner ganzen Länge nach durch einen stehengelassenen Keil mit der Brust verbunden ist, sind wenig sorgfältig gebildet. Auf dem Haupte trägt Osiris die oberägyptische Krone mit Kopf und Schild eines Uräus und zwei hohen quergestrichelten Straussenfedern. Der kugelförmige Abschluss der Krone und die oberen Rundungen der Federn sind nicht ausgeführt. Die Figur scheint von den Füßen aus zum Kopfe hin gearbeitet worden zu sein, wobei in einem zu grossen Masstab begonnen wurde, so dass das Material nicht ganz ausreichte und zu Proportionsänderungen nötigte.

Die Besonderheit der Stockholmer Statuette besteht darin, dass sie doppelseitig ist und an der Kehrseite auf dem Rückenpfeiler die Gestalt des Gottes Min in Frontalansicht trägt. Min ist mit der für ihn charakteristischen Kappe mit hohem Federnpaar dargestellt; Gesichtszüge, Ohren und Bart sind nur grob eingeritzt. Der rechte Arm, der im Verhältnis zum Körper zu kurz ist, ist erhoben und hält den nur durch einen schrägen Strich angedeuteten Wedel, die linke Hand umfasst den Phallus. Die Beine sind übermässig lang, die Füße in Frontalansicht wiedergegeben; sie stehen auf der äussersten Kante der Basisplatte. Während der Schutzgestus z.B. bei Bronzegruppen des Osiris und der Isis verbildlicht wird, indem Isis — vollplastisch oder nur in





Abb. 1

Relief auf dem Rückenpfeiler\* — Osiris mit den Armen von hinten umfängt, deutet die Stellung zweier Gottheiten Rücken an Rücken, wobei beide Frontalseiten nach aussen gewandt sind, Doppelseitigkeit und Komplementarität an.

Um der möglichen Bedeutung dieses Werkes näherzukommen, sind die mannigfaltigen und verschiedenartigen Beziehungen, die zwischen Min und den Göttern Osiris und Horus in ihrem Verhältnis zu Isis vorkommen, kurz zu betrachten. Wichtig ist in diesem Zusammenhang die Kamutef-Vorstellung<sup>4</sup>, die beinhaltet, dass ein Gott gleichzeitig Gatte und



Abb. 2

Sohn einer Göttin sein könne. Hiermit wird bildlich ausgedrückt, dass der Gott uranfänglich — ohne Vater — und durch sich selbst entstanden sei, ausserdem aber noch, dass er sich ständig in einer Art von Wiedergeburt neu hervorbringen könne. Diese Kamutef-Qualität ist vor allem für Min in Verbindung mit Isis<sup>5</sup> gut belegt. Da im Kamutef die Zeiten — Vergangenheit und Zukunft — und damit die Generationen — Väter und Söhne — präsent sind, bilden in ihm — mythisch gesprochen — die Götter Osiris (Vater) und Horus (Sohn) eine Ganzheit bzw. kann er sich unter diesen beiden



Abb. 3



Abb. 4

Aspekten äussern, als diese beiden Götter erscheinen. Darüber hinaus kann er ihnen auch seine Kamutef-Qualität mitteilen, so dass jeder von ihnen die Ganzheit zu verkörpern vermag.

Sechs verschiedene Möglichkeiten der Äusserung oder Erscheinung Min-Kamutefs, alle im Verhältnis zu Isis gesehen, sind denkbar:

1. als Horus-Kamutef, d.h. Sohn und Gatte der Isis: vom Mittleren Reich an belegt;
2. als Horus, Gatte der Isis ohne Erwähnung der Sohnschaft: mir sind keine Belege dafür bekannt;

3. als Horus, Sohn der Isis und des Osiris: vom Mittleren Reich an belegt;
4. als Osiris-Kamutef, also Gatte und Sohn der Isis: dies ergibt sich aus der Osiris-Gestalt im Tempel Sethos' I. zu Abydos, die Min-Harsiese heisst, und dem Osiris-Min-Harsiese im Philae-Tempel, dem Tiberius das *wꜥḏ.ḏ*-Auge darbringt;
5. als Osiris, Sohn der Isis: dies ergibt sich aus einem ramessidischen Relief im Wadi Hammamat und einer spätzeitlichen Bronzegruppe, die beide ein mumiengestaltiges Kind mit Attributen des Osiris auf Isis' Schoss zeigen, sowie aus einer ptole-

mäischen Inschrift im Felsheiligtum des Min bei Achmim, in der Isis' Sohn „Sokar-Osiris in Achmim“ genannt wird“;

6. als Osiris, Gatte der Isis und Vater ihres Sohnes Horus: von der Ramessidenzeit an belegt.

In diesen letztgenannten Komplex lässt sich die Stockholmer Statuette einfügen, die mit Osiris als Vorderseite und Min als Rückseite als Osiris-Min aufgefasst werden kann.

Zwischen diesen beiden Göttern lassen sich verschiedene Intensitätsgrade der Verbindung beobachten“:

1. Austauschbarkeit oder Stellvertretung: Min hat die Rolle oder Funktion des Osiris inne.
2. Nebeneinanderstellung: Osiris und Min sind in einer zusammengehörigen Gruppe, aber jeder in seiner Gestalt dargestellt. Dass trotz der getrennten Gestalten eine Ganzheit gemeint sein kann, lässt sich dadurch stützen, dass z.B. die Erscheinungsformen *b*<sup>1</sup>, Schatten und Leib eines Menschen in drei unabhängigen Gestalten nebeneinander dargestellt sein können“, die alle denselben einen Menschen unter verschiedenen Aspekten wiedergeben.
3. Inkarnation in einem Leibe: eine „Mischgestalt“ trägt Züge des Osiris und des Min, in Texten der Doppelname Osiris-Min bzw. Min-Osiris<sup>13</sup>.

*Min in der Rolle des Osiris.* Aus der Ramessidenzeit ist eine Triade Min, Isis, Harsiese oder auch Min, Horus, Isis im Wadi Hammamat<sup>14</sup>, in Koptos<sup>15</sup> und für Achmim<sup>16</sup> belegt. Derselben Götterfamilie scheint der kleine Tempel von El Kala<sup>17</sup> nördlich von Koptos aus römischer Zeit geweiht gewesen zu sein. In allen diesen Fällen hat offensichtlich Min die Rolle des Osiris als Gatte der Isis und Vater des Horus inne. Den Gedanken, dass Min anstelle des toten Osiris der Vater des Horus sei, drückt ein später mythologischer Text<sup>18</sup> aus:

4e 3 0 7 \* 9 1 2 3 4 5  
4 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

„Du hast über Min in seinem Ruhme (= in ithyphallischer Gestalt) gesagt: Das ist der Lohn für die Geburt des Horus.“

In den Kapellen zweier nubischer Fürsten in Debod und Dakke (Ptolemäerzeit) trägt Min sogar

das sonst Osiris beigelegte Epitheton „Herr des Abaton“<sup>19</sup>.

*Osiris und Min nebeneinander.* Beide Götter in einer Gruppe zusammengefasst repräsentiert ein Bronzeanhänger der Spätzeit“, der auf einer Platte nebeneinander drei Figuren trägt, u.zw. rechts und links je einen mumiengestaltigen Osiris mit feder-geschmückter oberägyptischer Krone, Wedel und Krummstab und in der Mitte Min mit Federkappe und Sonnenscheibe, erhobenem rechtem Arm, der den Wedel stützt, und mit der linken Hand den Phallus umfassend. Die Bedeutung ist wohl ähnlich wie bei der Stockholmer Statuette: die Qualität Min ist in Osiris beschlossen bzw. ist seine andere Seite. Da Osiris bei dem Bronzeanhänger durch die doppelte Wiedergabe, bei der Statuette durch die Grösse an der Vorderseite der Doppelfigur hervorgehoben ist, scheint er der vorherrschende Partner in diesen Verbindungen zu sein.

Ein merkwürdiges Beispiel für Austauschbarkeit und Nebeneinanderstellung bieten Bilder und Texte einer Stele der Römerzeit aus Achmim<sup>20</sup>. Es erscheinen — abgesehen von Haroeris — zwei Götterfamilien: Min-Re, Triphis, Kolanthes und Osiris, Isis, Horus-Herzenserfreuer. Wie übereinstimmend in Bedeutung und Funktion diese beiden Triaden gewesen sein müssen, geht daraus hervor, dass Kolanthes „Sohn der Isis und des Osiris, grosser erster Erbe Mins“ genannt wird und dass Triphis ein Epitheton „*prt.t s.t*, die den Thron ausstattet“ trägt, das im Haupttext (Zeile 2) im Zusammenhang mit Isis erscheint. Osiris ist zudem nicht mumien-gestaltig, sondern im Königsornat und als lebenspendender Gott dargestellt.

*Osiris und Min in einer Gestalt.* Die Vereinigung beider Götter in einem Leibe geben ein Silberfigürchen der Spätzeit—Ptolemäerzeit aus Athribis und eine kleine spätzeitliche Bronzefigur wieder<sup>21</sup>. Das Silberfigürchen repräsentiert eine mumienförmige ithyphallische Gestalt mit oberägyptischer Krone. Der rechte Arm ist erhoben, Hand und Wedel fehlen jedoch; die linke umfasst den Phallus. Die Bronzefigur stellt eine Mumie mit oberägyptischer Krone dar, deren rechter erhobener Arm einen Wedel stützt, während der linke unter den Mumienbinden verborgen ist. Diese „Mischgestalten“ lassen sich als Osiris-Min oder auch Min-Osiris interpretieren. Möglicherweise gehören in diesen Zusammenhang auch Bilder des toten Osiris in ithyphallischer Gestalt, wie sie z.B. in den Sethos-Tempeln



in Abydos und Gurna und im Tempel zu Dendera  
 „kommen“ und anscheinend auch bei dem volks-  
 mlichen Fest der Pamylien“, von dem griechische  
 hiftsteller berichten, eine Rolle spielten. Auch  
 r einigemal belegte Beiname des ithyphallischen  
 iris „rsj wd<sup>3</sup>, der heil Erwachte“<sup>25</sup>, der sonst bei  
 in-Amun erscheint, und die Anrede an ihn

ⲓⲓⲙⲓ ⲛⲓⲛⲓ ⲛⲓⲛⲓ ⲛⲓⲛⲓ ⲛⲓⲛⲓ ⲛⲓⲛⲓ

„du Mumie mit langem Phallus“, in den Gebeten  
 des ungerecht Verfolgten aus der Ramessidenzeit“  
 nnen als Hinweise auf eine Mischgestalt aufgefasst  
 rden. Eine Gottheit Min-Osiris ist möglicherweise  
 f einem demotischen Grabstein römischer Zeit  
 s Achmim erwähnt“, auf welchem Osiris, Horus,  
 s, Nephthys und eine federgeschmückte Göttin  
 gebetet werden, wenn hier nicht „Min und Osiris“  
 übersetzen ist.

trachtet man alle diese Zeugnisse zusammen —  
 ich ob nun Min oder Osiris dominiert und welcher  
 ensitätsgrad in ihrer Verbindung auch bestehen  
 g — so scheinen sie alle in der Ausdrucksweise  
 s mythischen Bewusstseins auf dasselbe Phänomen  
 zuweisen: Totengott und Schöpfergott sind zwei  
 pekte derselben ganzen Wirklichkeit — nämlich  
 er durch Polarität bestimmten“ — zwei Er-  
 einungsweisen oder Gestalten derselben Gottheit.  
 enn beide sich in einem Gott wie z.B. Osiris-Min  
 nifestieren, erweist dieser sich als Verkörperung  
 „Ganzheit“, indem er beide Aspekte aus sich  
 lassen — Schöpfung, Geburt — und in sich  
 nehmen — Untergang, Sterben — kann. Hier wird

klar, dass er nicht nur bei Schöpfung und Geburt  
 Leben gibt und es in Tod und Untergang hin-  
 wegnimmt, sondern dass er es auch bei Schöpfung  
 und Geburt fortnimmt und in Untergang und Tod  
 gibt, dass im diesseitigen Leben das Sterben und im  
 Sterben, dem Hinübergehen ins Jenseitige, Leben  
 beschlossen ist; alles bewegt sich innerhalb der Gott-  
 heit.

Für die magisch-mythische Wahrnehmungsweise  
 der Ägypter wirken diese beiden Aspekte periodisch  
 in polarem Wechsel; sie manifestieren sich im Fallen  
 und Steigen des Überschwemmungswassers, im Ver-  
 dorren und Spriessen der Pflanzen, im Unter- und  
 Aufgang der Gestirne, im Sterben und Neuwerden  
 als und im Sohn. Auf diese Weise ist Osiris — oder  
 wenn seine Doppelseitigkeit deutlicher akzentuiert  
 werden soll: Osiris-Min<sup>26</sup> — Totengott, aber auch Nil,  
 Korn, Mond, Orion und schliesslich sein eigener  
 Sohn, die Quelle der Lebenskräfte, wie sie sich als  
 Lebensmittel und Sexualität den Ägyptern am kon-  
 kretesten darstellten“.

Von hier aus wird es einleuchtend, dass Versorgung  
 mit Nahrung und Möglichkeit zum Sexualverkehr  
 auch für das Dasein im Jenseits unerlässliche Lebens-  
 notwendigkeiten waren“. Auf diese Weise ist in  
 ägyptischer Sicht das Leben ewig: nicht auf einer  
 endlos in derselben Richtung fortlaufenden Geraden,  
 sondern in ständigem kreisendem Wandel der Form,  
 in welchen der Tod eingeschlossen und gleichzeitig  
 in immer neuer Wiedergeburt aufgehoben ist. Diese  
 Vorgänge in der Götterwelt hatten die Ägypter, da  
 das Makrokosmische sich im Mikrokosmischen  
 spiegelt, in ihrem Dasein im Diesseits und Jenseits  
 nachzuvollziehen.

<sup>1</sup> Ranke, Die ägyptischen Personennamen I, Glück-  
 stadt 1935, 249, 7.

<sup>2</sup> Roeder, Ägyptische Bronzewerke, Glückstadt 1937,  
 11 f; id. in: Ägyptologische Studien (ed. O. Firchow),  
 Berlin 1955, 248—286: Die Arme der Osiris-Mumie; id.,  
 Ägyptische Bronzefiguren, Berlin 1956, Taf. 22 ff, 77 f.  
 Nach Roeders Klassifizierung gehört die Stockholmer  
 Figur dem unterägyptischen Typus an.

<sup>3</sup> Bronzen mit einer Gestalt auf dem Rückenpfiler:  
 Daressy, Statues de divinités, CGC, Le Caire 1906,  
 38 294, 38 311. Aufgrund der Haltung ist eine  
 Interpretation des Min als Schützer (Harendotes) bei  
 der Stockholmer Figur unwahrscheinlich.

<sup>4</sup> H. Bonnet, Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religions-  
 geschichte, Berlin 1952, s.v. Kamutef; H. Jacobsohn, Die  
 dogmatische Stellung des Königs in der Theologie der  
 alten Ägypter<sup>2</sup>, ÄgFo 8, 1955, 13 ff. Die deutlichste  
 Illustration zu dieser Vorstellung liefert wohl die Ge-  
 schichte von den zwei Brüdern des Papyrus d'Orbiney.

<sup>5</sup> Bonnet, op.cit., s.v. Min; H. Kees, Der Götterglaube  
 im alten Ägypten, Leipzig 1941, 199 ff; M. Münster,  
 Untersuchungen zur Göttin Isis, MÄS 11, 1968, 129 ff.  
 Der Vollständigkeit halber sei auf den seltener belegten  
 „k3-jt.f, Stier seines Vaters“ hingewiesen: M. Doresse,  
 Le dieu voilé dans sa chässe et la fête du début de la  
 décade, Rev. d'Ég. 23, 1971, 113—136, bes. 121, Anm. 1.

\* Osiris und Horus sind natürlich nicht nur Hypostasen Mins, der aufgrund seiner besonders deutlichen Kamutef-Qualität hier im Vordergrund steht. In den einzelnen Texten und Bildern kommen die verschiedensten Nuancen im Verhältnis Mins zu diesen Göttern zum Ausdruck, die sich nicht streng systematisieren lassen. Die folgende Aufzählung ist als Orientierungshilfe angesichts der Mannigfaltigkeit gedacht, nicht als endgültiges System.

<sup>7</sup> Z.B. H. O. Lange, Ein liturgisches Lied an Min, SPAW 28, 1927, 331—338, Z. 13—14.

<sup>8</sup> Münster, op.cit., 131 f.

<sup>9</sup> A. M. Calverley—A. H. Gardiner, The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos, III, London 1938, pl. 14; PM VI 214 = Lepsius, Denkmäler IV 75 a unten.

<sup>10</sup> Münster, op.cit., 132 f bzw. H. Kees, Das Felsheiligtum des Min bei Achmim, RecTrav 36, 1914, 51—56, pl. IV 2 f. Osiris als Kind neben seiner erwachsenen Erscheinungsform ist möglicherweise auch in Philae dargestellt: H. Junker, Das Götterdekret über das Abaton, Wien 1913, Abb. 10 u. S. 45.

<sup>11</sup> Zum Phänomen des Synkretismus, den ich zunächst so weit fassen möchte, cf. zuletzt E. Hornung, Der Eine und die Vielen, Darmstadt 1971, 82 ff mit Literaturhinweisen.

<sup>12</sup> Z.B. L. Speleers, Le papyrus de Nefer-Renpet, Bruxelles 1917, pl. 27.

<sup>13</sup> Dies entspricht Bonnets „Einwohnung“: Zum Verständnis des Synkretismus, ZÄS 75, 1939, 40—52. Der Terminus „*sm} m d.t.* sich vereinigen mit dem Leibe“, der im Leidener Amunshymnus IV 13 das Eingehen des Gottes in seinen Leib beschreibt, könnte — neben anderen Umschreibungen und Vorstellungen — auch die synkretistische Vereinigung in einer Gestalt treffend bezeichnen, scheint aber in einem solchen Zusammenhang nicht belegt zu sein.

<sup>14</sup> J. Couyat—P. Montet, Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouâdi Hammâmât, MIFAO 34, 1912, Nr. 239: Sethos II.; Nr. 222: Ramses IV.; Nr. 12: Ramses IV., cf. L. Christophe, La stèle de l'an III de Ramsès IV au Ouâdi Hammâmât (No 12), BIFAO 48, 1949, 1—38, pl. I. G. Goyon, Nouvelles inscriptions du Wâdi Hammâmât, Paris 1957, Nr. 95, p. 109, pl. 32. Cf. Münster, op.cit., 132.

<sup>15</sup> W. M. F. Petrie, Koptos, London 1896, pl. 18,2 und p. 16; A. E. P. Weigall, Upper Egyptian Notes, ASAE 9, 1908, 105—112, Nr. 17; V. Vikentiev, Les divines adoratrices de Wadi Gasus, ASAE 52, 1952, 151—159, bes. 156.

<sup>16</sup> Papyrus Harris I 61,11.

<sup>17</sup> A. J. Reinach, Le temple d'El-Kala à Koptos, ASAE

11, 1911, 193—237; Bonnet, Reallexikon, s.v. Koptos. Cf. auch Min in der Vaterrolle beim Min-Fest: H. Gauthier, Les fêtes du dieu Min, Le Caire 1931, 53 f.

<sup>18</sup> Kees, Götterglaube, 201; S. Schott, Urkunden VI 2, 137, 10 ff.

<sup>19</sup> Hinweise bei A. Rusch in Pauly-Wissowa, Realencyclopädie Supplementband VI, 1935, 451.

<sup>20</sup> Roeder, Bronzefiguren, § 663 d und Abb. 755: Berlin 2361.

<sup>21</sup> A. Scharff, Ein Denkstein der römischen Kaiserzeit aus Achmim, ZÄS 62, 1926, 86—107.

<sup>22</sup> R. Engelbach, The Treasure of Athribis, ASAE 24, 1924, 178—185, pl. I, line 3 no. 5; Daressy, op.cit., 114, pl. XXIII: Nr. 38 425. Eine etwas andere Form der Verbindung zweier Götter, die nur durch die Attribute angedeutet ist, liegt bei einigen Bronzefiguren des Osiris-Ptah vor: B. J. Peterson, Der Gott Osiris-Ptah, Herr des Lebens, ZÄS 95, 1969, 135—138.

<sup>23</sup> E. Otto, Osiris und Amun, München 1966, Taf. 16—17, 19—20; id., Eine Darstellung der „Osiris-Mysterien“ in Theben, Festschrift Schott (ed. Helck), Wiesbaden 1968, 99—105.

<sup>24</sup> Bonnet, Reallexikon, s.v. Pamylien.

<sup>25</sup> WB II 451, 13—14; J. Baines, R. T. Rundle Clark's Papers on the Iconography of Osiris, JEA 58, 1972, 286—295, bes. 290 mit Anm. 4.

<sup>26</sup> A. Eрман, Gebete eines ungerecht Verfolgten und andere Ostraka aus den Königsgräbern, ZÄS 38, 1900, 19—41, bes. 30.

<sup>27</sup> W. Spiegelberg, Demotische Miscellen, RecTrav 26, 1904, 154—165, bes. 161 ff: in Zeile 1 kann „Min-Osiris“ oder „Min und Osiris“ gelesen werden, in 6 f „Min (?) und Osiris“.

<sup>28</sup> Dazu grundlegend J. Gebser, Dualismus und Polarität, Zürich 1971.

<sup>29</sup> Zur Ganzheit, wie sie heute wahrgenommen werden kann: J. Gebser, Verfall und Teilhabe, Salzburg 1974, 133 ff.

<sup>30</sup> Dass auch Min allein bei der Auferstehung des Königs eine Rolle spielt, geht schon aus Pyr. § 1712, 1928, 1948 hervor; zu seinen Beziehungen zu Mond und Pflanzenwuchs cf. Bonnet, Reallexikon, s.v. Min. Zu Osiris als Toten- und Schöpfergott cf. vor allem H. Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, Chicago 1948, 181 ff.

<sup>31</sup> Rituelles Essen und Trinken sind ja auch im Christentum, ritueller Sexualverkehr ist im Tantrismus Heilmittel.

<sup>32</sup> W. Westendorf, Bemerkungen zur „Kammer der Wiedergeburt“ im Tutanchamungrab, ZÄS 94, 1967, 139—150.

# Eine römerzeitliche Grabstele aus Ägypten

Bengt Peterson

Unter den grössten einheitlichsten Gruppen von Grabstelen aus dem römischen Ägypten befinden sich die aus Terenuthis (Kom Abu Billu) im West-delta. Von Archäologen der *University of Michigan* wurden 1935 über zweihundert Stelen gefunden, teilweise aber auch angekauft; ausserdem sind viele Beispiele dieser Gruppe in verschiedenen Sammlungen vorhanden<sup>1</sup>. Ähnliche Stelen entstammen auch anderen Stätten Unterägyptens, weshalb es möglich ist, dass die hier vorkommenden Typen ziemlich allgemein waren<sup>2</sup>. In Terenuthis sind die Stelen hauptsächlich durch Münzfunde in die Zeit um 300 nach Christus datiert<sup>3</sup>, eine Datierung, die neuerdings in Zweifel gezogen wurde, da eine vor allem stilistische Interpretation sie auch als früher erscheinen lassen kann<sup>4</sup>. Ein Weiterleben bis in das 4. Jahrhundert ist jedoch anzunehmen.

In *Medelhavsmuseet* befindet sich eine Stele aus Kalkstein, deren Herkunft unbekannt ist und die zu einem der Typen der Terenuthis-Gruppe gehört (Abb. 1). In der herkömmlichen Tradition der ägyptischen Grabstelen ist sie oben abgerundet. Sie ist etwas unregelmässig geformt, hat aber eine ganz ebene Bildfläche. Auf dieser befinden sich unten zwei waagerechte Inschriftzeilen, die durch drei eingegritzte Linien unterteilt sind. Das Bild, das in versenktem Relief ausgeführt ist, zeigt einen Mann mit kurzem Haar, der in der sogenannten Orantenhaltung stehend dargestellt ist. Er ist in Chiton und Himation gekleidet. Die Körperteile sind rot bemalt. Bei den Augen und dem Haar gibt es schwarze Farbspuren. Neben dem Mann hocken zwei antithetisch gestellte Schakale. Sie sind ganz flüchtig eingeritzt; beim linken hat man den Schwanz weglassen.

Die Inschrift ist griechisch und gibt Namen, Alter und Sterbedatum des Inhabers an:

ΠΕΕΒΩC ΩC L ζ L̄ MECOPH IE EYΨYXI  
Πεεβός ως (ἔτων) ζ (ἔτους) δ Μεσορή ιε εὐψύχ(ε)ι

## Übersetzung:

„Peebos, um 6 Jahre alt. Jahr 4, Mesore 15. Sei guten Mutes.“

## Kommentar:

*Peebos*: der Name ist geläufig in römischer Zeit. Auf den Terenuthis-Stelen ist er mehrmals belegt (Hooper, Nr. 79, 121, 140), auch mit den Varianten πεβός (Ibid., Nr. 124), φεβός (Ibid., Nr. 118) und φεβός (Ibid., Nr. 119).

*Jahr 4*: bezieht sich auf Regierungsjahr 4 eines Kaisers. Wegen der niedrigen Zahl ist es nicht möglich, das Jahr festzulegen.

*Mesore*: Name eines ägyptischen Monats, aus dem alt-ägyptischen *mswt-r*, „Geburt des Re“.

*εὐψύχει*: kommt mehrmals auf den Terenuthis-Stelen vor, sowie auch häufig auf rein griechischen Grabsteinen.

Diese Stele, die sich in jeder Weise an die Terenuthis-Gruppe anschliesst, gehört mit ihren Verwandten zu den letzten Zeugnissen altägyptischer Tradition. Merkmale dafür sind neben der Stelenform das tief versenkte Relief mit modellierten Details, der hieroglyphische Charakter des Kopfes in Frontalansicht, die Ausführung der Augen. Auch die Schakale entsprechen einer altherkömmlichen Sitte, den Gott Anubis auf Totendenkmälern darzustellen. Neue, und zwar griechische Einschläge sind die gänzliche Frontalansicht des Mannes, die Fussstellung — viele Parallelen haben jedoch die altägyptische Seitenansicht der Füsse beibehalten — sowie die Kleidung.

Mit Recht hat K. Wessel die altägyptische Weise,



Abb. 1. MM 11421, 27 × 21 cm.

auf welche man das Relief ausgeführt hat, betont<sup>5</sup>. Er hat sie mit Reliefs aus der Amarnazeit um 1350 vor Christus verglichen. Auch die Ausarbeitung der Augen gehört mit zu den Inventionen der Amarnakunst, die noch lange in ägyptischer Kunst weiterlebten. Die Augen sind modelliert, etwas erhöht und wurden durch Bemalung vollendet. In dieser Weise sind sie eines der wichtigsten Mittel der Seelenkündigung der Amarnakunst<sup>6</sup>; hier begegnet uns ein Nachklang dieser Ausdrucksmöglichkeit, die auch in griechischer Kunst wiederkehrt<sup>7</sup>.

Die Orantenhaltung<sup>8</sup> wäre grundsätzlich nicht nur auf altägyptische Vorbilder zurückzuführen, sie ist universellen Charakters. Eine Grundbedeutung dürfte sein, die Unschuld des Toten vor den Göttern zu zeigen. Sie könnte z.B. ein Zeichen der Reinheit und Frömmigkeit der minderjährigen und vor der Familiengründung gestorbenen Person sein<sup>9</sup>. Die kindliche Unschuld wäre also ein Hintergrund für den Typus. Er wurde aber auch für erwachsene Personen verwendet. Man könnte hier weitere Aspekte andeuten. Die Möglichkeit für eine allgemeine Verwendung des Typus könnte in der Einfachheit der Haltung liegen. Sie ist ein Hingeben, ein ruhevolles Stehen — verteidigungslos gegenüber etwas Größerem, in welches man aufgehen soll. In Gegenwart des Todes geschieht hier die letzte menschliche Gebärde vor dem Überschreiten der Grenze. Eine Vorstellung von einem Sterbenkönnen wird hier ausgedrückt, wird hier Symbol, hinter welcher die schmerzhafteste Wirklichkeit sich verbirgt. Die Häufigkeit des Typus auf den hier aktuellen Denkmälern deutet darauf, dass er ein prägnantes

Symbol geworden ist. Peripher gibt es auch eine gewisse Ähnlichkeit mit den Mystenstatuen von Antinopolis, die etwa gleichzeitig sind und die einen Jünglingstypus darstellen, der ein religiöses Sohnschaftsverhältnis ausdrückt<sup>10</sup>.

Im Zeichen des Beschützers der Toten, des Schakalgottes Anubis steht das Bild. Es ist interessant zu sehen, wie die Wiedergabe des Gottes auf vielen der Terenuthisstelen nachträglich eingeritzt worden ist. Einige Beispiele haben Schakale in schönem Relief ausgeführt, andere aber nur eingeritzt. Nicht unwahrscheinlich ist das spätere Hinzufügen des Schakalbildes gleichzeitig mit der Einfügung der Inschrift geschehen. Es ist anzunehmen, dass die Stelen fertig zum Verkauf lagen und dass die Wünsche der Besteller nach einem traditionellem Symbol berücksichtigt wurden.

Mehrere Gründe machen es wahrscheinlich, dass die Abnehmer dieser Stelen hauptsächlich Ägypter waren<sup>11</sup>. Keine Symbole auf den Stelen oder aus den Bestattungen in Terenuthis künden von der Ankunft des Christentums, das schon früh Heimatrecht in Ägypten besass. Nicht weit von der Weltstadt Alexandria lebten also in der Kaiserzeit die ägyptischen, heidnischen Besteller dieser Stelen, die zu einer Mittelschicht in der Gesellschaft gehörten, wovon einige Titel in den Inschriften zeugen<sup>12</sup>. Der wichtigste Ausdruck dieser Grabsteine, die Orantenhaltung, die hier als echtes Symbol gegenüber dem Tode verwendet ist, hat weiterhin ein Nachleben in der koptischen Kunst. So ist Altes in Neues verwandelt, ein Zeichen der Tiefe dieses Symbols.

<sup>5</sup> F. A. Hooper, *Funerary Stelae from Kom Abou Billou*, Ann Arbor 1961 (mit Hinweisen zu früheren Publikationen); L. Castiglione, *Stele eines Kupferschmiedes. Zur Deutung der römischen ägyptischen Grabsteine*, MDAIK 24, 1969, 78 ff.; L. V. Žabkar, *A Greco-Egyptian Funerary Stela*, Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson, SAOC 35, 1969, 99 ff.; K. Parlasca, *Zur Stellung der Terenuthis-Stelen. Eine Gruppe römischer Grabreliefs aus Ägypten* in Berlin, MDAIK 26, 1970, 173 ff.; G. Wagner, *Inscriptions grecques d'Égypte*, BIFAO 72, 1972, 139 ff.; S. Farid, *Preliminary Report on the Excavations of the Antiquities Department at Kôm Abû Billo*, ASAE 61, 1973, 21 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Castiglione, op.cit., 79 f.; Parlasca, op.cit., 179.

<sup>7</sup> Hooper, op.cit., 3 f.

<sup>8</sup> Parlasca, op.cit.

<sup>9</sup> K. Wessel, *Koptische Kunst*, Recklinghausen 1963, 95 f.

<sup>10</sup> Vgl. B. Peterson, *Some Objects from the Time of Akhenaten*, JEOL 20, 1968, 23.

<sup>11</sup> Vgl. P. Gilbert, *De la mystique amarnienne au sfumato praxitélien*, CdE 33 (65), 1958, 19 ff.

<sup>12</sup> Vgl. zuletzt S. Trauzeddel, *Ursprung und Entwicklung des Orantenmotivs in der koptischen Sepulchralkunst. Von Nag Hammadi bis Zypern*, Eine Aufsatzsammlung, herausgegeben von P. Nagel, Berliner Byzantinische Arbeiten 43, Berlin 1972, 35 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Castiglione, op.cit., 80 ff.

<sup>14</sup> Vgl. B. Peterson, *Zum bildnerischen Schaffen im spätantiken Ägypten*, Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin 9, 1974, 22 ff.

<sup>15</sup> Vgl. Wessel, op.cit., 96; Žabkar, op.cit., 104, Anm. 22.

<sup>16</sup> Hooper, op.cit., 27.

# Zum bildnerischen Schaffen im spätantiken Ägypten

Bengt Peterson

Die ganze Kraft des Seins kann sich manchmal zusammenballen, kann in einem einzigen Punkt, in einem Menschen oder in einer seiner Schöpfungen zum Ausdruck gelangen. Es entsteht dabei eine Endlosigkeit im Augenblicklichen, eine Zeitlosigkeit, in der der Mensch wurzelt, die plötzlich mit alles überwindender Kraft den ganzen Menschen gleichwie seine Schöpfung durchdringt. In den menschlichen Werken, nicht zuletzt in der Kunst, gibt es bisweilen Beispiele dafür, dass etwas Zeitloses, Ursprüngliches, auch innerhalb der Grenzen des Zeitlichen, da west, schillernd und ungebunden, lebendig zugleich aber wie aus einer anderen Welt jenseits des Gegensatzes Leben—Tod. Die historische Form wird von einer Klarheit durchdrungen, die von Innen kommt, die im Körper eine Transzendenz wiedergibt, deren Durchbruch entsteht in der Spannung zwischen Endlichem und Unendlichem, Konkretem und Abstraktem. Zeitalter gab es, als dieses Transzendente, das die Polaritäten umgreift und hier nicht als Gegensatz zur Immanenz gemeint ist, die Menschen und ihre Schöpfungen prägte, Perioden des Alten Reiches in Ägypten, des archaischen Griechenlands, des romanischen Europas, andere Zeitalter, als eine übermächtige Entfremdung die Menschen im grossen Ausmasse von den Urgründen des Lebens fernhielt. Das Wundersame dieser Zeitalter einer kollektiv gelebten Transzendenz kann der Mensch des XX. Jahrhunderts wohl nicht fassen, nur kann er bei deren überlieferten konkreten Ausdrücken von einem tiefen Erlebnis gefangen werden. Es ist nicht so, dass diese Transzendenz mit Zeiten des Friedens, der Ruhe und des Wohlstandes zu tun haben müsste, umgekehrt kann sie in schwersten Stunden hervorblitzen. Sie hat mehr mit der Menschen Vermögen zu tun, die Augen *offen* zu halten, das Böse, das

Leiden, die Krankheit, das Sterben zu sehen, anzunehmen und zu integrieren. In Umbruchszeiten hat sie eine sonderbare Neigung hervorzutreten, sich augenblicklich zu projizieren in vollster Kraft. Manchmal hat dieses eine Verbindung mit einer Sehnsucht des Menschen nach dem Inneren; die Transzendenz ist aber nicht bloss mit einer solchen Wendung zu gewinnen, denn dabei sind Kräfte tätig, die nicht einfach sich aufsuchen lassen, die jenseits der Ratio und des Verstandes gelagert sind.

Die Zeit um 300 nach Christus ist eine Periode des Umbruchs und der Verwandlung in der Mittelmeerwelt. Diese ist unterwegs, sich aus den Fesseln des Hellenismus und des Römertums zu lösen. Die sanfte Kraft des Christentums beginnt, die antike Spätkultur zu durchsäuern — was besonders früh in Ägypten der Fall ist — obwohl dieses nur eine von den Lehren ist, die mit der aufkommenden, verbreiteten Erlösungssehnsucht zusammenhängen; erwähnt sei auch das tiefe Wirken der Gnosis. Das Erleben der äusseren tatsächlichen Wirklichkeit musste sich auch gewandelt haben. Die imperialen Kämpfe bei den römischen Grenzen bis weit in den Osten werden Kriege apokalyptischer Art, deren furchtbare Wirklichkeit zusammen mit der der offenen Gewalt und des Unrechtes in Städten und Dörfern — soziale Aufstände, Christenverfolgungen, Barbareneinfälle, Plünderungen und wirtschaftliche Unruhe — im Bewusstsein des im Gotte Lebenden ins bedingt Wirkliche transformiert werden konnte. Die Frage von Unterschieden der Haltung verschiedener Volksgruppen, Ägyptern, Juden, Griechen, hat keine grosse Bedeutung, denn die Offenbarung des Bösen trifft nicht ethnisch, folgt eigenen Gesetzen. Der Mensch ohne Gott verliert vielerorts in oberflächlicher Introversion die lebendige Ver-

bindung mit der Aussenwelt, ein Dualismus entsteht, der ihn in Schrecken versetzt. Vor allem gilt dieses in den städtischen Gebieten, deren entfremdende Kräfte eine Pseudoentwicklung hervortreiben. Aber auch andere Kräfte treten hervor. Als ein Verteidigungsmechanismus gegen den Druck der aufdringlichen äusseren Wirklichkeit wirkt es, wenn der Mensch in starkem Ausdruckswillen neue Formen hervorbringt, die echter sind als das bislang Bestehende, echter insofern als sie aus tieferen Schichten der Person entstammen. Und je tiefer sie wurzeln, desto zeitloser werden die Ausdrücke. Es ist als ob eine übermächtige Kraft dem Menschen helfe, über sich selbst hinauszugelangen. So kommt eine überwirkliche Wirklichkeit zustande, es wagt im Menschen und in seinen Schöpfungen ein Leuchten, das Zeuge der Transzendenz sein kann. Dieses ist auch von Gesellschaftsschichten unabhängig, es kann überall entstehen, eher wohl dort, wo Ehrlichkeit und Demut die korruptive Macht verschwinden lassen.

Zu dieser Zeit leben in Ägypten verschiedene Kulturelemente neben einander, vielmals sozial geschichtet. Zentrum ist Alexandria, Krone des Hellenismus von säkularer Erscheinung, deren Hinterland nur ein Abglanz ihrer Pracht ist. Siedlungen aus der römischen Zeit wie Antinoopolis sind auch Stätten des Hellenismus. Die pharaonische Kultur, Kunst und Kultreligion sind längst erstarrt oder aber teilweise in den Hellenismus aufgegangen, was die lebendige Religiosität in Anlehnung an die alten Totengötter, auch von seiten der Griechen, zeigt.

In der Bildkunst erscheint der Mensch am deutlichsten in den Bildern der Grabausstattung. In Mumienmasken, Mumienporträts, Leichentüchern und Grabstelen begegnet man dem spontansten, obwohl stilistisch vorgebildeten Menschenbild: der Mensch vor die Grenze gestellt, die zu überschreiten ist. Diese Produkte sind Ausdrücke einer Lebenshaltung, die allmählich verinnerlicht wird, sie spiegeln einen Zeitgeist, der die Auseinandersetzung und den Dualismus zu überwinden versucht. In diesen Darstellungen hört allmählich das Interesse für das Äussere, das Plastische auf, das Bild wird vereinfacht, elementar und streng, gewinnt innere Kraft. Dieser einfachere Stil ist kein Verfall oder irgendeine Wendung zur Volkstümlichkeit, er enthält eine zunehmende Heiligkeit, ist religiös, ist nicht Symbol sondern Wirklichkeit, ist Leben. Es ist diese lebendige Religiosität, dieses Leben des Menschen in der Ge-

genwart des Todes, die den Boden für das Christentum bereitet. In Ägypten wird die christliche koptische Kunst teilweise von der der spätheidnischen Periode antezipiert. Die Spätperiode des alten Glaubens und die Frühe des Christentums haben in Ägypten, und zwar im IV. Jahrhundert, gemeinsam eine Innerlichkeit, die in der Kunst zu den ureigensten, bodenständigsten Ausdrücken gelangt. In ihnen manifestiert sich eine ursprüngliche ägyptische Formeigenart. Es gibt einen archetypischen, ägyptischen Formwillen, der sich spezifisch ausdrückt, es gibt einen ägyptischen Urtypus des Menschenbildes, den man im Alten Reich sowohl als im IV. Jahrhundert wiederfinden kann. Es gibt kein prinzipieller Unterschied zwischen einem Kopf aus der IV. Dynastie (um 2600 vor Christus), wie z.B. einem der sogenannten Ersatzköpfe (Abb. 1) und einem Kopf aus der Zeit um 300 nach Christus (Abb. 2). Der letzte ist eher von ursprünglicherem „archaischem“ Formwillen, während der erste zu einer längeren zeitlichen und technischen Tradition gehört, in der er stilistisch vorgebildet ist. In beiden Köpfen ist eine ägyptische Formeigenart deutlich. In dieser echten religiösen Kunst schwindet das Zeitliche, Individuelle. Es sind beide Köpfe Exponenten einer Veranschaulichung des Unsterblichkeitsgedanken, eines Leitmotives in ägyptischer Kunst.

Der von einer Statue herstammende Kopf (Abb. 2—5) ist eine Neuerwerbung des *Medelhavsmuseet*<sup>1</sup>. Er gehört stilistisch zu einer seit etwa zwanzig Jahren bekannten Gruppe von Denkmälern, die hauptsächlich aus Antinoopolis stammen soll<sup>2</sup>. Es sind dies oft in Nischen gestellte Männer. Dargestellt ist ein Jünglingstypus, dessen Ikonographie zeigt, dass diese Personen Isismysten sind. Es gibt eine religiöse Implikation im Bilde des Jünglings, hinter welchem der göttliche Harpokrates, Sohn der Isis, hervorleuchtet; ein Sohnschaftsverhältnis wird hier ausgedrückt. Dieser Typus stammt aus dem IV. Jahrhundert nach Christus; allmählich wird er auch christlich verwendet<sup>3</sup>, wahrscheinlich handelt es sich in beiden Fällen um Grabbilder.

Unter den Mysterienbildern ist es vor allem ein Bild, das sich im New Yorker Kunsthandel befand<sup>4</sup> (Abb. 6), das eine enge Parallele zu dem Stockholmer Kopf bietet. Weiter sollte die Grabstele — kein Mysterienbild — eines Jünglings in einer Nische zitiert werden, die gleichfalls aus Antinoopolis stammen soll<sup>5</sup>. Eine stilistische Verbindung gibt es auch mit Mumienmasken, wofür eine unveröffentlichte Exem-



Abb. 1. *Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.*





Abb. 2



Abb. 3



Abb. 4



Abb. 5

in Stockholm (MM 11221) Beispiel sein könnte (Abb. 7). Als peripheres Vergleichsmaterial könnte man viele der heidnischen Grabstelen aus Kom Abu el-Huqan heranziehen. Diese stellen auch einen Jungstypus dar. Die Mysterienbilder sind als Reliefs an der Nischenwand gelöst. Der Stockholmer Kopf könnte vielleicht zu einer Büste wie der in Recklinghausen gehört haben: die einer Frau, die aus einer Grabnische stammen dürfte. Es ist aber auch möglich, dass er aus einem Nischenbild her stammt. Es kommt manchmal vor, dass man den Kopf separat gestaltete, während der Körper noch in Verbindung mit der Nischenwand stand. Es ist wichtig zu bemerken, dass die Frisur des Mannes nicht auf dem Hinterkopf fortgesetzt ist, hier hat man die Fläche glatt gelassen, was also auf Bedeutungslosigkeit der Rückseite deuten kann. Die engsten Parallelen sind auf jeden Fall die erwähnten Nischenbilder aus Antinous, wovon das eine ein Mysterienbild ist.

Die ganze Gruppe von Mysterienbildern, die Bilder der Grabreliefs sowie die der Mumienmasken und Porträts, die in der ersten Hälfte des IV. Jahrhunderts entstanden sind, sind Zeugen einer Zeit, bei welcher eine Umwandlung des Menschen stehen konnte, die zu einer Überwindung des Dualismus führte. Die Bilder müssen im Lichte des Transzendenten gesehen werden. Nicht zuletzt die

unproportionierte Größe der Köpfe sowie die grossen offenen Augen sind psychologisch bedeutsam. Die Mysterien konnten vielleicht am tiefsten Sinnerefüllung des Daseins bieten, zudem sollte jede tiefe Selbstbegegnung als Mysterium betrachtet werden können. Die Anlehnung an Isis ist auch eine Rückkehr zur Muttergeborgenheit im kosmischen Sinne (die symbolische Bedeutung der Nische als Hintergrund und des eventuell unterirdische Aufstellungsplatzes muss hier hervorgehoben werden), es ist der notwendige Nachtspekt zur Ergänzung des Menschen, auch ein gebärendes Prinzip. Das ägyptische Bild überhaupt wird weiter auch magisch aufgefasst, es ist Offenbarungsform des Menschen, Wohnung der Seele. Das Bild ist ein Niederschlag einer höheren Wirklichkeit, eine Manifestation einer menschlichen Sehnsucht und zugleich Realität, sein Wesen und seine Bestimmung ist das Sein. In der Zeitwende um 300, die von den schwersten Auseinandersetzungen erfüllt ist, geschieht eine Umstrukturierung des Menschen, die tiefere Schichten blosslegt. Die Bilder, die hier besprochen werden, sind Zeichen dieser Transformation. Dieses Geschehen ist von kurzer Dauer, während ein Equilibrium besteht zwischen zwei Zeiten, zwei Welten, welche grundverschieden, trotzdem zusammengehörig sind; es ist wie ein stiller Tag in tobender Wandlung, wenn vieles plötzlich offen steht und wenn das Archaische, das

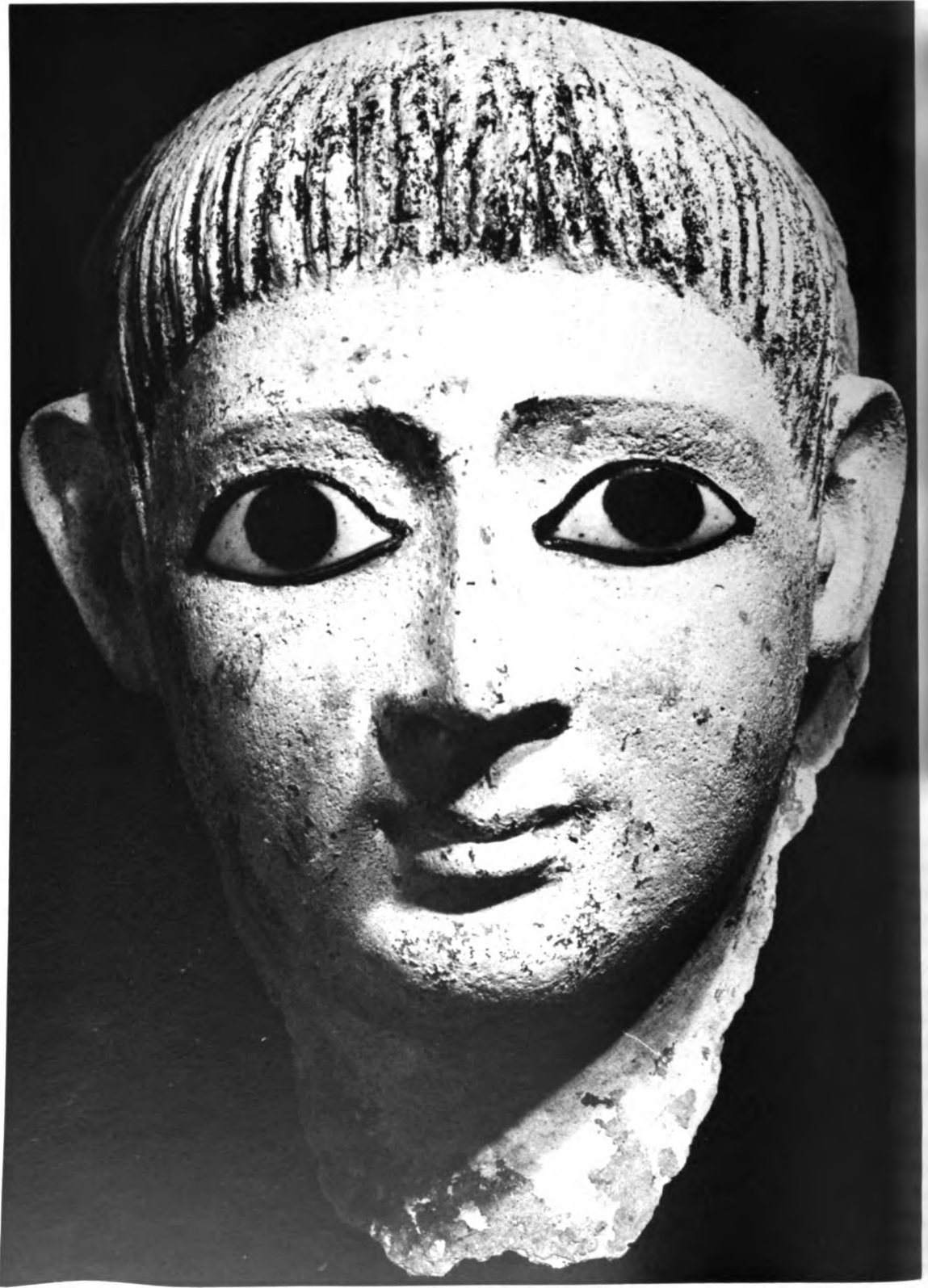


Abb. 7. MM 11221.



Abb. 6

Urtümliche und hier dem Lande Eigenartige mit aller Kraft hervortreten kann. Trotz aller Unterschiede zwischen Bevölkerungsgruppen — beispielsweise Griechen als Isis-Anhängern und Ägyptern als Christen — ist diese Wandlung homogen. Es ist die Frage, ob das bildnerische Schaffen nicht einen Brennpunkt in Antinoopolis hatte, der Herkunftsstätte mehrerer der künstlerischen Zeichen dieser Wandlung; hier war auch die Möglichkeit einer Integration von Ägyptischem und Griechischem durch das Recht des *connubium* gegeben.

Es lebt diese seinerfüllte Kunst nicht lang. Sie erfordert ein technisches Beherrschen des Materials, eine Schultradition, die nur grössere Siedlungen wie z.B. Antinoopolis geben konnten. Diese Siedlungen verändern sich mit dem aufkommenden Christentum allmählich; neue Herde der Kultur entstehen bei den Klöstern. Mit der Form des Christentums in

Ägypten wird auch das Erleben der Wirklichkeit anders gestaltet. Die Veränderungen sind mit dem verbreiteten Gemeinschaftsleben der ersten Klöster gekommen, in welchen die verinnerlichte Haltung, die in den Mysterien der Isis ihr volles Aufblühen erlebte, nicht am Platze war. Man kann nicht genug die Realität des grundsätzlich nichtkontemplativen Lebens der neuen Klöster unterstreichen. Deshalb ist auch eine Transmutation des Isis—Harpokrates-Komplexes in die Beziehung Maria—Jesus, deren Anfang in den Mystenbildern und deren Entwicklung und Fortsetzung in eine christliche Sphäre hinein man beobachten kann, nicht von andauernder Bedeutung gewesen. Es sind eben eine anders geschichtete Realität und ein anderes Gotteserlebnis, die vorzuherrschen begannen und die die Zeichen und die Manifestationen des Menschen veränderten.

<sup>1</sup> MME 1969: 1, Herkunft unbekannt. Kalkstein, H. 14,9 cm. In schwarz und schwach-rosa bemalt. Mehrere kleine Stossschäden.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. H. W. Müller, Grabstele eines Isismysten aus Antinoe, *Pantheon* XVIII, 1960, 267 ff.; K. Wessel, *Koptische Kunst*, Recklinghausen 1963, 98 f.; K. Parlasca, *Mumienporträts und verwandte Denkmäler*, Wiesbaden 1966, 204 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Z.B. Müller, *op.cit.*, 270.

<sup>4</sup> Parlasca, *op.cit.*, Taf. 62: 1.

<sup>5</sup> Wessel, *op.cit.*, Abb. 72.

<sup>6</sup> F. A. Hooper, *Funerary Stelae from Kom Abou Billou*, Ann Arbor 1961; L. Castiglione, *Stele eines Kupferschmiedes. Zur Deutung der römertimeiligen ägyptischen Grabsteine*, *MDAIK* 24, 1969, 78 ff.; L. V. Zabkar, *A Greco-Egyptian Funerary Stela*, *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson*, *SAOC* 35, 1969, 99 ff.; K. Parlasca, *Zur Stellung der Terenuthis-Stelen. Eine Gruppe römischer Grabreliefs aus Ägypten in Berlin*, *MDAIK* 26, 1970, 173 ff.; B. Peterson, *Eine römertimeilige Grabstele aus Ägypten*, *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 9, 1974, 19 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Wessel, *op.cit.*, Taf. III.

<sup>8</sup> Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 205.

# Menaslegenden und Pilgerindustrie

Beate George

Die koptische Kirche gedenkt am 15. Hathyr (= 11. November) des Heiligen Menas, der etwa im Jahre 296 in Phrygien den Märtyrertod erlitt. Über ihn liegen z. T. widersprüchliche Berichte in griechischer, koptischer, nubischer, äthiopischer und arabischer Sprache vor. Seiner Herkunft nach war er Ägypter oder Libyer und von Beruf Soldat oder Kamelhirte in Phrygien, wohin seine Eltern von Ägypten gezogen waren.

Nachdem Menas zunächst vor den Christenverfolgungen Diokletians in die Wüste geflohen war, kehrte er aufgrund einer Vision zurück und bekannte öffentlich seinen christlichen Glauben. Die Vision beschreibt ein äthiopischer Text<sup>1</sup> folgendermassen:

„Und nach einer Zeit leuchtete die Gnade Gottes über ihm, und er sah den Himmel offen, und das Innere desselben war voll lichter Engel, die Lichtkronen trugen und sie auf die Häupter derer legten, welche ihr Martyrium vollendet hatten. Und die Engel liessen jene mit grossem Glanz in den Himmel auffahren, und sie leuchteten der Sonne gleich. Und der Heilige Menas sehnte sich, ein Märtyrer für den Namen unseres Herrn Jesus Christus zu werden. Und während er darüber nachdachte, erscholl eine Stimme vom Himmel und sprach zu ihm: Gesegnet seist du, Menas, denn du wurdest auserwählt, und die Schönheit deines Geistes war offenbar von deiner Jugend an bis auf diesen Tag. Und du wirst unvergängliche Kronen empfangen wie die heilige Trinität; o du bist der Erstgeborene ihrer Liebe: eine für deine Jungfräulichkeit und eine für deine geduldige Ausdauer und eine für dein Martyrium. Und dein Martyrium wird grösser sein als die Marter einer Menge von Blutzegen, und dein Name wird geehrt werden, und Scharen von Volk werden von jedem Teile der Welt kommen und in deinem Heiligtum,

das im Lande Ägypten errichtet werden wird, Zuflucht nehmen, und deine Macht wird sich offenbaren, und wundervolle Dinge, Zeichen und Heilungen werden durch deinen heiligen Leib geschehen.“

Nachdem Menas auf sein öffentliches Bekenntnis hin enthauptet und sein Leichnam unversehrt von Freunden aus dem Feuer gerettet worden war, schildert derselbe äthiopische Text ausführlich, wie die in der Vision gegebene Prophezeiung weiter in Erfüllung geht<sup>2</sup>:

„Und nachdem sein Martyrium vollendet war, wie wir schon gesehen haben, geschah es, dass ein Kriegsheer zum Kampf gegen die fünf Städte zog, und das Land wurde an seinen Grenzen beunruhigt. Und es wurde ein Befehl erlassen für eine Truppenmacht, von Phrygien aufzubrechen und gegen die Mannen der Mareotis zu kämpfen. Und Athanasius, der Befehlshaber, wünschte den Leib des Heiligen Menas mitzunehmen, auf dass er ihm Helfer und Befreier sei. Und nachdem er das Tor geöffnet, wo der Leib war, beschien ihn ein starkes Licht. Und nachdem er den Leib vor den Männern geborgen, auf dass sie ihn nicht hindern würden, führte er ihn weg und nahm ihn auf ein Schiff und reiste ab. Und als sie auf die See kamen, welche zwischen Afrika und Alexandria liegt, erschienen ihnen im Wasser gewisse schreckliche Tiere. Sie waren aber die denkbar ärgsten; ihre Hälse waren lang und dick und ihre Gesichter waren wie die von Kamelen. Und sie streckten ihre Hälse aus gegen das Schiff, so dass sie die Insassen erschnappen mochten. Und Feuerpfeile gingen vom Körper des Heiligen Menas aus auf ihre Gesichter, und sie flohen und verbargen sich im Meer. Und sie kamen zurück, und die Feuerpfeile hinderten sie von neuem; und danach

beugten sie sich vor dem Heiligen nieder und zogen fort. Und alle im Schiff staunten und glaubten an Gott, und sie priesen Menas den Märtyrer und dankten ihm, da sie durch seinen Leib gerettet wurden. Und nach fünf Tagen kamen sie zur Stadt Alexandria, und sie kamen aus diesem Ort heraus und nahmen den Leib des Heiligen Menas, des Märtyrers, mit sich. Und sie kamen zu Schiff von Alexandria an das Gestade des Mareotissees, wo sie eine Schlacht schlugen; und sie baten demütig den Heiligen Menas und seinen Leib, und er eroberte die mächtigen Kriegsschiffe und schlug sie durch seine Fürbitte, bis sie nach Mesten kamen am Ufer von Mareotis. Und als der Befehlshaber nach Phrygien heimzukehren wünschte, wollte er den Körper mit sich nehmen. Und er legte ihn auf ein Kamel, aber das Kamel war unfähig, sich mit ihm zu bewegen, und er legte ihn auf ein anderes Kamel, und das Kamel war unfähig, sich zu erheben; auf diese Art legte er ihn auf alle Kamele, die mit ihnen waren, und kein einziges war imstande, ihn wegzutragen. Und Athanasius, der Befehlshaber, war traurig, aber er wusste, dass dies von Gott war, und liess den Leib dorten. Und er fertigte ein Bild des Heiligen Menas auf einer Holztafel, bekleidet so wie er ihn gekannt hatte, als Krieger, mit den Bildern der Tiere zu seinen Füßen, welche Kamelen ähnlich waren, und sie huldigten ihm. Und er legte dieses Bild auf den Leichnam des Heiligen Menas, um seine Fübitte zu erlangen, und dann nahm er es mit, auf dass es ihm ein Schutzmittel zur Befreiung und eine Zufluchtstätte sei zur See und im Kriege. Und er machte für seinen Leib einen Sarg aus *shag*-Holz, das weder wurmstichig noch morsch wird, und er begrub ihn an jenem Orte und kehrte mit seinen Soldaten in seine Heimat zurück."

Nachdem Menas auf diese Weise nach Ägypten überführt worden war, sollten sich auch die Wunderheilungen, von denen in der Prophezeiung in der Wüste die Rede gewesen war, bald ereignen. Der koptische Heiligenkalender<sup>a</sup> berichtet folgendes:

„Als der Herr den Körper des Heiligen wieder zum Vorschein kommen lassen wollte, begab es sich, dass ein Schäfer in jene Wüste kam; eines Tages betrat ein rüdiges, elendes Schaf diese Gegend, wankte zu dem Wasser in einem Teiche, welcher neben jenem Orte war, und wälzte sich dann an der Stelle, da wurde es sofort gesund. Als der Hirte dieses Wunder sah, erstaunte er und fing an, etwas Erde von der Stelle zu nehmen, mit dem

Wasser anzufeuchten und damit alle rüdigigen Schafe zu bestreichen, da wurden sie sofort gesund; so wurde ihm eine Kunst zuteil, die er ausübte, so dass er alle Kranken heilte. Dies hörte der Kaiser von Konstantinopel; er hatte eine einzige Tochter, die mit der Elephantiasis behaftet war, und er schickte sie dorthin. Da sie es für schimpflich hielt, sich vor Leuten zu entblößen, bat sie den Hirten, sie seine Kunst zu lehren, und sie machte sich dann selbst das Wasser und die Erde zurecht. Sie schlief in jener Nacht an dem Orte; da sah sie den Heiligen Abu Menas, der sprach zu ihr: Wenn du morgen früh aufstehst, so grabe an dieser Stelle, da wirst du meinen Körper finden, dann wirst du sofort geheilt werden. — Als sie aufstand und an der Stelle grub, fand sie den heiligen Körper, dann schickte sie zu ihrem Vater und gab ihm davon Nachricht. Da liess der Kaiser über den heiligen Körper eine Kirche erbauen, und in den Tagen des Arcadius (395—408) und Honorius (395—423) wurde hier auf ihren Befehl eine grosse Stadt gegründet, grosse Scharen kamen zu der Kirche, und es gingen von dem heiligen Körper des grossen Märtyrers Abu Menas viele Wunder aus, welche nicht aufhörten, bis die Stadt und die Kirche wieder zerstört wurden."

Ausführlicher erzählt der bereits zitierte äthiopische Text<sup>a</sup> vom Schicksal des Heiligtums und der ringsherum entstehenden Stadt:

„Und eine Kirche wurde an dieser Stelle errichtet in des Heiligen Namen in den Tagen des S. Athanasius, des Erzbischofs von Alexandria, mit Hilfe von Taos (= Konstantin der Grosse, 324—337), des gottliebenden Königs, so dass das Volk sich dort sammeln und Feste darin feiern möchte. Und als sie fertig war, versammelte S. [Athanasius], der Erzbischof, Bischöfe und Priester, und sie setzten den Leib Menas', des Märtyrers, in ihr bei, und sie konsekrierten sie in den Tagen des heiligen Kaisers Theodosius (379—395) und des Abba Theophilus, des Erzbischofs. Und es wurde dort eine grosse Kirche auf den Namen Mariens errichtet für die Volksmengen, die in der Kirche des Heiligen Menas zusammenkamen. Und der Kaiser Zenon (474—491) besuchte sie während seiner Regierung, und er errichtete Häuser dort, und er befahl den Soldaten dort, ihre Kasernen zu errichten und eine Befestigung. Und fernerhin, die Angesehenen von Ägypten errichteten ihre Paläste dort, und sie kamen dorthin jederzeit wegen der Menge der Zeichen, die dort in den Tagen des Timotheos (460—482 mit Unter-



brechung), des Erzbischofs, erschienen. Und zuletzt wurde eine mächtige Stadt mit herrlichen Bauwerken dort vollendet, und Zenon, der Kaiser, nannte sie . . . Und der rechtliche Kaiser befahl, dass 123 000 Mann Truppen\* sie gegen fremde Stämme verteidigten; und sie bewachten sowohl die Kirche als das Volk, das hinkam. Und der Kaiser befahl, dass ihre Nahrung vom Volk von Mareotis aufzubringen sei. Und er befahl, dass die, welche zur Kirche kamen, eine feste Summe für deren Unterhalt zahlen sollten, und sie sollten das kranke Volk jährlich dahin transportieren. Und so blieb es bis zu den Tagen des Herkaldes (= Heraklius, 610—641), des Kaisers von Rom, durch den die Mohammedaner Gewalt im Lande Ägypten bekamen, und das Volk fuhr fort, von allen Teilen des Landes zur Kirche des Heiligen und Märtyrers zu wallen, und er offenbarte ihnen Zeichen und Wunder. Und sie brachten ihm Votivgeschenke, und er willfahrte ihren Wünschen, und sie kamen glücklich zurück, und sie waren froh über das, was er ihnen getan. Und der Ruhm seiner Zeichen und Taten und Macht und seiner Fürbitte bei Gott reichte bis zu den Grenzen aller Länder."

So wurde das Grab des Heiligen Menas zu einem der wichtigsten internationalen Wallfahrtsorte in der christlichen Epoche Ägyptens. Pilger aus der gesamten christlichen Welt scheinen von den Wunderheilungen in Scharen angelockt worden zu sein, die durch Wasser bewirkt wurden, in dem man in einer Doppelbadanlage badete\* und von dem man auch kleine Mengen mit nach Hause nahm. Der Text erwähnt bereits das Vordringen des Islam, dem der Rückgang der Pilgerzüge und schliesslich Zerstörung und Aufgabe der Stadt zuzuschreiben sind, wie eine letzte textliche Erwähnung vom Anfang des 13. Jahrhunderts erkennen lässt. In der ersten Hälfte des folgenden Jahrhunderts sollen die Gebeine des Heiligen nach Kairo in die dortige Menas-Kirche überführt worden sein und sind seitdem verschollen\*. Erst im Juli 1905 wurden die 80 km südwestlich von Alexandria in der Wüste gelegenen und von Sand bedeckten Ruinen von C. M. Kaufmann\* und J. C. E. Falls als Reste der Menasstadt identifiziert. Ausgrabungen sind seitdem mit Unterbrechungen im Gange gewesen und noch nicht abgeschlossen\*.

Abgesehen von diesen architektonischen Überresten sind kleinere archäologische Zeugnisse vom Kult des Heiligen Menas erhalten. Es handelt sich um die Produkte der umfangreichen Devotionalien-



Abb. 1—2. *Privatbesitz.*



Industrie, die für die Pilger Mengen von Andenken aus vor allem Terrakotta herstellte, welche durch sie, die von allen Himmelsrichtungen der Oikumene in die Wüstenstadt bei Alexandria zogen, in alle Welt verbreitet wurden. Ergiebigster Fundort war jedoch die Menasstadt selbst, in der Werkstätten und Brennöfen und grosse Mengen der massenweise hergestellten Terrakotten bei den Ausgrabungen zutage traten.

In diesen Umkreis des Menaskultes und der Pilgerindustrie können einige Gegenstände im *Medelhavsmuseet* aufgrund ihrer Thematik verwiesen werden. Eine Herkunftsangabe liegt in keinem Falle vor. Allein aus stilistischen und inhaltlichen Gründen können diese Objekte mit der Stadt und den Heiligenlegenden in Verbindung gebracht werden und die speziellen Verhältnisse dort illustrieren.

Das beliebteste und häufigste Andenken an den Wallfahrtsort waren sog. Menasampullen<sup>10</sup>, flache Tonflaschen unterschiedlicher Grösse, in dem die Pilger etwas von dem heilkräftigen Wasser, dessen Wunderwirkungen der koptische Text anschaulich beschrieb, mitnehmen konnten. Zwei fragmentarische Menasflaschen des kleinen Typs<sup>11</sup> befinden sich im *Medelhavsmuseet*. Es handelt sich um die üblichen kreisrunden, auf beiden Seiten abgeflachten Ampullen mit zwei Henkeln rechts und links vom Hals. Die eine stammt aus einer Privatsammlung (Abb. 1—2)<sup>12</sup>. Der eine Henkel ist abgeschlagen und der Mündungsrand an einer Stelle bestossen. Das Material ist hellbrauner Ton. Kaufmann bemerkt zur Technik, dass Formung mit der Hand und auf der Drehscheibe oft kombiniert zur Anwendung gekommen sei. Die beiden abgeflachten Seiten tragen einen gleichartigen, mit einem Prägestempel aufgedruckten Dekor, und zwar das sehr häufige Motiv des Heiligen zwischen zwei Kamelen, eingeschlossen in ein Medaillon, das als Begrenzung zwei konzentrische, plastisch erhöhte Kreise mit einer Perlschnur dazwischen aufweist. Menas steht in Frontalansicht mit ausgebreiteten Armen zwischen zwei an den Kreisrand gedrückten Kamelen. Seine Gesichtszüge sind ganz undifferenziert. Rechts und links vom Kopf ist je ein Kreuz, aus vier blütenblattartigen Elementen bestehend, sichtbar. Die Kleidung ist wegen der Unschärfe nicht ganz sicher zu erkennen. Unterhalb der ausgebreiteten Arme hängen rechts und links Falten eines Mantels herab, der, worauf eine Verwicklung zu deuten scheint, am Hals befestigt war. Auf einer Seite könnte ausserdem ein Gürtel wieder-



Abb. 3—4. MME 1969: 753.

gegeben sein. Pflanzenfasern o.ä.<sup>13</sup>, die ein zu schnelles Verdunsten des geweihten Wassers verhindern sollten, scheinen sich weder in dieser, noch in den folgenden Flaschen befunden zu haben.

Einen fast bis in die Details übereinstimmenden Dekor trägt die Ampulle, deren Hals und Henkel abgeschlagen sind (Abb. 3—4)<sup>14</sup>. Hier ist das Gewand des Heiligen deutlich zu erkennen: ausser der Chlamys trägt er eine kurze gegürtete Tunika, die übliche Soldatentracht. Die Perlschnur innerhalb der plastisch hervorgehobenen konzentrischen Kreise ist hier feiner; auf einer Seite ist sie an einer Stelle beschädigt.

Ein in der Ausführung gröberes Exemplar des *Victoriamuseet*, Uppsala<sup>15</sup>, (Abb. 5—6) trägt auf der einen Seite ein entsprechendes, obwohl sehr unscharfes und undetailliertes Bild, in dem Menas mit einem Heiligenschein wiedergegeben ist. Die andere Seite weist drei Zeilen auf dem Kopf stehender Schriftzeichen auf; und zwar die übliche Eulogieninschrift<sup>16</sup>:

ΑΓΙΟ' = (ἁγίου)

ΜΗΝΑ

ΕΥΛ = (εὐλογία)

also etwa „Segen des Heiligen Menas“. Die Inschrift ist von einem plastisch erhöhten Kreis mit vier Punkten und einer eingetieften Perlschnur umschlossen.

Die flache Flaschenform hat in Ägypten eine lange Tradition<sup>17</sup>. Derartige Gefässe wurden im Neuen Reich aus Stein, Ton oder Fayence<sup>18</sup> hergestellt. Die sogenannten saïtischen Neujahrsflaschen<sup>19</sup>, die ebenfalls in diesem Zusammenhang genannt zu werden pflegen, scheinen jedoch, da viel bauchiger und mit andersartigen Henkeln versehen, nicht gut als Vergleichsstücke zu passen. In der frühen Kaiserzeit wurde die Tradition in Alexandria fortgesetzt<sup>20</sup>, das Mittelpunkt für die Herstellung doppelarmiger flacher Flaschen aus Ton oder Glas, oft mit mythologischem Dekor, war.

Nicht nur die Form der Menasampullen hat ihre Vorläufer, sondern auch das ikonographische Motiv einer zwischen antithetischen Tieren stehenden Figur. Dieses lässt, was Kaufmann nicht klar unterscheidet, zwei Interpretationsmöglichkeiten zu: 1. Menas *orans* ist mit im Gebetsgestus erhobenen Händen zwischen adorierenden Tieren dargestellt, 2. Menas ist als Vertreter des uralten vorderorientalischen Typs des



Abb. 5—6. VM

ἑρμῖος θηρῶν, der die Tiere in den Händen hält, aufgefasst<sup>21</sup>. Aufgrund der Kleinheit der Darstellungen auf den Ampullen ist manchmal nicht deutlich zu sehen, welcher Typ gemeint ist, nach der Beschreibung des marmornen Grufbildes bei Menas' Grab und anderen Reliefdarstellungen grösseren Formats<sup>22</sup> ist jedoch die Deutung als *orans* wahrscheinlicher. Bei den Tieren handelte es sich dann so um die Kamele, die unfähig waren, den Leichnam des Heiligen davonzutragen. Jedoch ist auch der zweite Typ archäologisch dokumentiert und kann mit der Heiligenlegende in Verbindung gebracht werden; dann wäre Menas als Schützer vor Ungeheuern und Herr über gefährliche Wesen dargestellt, als welcher er sich ja gegenüber den Seeungeheuern, deren kamelähnliches Aussehen extra hervorgehoben ist, und nach weiteren Quellen auch gegenüber Krokodilen<sup>23</sup> erwiesen hat.

Während die Rolle des „Herrn der Tiere“ in den wenigen Fällen, in denen sie sicher identifiziert werden kann, dem Verständnis keine weiteren Schwierigkeiten bereitet, hat der Adorationsgestus und seine Herleitung von altägyptischen Vorbildern viel Kopfzerbrechen bereitet. Es scheint nicht sinnvoll, ihn mit dem Schutzgestus von Göttinnen aufzulösen, der in den Mittleren Reich in Verbindung zu bringen<sup>24</sup>, und auch die in älterer Literatur einigermassen vorgeschlagene Beziehung zum *k3*-Zeichen bzw. zur Hieroglyphe des Mannes mit erhobenen Armen (Gardiner A 28)<sup>25</sup> ist nicht unmittelbar einleuchtend. Ikonographisch sind diese Haltungen der hier in Frage stehenden ähnlich, ihrer Bedeutung nach jedoch wohl kaum. Parallelen sowohl nach Inhalt als auch Form scheinen hingegen in den Kom Abu Billu-Stelen vorzuliegen<sup>26</sup>, die einen Toten *en face* mit erhobenen Armen, oft zwischen antithetischen Schakalen, zeigen. Diese Haltung bringt die Annahmegerabe an die Götter, denen der Mensch nach seinem Tode gegenübertritt, um seine Unschuld zu bezeugen und seine Verehrung darzubringen, gut zum Ausdruck. Damit ist aber — was den Inhalt angeht — das uralte ägyptische Motiv, das auf unzähligen Denkmälern den Toten vor Osiris zeigt — auf ihnen aber nach altägyptischer Ikonographie mit im Profil wiedergegebenen erhobenen Armen — auf neue Weise gestaltet. Eine inhaltliche Beziehung zu dieser Art der Osiris-Adoration vermutet bereits Castiglione<sup>27</sup>, ohne jedoch die ikonographische Entwicklung von der Profil- zur Frontalwiedergabe aufzuzeigen. Das „missing link“ in der Ikonographie



Abb. 7—8. MM 15013.

zwischen den altägyptischen und den hellenistisch-koptischen Darstellungen liefern zwei Berliner Denkmäler", auf denen Oranten mit Oberkörper und erhobenen Armen in Frontalansicht, Unterkörper und Beinen aber im Profil abgebildet sind. Es handelt sich um einen kleinen hölzernen Schlangensarg wohl aus persischer Zeit, auf dem ein Beter vor einer Schlangengottheit erscheint, und um einen Grabstein der römischen Kaiserzeit, auf dem drei Männer Osiris anbeten. Auf diese beiden Denkmäler hat bereits Zabkar hingewiesen, doch verbindet er weder sie noch die Adoranten der Kom Abu Billu-Stelen mit der altägyptischen Adorationshaltung". Von den Berliner Stücken ist der Schritt zur vollständigen *en face* — Wiedergabe nicht weit, wobei noch manche Kom Abu Billu-Stelen den Übergang markieren, indem sie die Gestalten von der Taille an abwärts im Profil abbilden".

Anheimgabe in Unschuld und Frömmigkeit an Gott als Sinn der Adorantenhaltung ist auch in Menas' Fall, dem ja nach seinem Martyrium aufgrund seiner Tugenden die Aufnahme in den Himmel verheissen war, sinnvoll. Darüber hinaus darf der Heilige als Mittler der Hilfe und Heilung suchenden Pilger vor Gott betrachtet werden, der stellvertretend in andauerndem Gebet verharret und dessen Fürbitte Wunder wirkt, wie die Texte berichten.

Auf Abu Mena und das heilkräftige Wasser verweist auch eine hohe geriefelte Spitzamphora", deren untere Spitze und oberer Rand abgeschlagen sind und die auf der Schulter in grossen Buchstaben die Inschrift **UHHAA** trägt (Abb. 7—8). Beide Henkel sind an den Ansatzstellen auf der Schulter stark bestossen, sitzen aber noch fest. Derartige Amphoren, die wohl Wasser zum Heilbade enthielten, sind einigermal auf Menasflaschen abgebildet". Andere Gefässe wie Kannen mit dem Namen des Heiligen" sind in der Stadt gefunden worden, die auch als Herkunftsort für die Stockholmer Amphora sehr wahrscheinlich ist.

Ganz hypothetisch muss die Verbindung zwischen zwei weiteren Objekten im *Medelhavsmuseet* und der Menasstadt bleiben. Es handelt sich um ein kleines Negerkopfggefäss und eine Öllampe des „groove"-Typs", der in koptischer Zeit sehr beliebt war. Bei der kleinen Flasche in Gestalt eines hohlen Negerkopfes (Abb. 9—10) ist der Boden herausgeschlagen, auch die Nase ist ein wenig beschädigt. Das Fläschchen ist aus rotem Ton hergestellt und mit zwei runden Henkeln rechts und links vom Ausguss



Abb. 9—10. MME 1973: 3.



Abb. 11. VM 415.



Abb. 12. MM 1955: 33/MM 14240.

versehen. Die Augen, die dicken Lippen, die Haarlocken und zwei grosse runde Ohrringe sind deutlich modelliert. Es ist wohl bekannt, dass man für Pilger aus den Ländern südlich von Ägypten, dem Sudan und Äthiopien, Flaschen mit Darstellungen des Heiligen Menas als Neger herstellte, entweder als Reliefbild im Profil auf Ampullen des oben beschriebenen Typs oder aber in Gestalt eines meist einhenkeligen Kopfgefässes, das einen rundplastischen Negerkopf wiedergibt<sup>32</sup>. Bei dem sehr sorgfältig gearbeiteten Stockholmer Exemplar, das eine stilistisch nahestehende Parallele in einer zweihenkeligen Flasche in Gestalt einer Negerbüste der Leipziger Privatsammlung Schreiber<sup>33</sup> hat, könnte man an eine solche Verwendung als Behälter zur Mitnahme des heilkräftigen Wassers für Pilger aus afrikanischen Ländern denken. Die Bedeutung des Heiligen für diese südlichen Gebiete geht ja auch daraus hervor, dass seine Legenden ins Nubische und Äthiopische übersetzt worden sind. Ein gesichertes Beispiel, das diese Verhältnisse illustriert, bildet eine Ampulle in Uppsala<sup>34</sup>, deren Inschrift auf

der einen Seite ΕΥΛΟΓΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΜΗΝΑ den Profilkopf auf der anderen Seite mit deutlichen negroiden Zügen sicher als Wiedergabe des Heiligen Menas ausweist (Abb. 11).

Hypothetisch aber ist die Verbindung der Öllampe (Abb. 12) mit der Menas-Verehrung. Die tropfenförmige Oberfläche ist von einer dreifachen Reihe strich- bzw. punktförmiger Elemente<sup>35</sup> eingefasst. Am runden Ende der Lampe ist das Eingussloch für das Öl angebracht, am spitzen die nun leicht beschädigte Öffnung für den Docht. In die Fläche dazwischen ist ein Gesicht *en face* mit grossen Augen eingefügt, das von einem doppelten Heiligenschein umrahmt ist. Rechts und links vom Eingussloch befindet sich je eine Rosette, über dem Kopfe sind ziemlich verwischte Dekorelemente angebracht, möglicherweise zwei weitere Rosetten und eine Sonne in der Mitte. Von einem Griff ist nichts vorhanden, obwohl die Oberfläche hinter dem Eingussloch ein wenig beschädigt ist. Stilistisch ähnliche Menasköpfe sind in seiner Stadt auf Ampullen, Lampengriffen und Henkeln von Schöpfgefässen<sup>36</sup> zutage getreten.

Kaufmann nimmt an, dass diese Art der Repräsentation in Analogie zu den Negerdarstellungen „für die weisse Rasse“ geschaffen worden sei. Dafür, dass derartige Wiedergaben auf der Ansichtsfläche von Lampen wie bei dem Stockholmer Exemplar vorkämen, nennt er jedoch keine Beispiele. Deshalb muss die Identifizierung mit Menas unsicher bleiben. Thematisch wäre sein Bild auf einer Lampe durchaus sinnvoll, da ein koptischer Text nicht dem Wasser, sondern vielmehr Lampenöl<sup>10</sup> die Wunderheilungen am Grabe des Heiligen zuschreibt:

„Nun wollte Gott dies Wunder und die Macht durch den Leib des Menas offenbaren. Und der lahme Sohn eines gewissen Mannes jener Gegend kam und sah eine Lampe einen Lichtschein über die Grabstätte St. Menas', des Märtyrers, werfen, und er näherte sich und warf sich auf den Boden nieder. Nun standen einige Freunde da. Und der Vater des Jungen suchte nach seinem Sohn, und als er ihn dorten fand, schlug er ihn; und der Junge sprang auf und rannte fort, und sein Fuss war

geheilt, und das Volk, das da war, staunte. Dann erzählte ihnen der Junge, was er gesehen, und Gott öffnete ihre Augen, und sie sahen die Lampe brennen und glaubten. Und alles Volk, das an verschiedenen Krankheiten litt, kam zum Grabe des Aba Menas, und sie wurden geheilt durch die Macht Gottes und die Fürbitte des St. Menas, und grosse Freude herrschte, und sein Ruf drang weit über Mareotis hinaus. Und alle, die da waren, sowohl die Kranken als die vom Teufel Besessenen, kamen zu der Stätte und wurden geheilt und gesund.

Dann errichteten sie über seinem Grabe eine Kirche, die einem Zelte ähnlich sah, und sie hingen darin eine Lampe auf, ähnlich der gesehenen, und zu jener Zeit brannte sie sowohl bei Tag als bei Nacht, und sie wurde genährt mit wohlriechendem Öl. Und wenn jemand von diesem Lampenöl nahm und es forttrug und eine kranke Person damit einrieb, wurde dieser Kranke von dem Übel, an dem er gelitten, geheilt.“

<sup>1</sup> Cf. C. M. Kaufmann, *Ikonographie der Menas-Ampullen*, Cairo 1910, 18 f., im folgenden nur als Kaufmann zitiert. — Hier sei gleich angemerkt, dass es irrelevant ist, ob diese Legenden „wahr“ oder „spätere Erfindung“ sind, das Entscheidende ist vielmehr ihre unbestreitbare Wirkungskraft.

<sup>2</sup> Kaufmann, 24 f.

<sup>3</sup> Ibidem, 23 f.

<sup>4</sup> Ibidem, 26 f.

<sup>5</sup> Ibidem, 20: in einer Pariser Handschrift erscheint die wahrscheinlichere Zahl 12 000.

<sup>6</sup> Auf das Verhältnis Legende—architektonische Überreste kann hier nicht näher eingegangen werden. Zur Literatur über die Ausgrabungen cf. Anm. 7—9.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. die Zusammenfassung von M. Krause, *Die Menasstadt*, in: *Koptische Kunst, Christentum am Nil*, Essen 1963, 65 ff.

<sup>8</sup> C. M. Kaufmann, *Die Ausgrabung der Menas-Heiligtümer in der Mareotiswüste*, Cairo 1906—08; idem, *Die heilige Stadt der Wüste*, München 1918.

<sup>9</sup> Vorberichte über die erneut aufgenommenen Grabungen in MDAIK 19, 1963, 114; 20, 1965, 122 ff. & 127; 21, 1966, 171 ff.; 22, 1967, 206 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Ausser Kaufmann cf. idem, *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie*<sup>3</sup>, Paderborn 1922; P. Hombert, *Cinq ampoules inédites de Saint Ménas*, CdE 21, 1946, 173 ff. & 251 ff.; E. de Bruyn, *Encore cinq ampoules inédites de saint Ménas*, CdE 22, 1947, 416 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Kaufmann, 62 f. unterscheidet drei Grössen: klein, ca 10 cm hoch, 30—50 cm<sup>3</sup>; mittel, ca 15 cm hoch, 100—120 cm<sup>3</sup>; gross, 250—500 cm<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> Höhe 10 cm, Dicke 2,25 cm, Durchmesser 6,7 cm, Durchmesser der Medaillons 5 bzw. 4,3 cm; der abgeschrägte Rand um sie ist ca 1,6 cm breit.

<sup>13</sup> Kaufmann, 63.

<sup>14</sup> Inv.nr. MME 1969: 753. Masse: Durchmesser 7,7 cm, Dicke 3,2 cm, Durchmesser der Medaillons 5 cm, abgeschrägter Rand 1,6—2 cm breit.

<sup>15</sup> Inv.nr. VM 417, deponiert im Medelhavsmuseet. Masse: Höhe 7,4 cm, Durchmesser 5,3 cm, Dicke 2,7 cm; der Hals ist oben abgeschlagen, die grossen Henkel sind schief angesetzt.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Kaufmann, 153 ff.

<sup>17</sup> Die Flaschenform wird als ausländisch angesehen: L. Loat, *Gurob*, London 1905, 97—99 leitet sie von Zypern her, ebenso W. M. F. Petrie, *Gerar*, London 1928, 22; idem, *Stone and Metal Vases*, London 1937, 14 und idem, *Funeral Furniture and Stone Vases*, London 1937, 14. Petrie rechnet auch mit ägyptischen Imitationen. Herleitung von Syrien: J. Garstang et al., *El Arabah*, London 1901, 19 f.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. W. von Bissing, *Fayencegefässe*, CGC, Vienne 1902, 3626, 3628, 3629, 3672, 3673.

<sup>19</sup> Ibidem, 3738, 3739—3749, 3766.

<sup>20</sup> Kaufmann, 79 ff., der Beispiele für die Form aus Glas und Metall bis ins Mittelalter anführt.

- <sup>21</sup> Kaufmann, 97 ff.
- <sup>22</sup> Ibidem, 94; Fig. 34, 35.
- <sup>23</sup> Ibidem, Fig. 44; MDAIK 21, 1966, 186 und Taf. 74 b. Von Errettung vor Krokodilen berichtet auch das 9. äthiopische Wunder: Kaufmann, 49.
- <sup>24</sup> L. V. Zabkar, A Greco-Egyptian Funerary Stela, in: Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson, Chicago 1969, 99 ff., bes. 110.
- <sup>25</sup> Hinweise z.B. bei Zabkar, op.cit., 111; L. Castiglione, Stele eines Kupferschmiedes. Zur Deutung der römisch-zeitlichen ägyptischen Grabsteine, MDAIK 24, 1969, 78 ff., bes. 80, Anm. 3 und 5.
- <sup>26</sup> F. A. Hooper, Funerary Stelae from Kom Abu Billou, Ann Arbor 1961; K. Parlasca, Zur Stellung der Terenuthis-Stelen. Eine Gruppe römischer Grabreliefs aus Ägypten in Berlin, MDAIK 26, 1970, 173 ff. Ähnliche Stelen aus dem übrigen Ägypten: D. Zuntz, Koptische Grabstelen, MDAIK 2, 1932, 22 ff.; G. Wagner, Inscriptions grecques d'Égypte, BIFAO 72, 1972, 139 ff.
- <sup>27</sup> Castiglione, op.cit., 79.
- <sup>28</sup> H. Schäfer, Das Schlangensärgchen Nr. 7232 der Berliner ägyptischen Sammlung, ZÄS 62, 1926, 39 ff. mit Abbildungen.
- <sup>29</sup> Zabkar, op.cit., 111 f.
- <sup>30</sup> Z. B. Hooper, op.cit., 9, pl. V, VI. Erst nach Manuskriptabschluss wird mir S. Trauzeddel, Ursprung und Entwicklung des Orantenmotivs in der koptischen Sepulkralkunst, in: Von Nag Hammadi bis Zypern (ed. P. Nagel), Berliner Byzantinische Arbeiten 43, Berlin 1972, 35 ff zugänglich, die im wesentlichen eine ähnliche Entwicklung der Orantenhaltung annimmt.
- <sup>31</sup> MM 15 013; Höhe 54 cm; Herkunft auch hier unbekannt.
- <sup>32</sup> Kaufmann, 167, Fig. 97,10 und 107,4; R. Pagenstecher, Die griechisch-ägyptische Sammlung Ernst von Sieglin, Leipzig 1913, Expedition Ernst von Sieglin, Ausgrabungen in Alexandria, Band 2, Teil 3, S. 92,7 und Abb. 106,7.
- <sup>33</sup> Kaufmann, Fig. 101, 102; idem, Die heilige Stadt der Wüste, München 1918, Abb. 95, 184; R. Pagenstecher, op.cit., S. 94 f. und Abb. 107.
- <sup>34</sup> Negerkopfggefäß: MME 1973: 3, Höhe 5,8 cm. Gekauft in Luxor. Öllampe: MME 1955: 33 = MM 14 240; Masse: Länge 8,5 cm, grösster Durchmesser 5,6 cm, sehr bröckeliger heller Ton mit Ausfällungen und Sprüngen. Zum Typ: W. M. F. Petrie, Roman Ehnasya, London 1905, 9, pl. LXI und LXII.
- <sup>35</sup> Kaufmann, 125 ff.
- <sup>36</sup> Pagenstecher, op.cit., S. 205,5 und Taf. XXIX 5.
- <sup>37</sup> VM 415. Masse: Höhe 9,1 cm, Dicke 2,4 cm, Durchmesser 7,1 cm; der Ausguss ist beschädigt. Die Abbildungserlaubnis verdanke ich Professor T. Säve-Söderbergh. Zu diesem Ampullentyp cf. Kaufmann, 123 ff mit Fig. 63 und 73.
- <sup>38</sup> Die innerste Reihe besteht aus Strichen, die zwei äusseren enthalten Punkte.
- <sup>39</sup> Kaufmann, 128 und Fig. 76—79.
- <sup>40</sup> Kaufmann, 25 f.



# Some Cypriote and Palestinian Pottery and Figurines

Gisela Walberg

In the former Egyptian Museum of Stockholm, which was founded in 1928 by Pehr Lugn and incorporated into the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities in 1954 have among the Egyptian collections, also been preserved a number of hitherto unpublished Cypriote vases and terracottas. The provenance of some is certainly Egyptian and the places where they were found are known to us and in other cases we have reason to think that the objects come from Egypt but there is no proof. All together however they reflect something of the relations between Cyprus and Egypt during the Bronze and Iron Ages. The objects that with greater probability could be regarded as found in Egypt once belonged to Major R. G. Gayer-Anderson Pasha, who lived in Egypt from the First World War onwards. While there he collected a great number of antiquities from different ages. Afterwards he founded a museum of Islamic art in Cairo and sold his collections from earlier periods. Some of these were bought by the Egyptian Museum of Stockholm, to which he also presented several objects as a gift. Some of his collections are now in the Fitzwilliam Museum of Cambridge. He lived most of his life in Egypt and was made a Pasha by King Farouk. He died in 1945. The provenance of objects that belonged to the collection of Nils Rettig is less certain. He belonged to a family with wide cultural interests and became first secretary of the Swedish embassy in Cairo. He died in his early thirties in 1933. While stationed in Cairo he collected a number of objects, which he had bought in various places and from various persons (among others Major Gayer-Anderson) and in his will he left this collection to the Egyptian Museum. The Cypriote objects from these collections have now been transferred

to the Cyprus collections of the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities.

## Abbreviations:

*SCE* The Swedish Cyprus Expedition.

*Sjöqvist* Sjöqvist, E., *Problems of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age*, Stockholm 1940.

*MP* Furumark, A., *The Mycenaean Pottery, Analysis and Classification*, Stockholm 1941.

The following list-numbers correspond to the numbers of the figures on the plates.

## Pottery: Bronze Age

1. *Black Slip II jug*. (Plate 4.) MM 10389. Sack-shaped body; rim broken off; round vertical handle from just below rim to shoulder; round bottom. Brown clay; black to reddish black slip. Decorated in relief and with incisions: four knobs on the shoulder and four incised vertical bands consisting of zigzag lines framed by straight vertical lines and filled with impressed dots. There is also one of these zigzag bands on the neck, flanked by groups of impressed dots and on the handle there are groups of short incised lines. Height: 20 cm. Width of body: 15.3 cm. Unknown provenance. Illustrated in P. Åström, *The Middle Cypriote Bronze Age*, Lund 1957, Fig. XXVI, 12. According to R. S. Merrillees, *The Cypriote Bronze Age Pottery found in Egypt*, (SIMA XVIII), Lund 1968, p. 145, only one sherd from Egypt, Buhen no. 3, has been tentatively assigned to this ware and it is a pity that we cannot be sure of the Egyptian provenance of this jug. The triangles filled with dots are no doubt inspired from the early Tell el Yahudiyeh ware (Lisht ware).



*Proto Base-ring juglet.* (Plate 1.) MM 14929. Sjöqvist's Base-ring I, type 1, (Sjöqvist, p. 34 ff.). Depressed globular body; narrow tapering neck; funnel-rim; thin flat handle from neck to shoulder, flat base. Around the neck there are two parallel horizontal ridges, on the body at the front opposite the handle is a group of three parallel vertical ridges and on each side a group of two vertical ridges. Reddish brown clay; dark brown to black slip, now much worn off. Height 14.3 cm. Width of body: 8.5 cm. Unknown provenance. Gift from Rettig in 1933. SCE IV, 1 D, Foreign Relations, Proto Base-ring Ware.

*Base-ring I juglet.* (Plate 1.) MM 14959. Sjöqvist's type 2 a. Piriform body; narrow tapering neck; funnel-rim; flat handle from neck to shoulder; trumpet base-ring of which some fragments are broken. Around the neck at the upper base of the handle there are two horizontal ridges. Brown clay; lustrous, reddish brown to black slip. Height: 13.5 cm. Width of the body 6.4 cm. Unknown provenance. SCE IV, 1 C, p. 145, Type VID1a $\alpha$ '.

*Base-ring I juglet.* (Plate 1.) MM 15401. Sjöqvist's type 2 b. Piriform body; narrow tapering neck; funnel-rim; flat handle from neck to shoulder; rather wide base-ring. Around the upper part of the neck there are two parallel horizontal ridges, starting in the base of the handle and on the body there are four parallel vertical ridges. Brown clay, brownish black, lustrous slip. Height: 14 cm. Width of body: 6.7 cm. According to the preliminary catalogue it was bought in 1935 from Service Antiquités in Egypt by H. M. King Gustaf VI Adolf, then Crown Prince. A note was found with the juglet: "Garstang, Abydos 1909", which probably refers to the provenance.

*Base-ring I juglet.* (Plate 1.) MM 10964. Sjöqvist's type 2 a. Piriform body; narrow tapering neck; funnel-rim; flat handle from neck to shoulder; trumpet base-ring. Around the neck at the upper base of the handle there are two parallel horizontal ridges. Brownish buff clay; thin brownish black slip. Height: 11 cm. Width of body: 5.7 cm. According to an associated note, it was found in Egypt. Bought from the Gayer-Anderson collection in 1934. SCE IV, p. 145, Type VID1a $\alpha$ '.

6. *Base-ring I juglet.* (Plate 1.) MM 15403. Sjöqvist's type 2 b. Piriform body; narrow tapering neck; funnel-rim; flat handle from neck to shoulder; rather wide base-ring. One fragment of the base-ring missing. Around the neck at the upper base of the handle there are two parallel horizontal ridges. Greyish brown clay; brownish black slip, mottled with red on the body. Height: 13.6 cm. Width of body: 7.3 cm. Unknown provenance. SCE IV, 1 C, p. 148, Type VID1b $\alpha$ '.

7. *Base-ring I juglet.* (Plate 1.) MM 15402. Sjöqvist's type 2 b. Piriform body; narrow tapering neck; funnel-rim: flat handle from neck to shoulder. Around the neck there are two parallel horizontal ridges. Brown clay; lustrous, brownish black slip. Height: 13.8 cm. Width of body: 7 cm. Unknown provenance. SCE IV, 1 C, p. 148, Type VID1b $\gamma$ '.

8. *Base-ring I juglet.* (Plate 1.) MM 10825. Sjöqvist's type 2 b. Piriform body; narrow tapering neck; funnel-rim; flat handle from neck to shoulder trumpet base-ring. Around the neck at the upper base of the handle there are two parallel horizontal ridges and on the body in front there are two vertical ridges. Brownish buff clay; lustrous, reddish brown slip. Height: 13.6 cm. Width of body: 9.8 cm. Unknown provenance. According to the preliminary catalogue it belonged to the Gayer-Anderson collection from which it was purchased in 1930. SCE IV, 1 C, p. 150, Type VID1b $\theta$ '.

9. *Base-ring I juglet.* (Plate 1.) MM 10834. Sjöqvist's type 2 c. Biconical body; narrow tapering neck; funnelrim, flat handle from neck to shoulder; rather wide base-ring. Around the neck at the upper base of the handle there are two parallel horizontal ridges and on the body there are vertical ridges. Brown clay; reddish brown to black slip. Height: 14.7 cm. Width of the body: 7.7 cm. Unknown provenance. According to the preliminary catalogue it belonged to the Gayer-Anderson collection from which it was purchased in 1930. SCE IV, 1 C, p. 155, Type VID1c.

10. *Base-ring I juglet.* (Plate 1.) MM 10965. Sjöqvist's type 3 b. Piriform body; rather narrow tapering neck; flaring rim pinched to an open spout of which is now one side missing; flat handle from neck to shoulder; wide base-ring. Around the neck at the

upper base of the handle there are two parallel horizontal ridges and on the body two vertical ridges. Brownish buff clay; brownish black slip, now partly worn off. Height: 12 cm. Width of body: 9 cm. It was purchased from the Gayer-Anderson collection in 1934. Found in Egypt. *SCE IV*, 1 C, p. 160, Type VID2ba'.

11. *Base-ring II juglet*. (Plate 1.) MM 15400. Sjöqvist's type 3. Oval body; narrow tapering neck; which is slightly bent backwards from the middle of its height, funnel-rim; flat handle from rim to shoulder; wide base-ring. Light brown clay; brownish black slip. Decorated with irregular groups of four parallel white lines on neck and body. Small fragment of rim missing. Height: 12.5 cm. Width of body: 9.7 cm. Unknown provenance. *SCE IV*, 1 C, pp. 183 f., Type IXBb.

12. *Double Base-ring I juglet*. (Plate 1.) MM 15404. Sjöqvist's type 6. Piriform bodies; narrow tapering necks; funnel-rims; trumpet base-rings, which are now fragmentary; thin flat handle, which joins the rims and shoulders of the two juglets. Around the necks there are two parallel horizontal ridges. Brown clay; brownish black slip. Height: 10 cm. Width of the bodies: 3.5 cm. Unknown provenance. *SCE IV*, 1 C, pp. 168 f., Type XIIAa.

13. *Double base-ring I juglet*. (Plate 1.) MM 10961. Sjöqvist's type 6. Piriform bodies; narrow tapering necks; funnel-rims; trumpet base-rings of which some fragments are broken off; thin flat handle, joining the rims and shoulders of the two juglets. Around the necks there are two parallel horizontal ridges. Brownish black clay; brownish black slip, now much worn off. Height: 10.5 cm. Width of the bodies: 4.2 cm. Unknown provenance. Belonged to the Gayer-Anderson collection, from which it was purchased in 1934. *SCE IV*, 1 C, pp. 168 f., Type XIIAa.

14. *Base-ring II lentoid flask*. (Plate 1.) MM 10963. Sjöqvist's Base-ring I type 3. Flat body; narrow tapering neck; funnel-rim (half of it now missing); flat handle from neck to shoulder. No string-hole projections. Greyish clay; greyish black slip. Height: 13 cm. Diam. of the body: 7.1 cm. According to a note it was found in Egypt. Bought from the Gayer-Anderson collection in 1934. *SCE IV*, 1 C,

p. 189, Type XIIIa.

15. *Base-ring II bowl*. (Plate 2.) MM 14920. Sjöqvist's type 2 b. Angular profile; large arched fork-handle; low base-ring. Brown clay; matt slip. Mottled surface varying from red to black. Height: 8.4 cm. Diam.: 16 cm. Provenance: Luxor. It belonged to the Gayer-Anderson collection (no. 31). Gift from N. Rettig 1933. *SCE IV*, 1 C, pp. 175 ff., Type IF.

16. *Base-ring II bowl*. (Plate 2.) MM 10959. Sjöqvist's type 2 b. Angular profile; large arched fork-handle; low base-ring. Brown clay; matt slip. Mottled surface, varying from red to black. Height: 5.2 cm. Diam.: 11 cm. Provenance: Luxor. Bought from the Gayer-Anderson collection in 1934. R. S. Merrillees, lists only one example of this type from Egypt: El-Amarna no. 19, in *The Cypriote Bronze Age Pottery found in Egypt*, (SIMA XVIII), Lund 1968, p. 184. *SCE IV*, 1 C, pp. 175 ff., Type IF.

17. *White Slip II bowl*. (Plate 2.) MM 14932. Sjöqvist's type 2 b. Hemispherical, with the rim slightly turned inwards; triangular wish-bone handle. Grey clay; white matt slip. Decorated with dark brown paint in Sjöqvist's motif 5 (chain of hooked lines), oblique strokes on the handle. Height: 10.5 cm. Diam.: 17.5 cm. Unknown provenance. Gift from N. Rettig 1933. According to R. S. Merrillees, in *The Cypriote Bronze Age pottery found in Egypt*, (SIMA XVIII), Lund 1968, p. 187, type 2 b has not yet been encountered in Egypt. It is unfortunate that the Egyptian provenance of this jug is doubtful.

18. *White Slip II bowl*. (Plate 3.) MM 10958. Sjöqvist's type 2 a. Hemispherical, with the rim slightly turned inwards; triangular wish-bone handle. Reddish brown clay; light buff slip. Decorated with dark paint in Sjöqvist's motif 3, now only preserved on a few spots. Fragments of the surface missing on both inside and outside. Height: 7.3 cm. Diam: 14 cm. Provenance: Luxor. Purchased from the Gayer-Anderson collection in 1934.

19. *Mycenaean III B false-necked jar*. (Plate 3.) MM 10991. Depressed globular body (MP type 171). Broad top disc. Buff clay; buff slip. Decorated on the body with alternating bands and groups of thin lines in lustrous black paint. On the top disc there are concentric circles. The handles and the base

of the false neck and the spout are painted as is the rim of the spout. Height: 12.2 cm. Width of the body: 11.8 cm. Provenance: Fayum. Bought from the Gayer-Anderson collection in 1934.

0. *Mycenaean III B false-necked jar.* (Plate 3.) MM 10992. Depressed globular body (MP type 171). Slightly convex top disc. Buff clay; buff slip. Decorated on the body with three parallel horizontal bands in lustrous red paint. On the top disc there is a spiral. The handles and the base are painted. Height: 9.6 cm. Width of body: 8.5 cm. Provenance: Fayum. Bought from the Gayer-Anderson collection in 1934. Furumark lists specimens of this type found in Kahun, Gurob and Upper Egypt, (MP, p. 612).

1. *Black Lustrous Wheel-made jug.* (Plate 4.) MM 15405. Sjöqvist's type 2. Globular body; narrow neck, widening towards the rim; flat handle from below rim to shoulders; flat base. Greyish black, rather coarse, thick clay; black lustrous slip; traces of wheel on the outside. A fragment of the rim is missing. Height: 15 cm. Width of body: 9.8 cm. No provenance. Cf. W. M. F. Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, London 1906, Pl. VIIIb: 108.

2. *Black Lustrous Wheel-made juglet.* (Plate 4.) MM 10388. Piriform body; button-base; neck and most of the handle missing. Grey clay; partly lustrous, partly matt black slip. Decorated with fields of impressed dots forming herring-bone patterns on matt slip alternating with lustrous fields. Height as preserved: 10 cm. Width of body: 8.2 cm. Unknown provenance. Cf. W. M. F. Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, London 1906, Pl. VII A: 83.

## Pottery: Iron Age

23. *Black Slip Wheel-made I jug.* (Plate 4.) MM 14927. Depressed globular body; trefoil mouth; flat handle; trumpet base. Decorated from shoulder to base with parallel vertical grooves. Around the base of the neck is a cutting. Buff clay; matt black slip, now partly worn off. The mouth is reconstructed. Height: 16 cm. Width of body: 11.5 cm. Unknown provenance. Gift from N. Rettig in 1933. SCE IV, 2 fig. X: type 5 b.

24. *White Painted IV—V jug.* (Plate 5.) MM 14933. Globular body; rather narrow tapering neck;

small mouth: pinched rim; flat vertical handle slightly raised above the rim; flat base. Grey clay; greyish buff slip. Decorated in black paint: on the shoulder a zone of concentric circles separated by drop-shaped ornaments in groups of three. Below these there is a group of encircling lines framed above and below by pairs of broader bands. A thin line lies in the middle of each pair of broad bands. On the neck there are five irregular encircling bands and on the handle there is a ladder-pattern. The rim is painted. Height: 24 cm. Width of body: 17.3 cm. Unknown provenance. Gift from N. Rettig in 1933. SCE IV, 2 fig. XLIX: 15, type 11 b.

25. *White Painted V jug.* (Plate 5.) MM 10831. Globular body; short tapering neck; pinched rim; double vertical handle which rises above the mouth. Greyish buff clay; greyish buff slip. Decorated on both sides of the body with large concentric circles. Three encircling bands of the neck of which the lowest one is irregular and wavy. A broader line at the base of the neck. The rim is painted as well as is the handle, which has horizontal strokes at the bases. From the handle a vertical line is prolonged downwards and crossed by an oblique line. Height: 20.7 cm. Width of body: 12 cm. Unknown provenance. It belonged to the Gayer-Anderson collection, from which it was purchased in 1930. SCE IV, 2 fig. XLVI: 16, type 9 a.

26. *Bichrome III bowl.* (Plate 5.) MM 14926. Conical shape; horizontal handles; flat base. Gritty, rather coarse clay; buff slip. Decorated with red and black paint: on the outside two encircling black lines below the handles, a broad red band of a dull violet brownish shade, a group of three black bands and near the base on broad black band. On the base there is a central black circle, one red encircling band and three black ones. On the interior there is a small circle in the centre and further out three encircling black lines. The rim and the handles are painted. Height: 5.4 cm. Diam.: 19.4 cm. Unknown provenance. The attribution has been confirmed by Professor Einar Gjerstad. Gift from N. Rettig 1933.

27. *Bichrome III juglet.* (Plate 5.) MM 14922. Globular body; splaying neck; flat vertical handle from neck to shoulder; flat base. Buff clay; buff slip. Decorated on the body with large concentric

circles in black. Below the rim there is a red band and further down on the neck three encircling black lines. At the base of the neck there is an encircling black band. The handle is decorated with horizontal black strokes. Height: 12.1 cm. Width of body: 8.9 cm. Unknown provenance. Gift from N. Rettig 1933. SCE IV, 2 fig. XXII: 9, type 3.

28. *Large Bichrome IV amphora*. (Plate 6.) MM 14934. Ovoid body; straight neck; flat rim; two horizontal round handles; base-ring. Buff clay; buff slip. Decorated with black and red paint: on the shoulder a double horizontal row of concentric circles separated by two black bands. Above this, one black and two red bands and below a red band bordered by two black ones. Below these there is a group of thin encircling black bands framed by broader ones, a broad red band bordered by thinner black ones and two broad black bands. On the neck there is a zone of concentric circles framed by red bands, bordered by thinner black ones and below this a red band bordered by black ones, two thin black bands and at the base of the neck a broad black one. On the rim there are groups of vertical black lines and on the interior of the neck there are two encircling black bands. The handles are black-painted and from their bases the paint has been drawn out into leaf-shaped ornaments. Height: 48.5 cm. Width of the neck: 22 cm. Height of neck: 10 cm. Width of body: 32.4 cm. Unknown provenance. Gift from N. Rettig 1933. SCE IV, 2 fig. XXV, type IB.

29. *Bichrome IV—V jug*. (Plate 5.) MM 14931. Ovoid body; tapering neck; pinched rim; double vertical handle; base-ring. Brown clay; buff slip. Decorated with red and black paint: on the shoulder a zone of black concentric circles, below this, there are encircling black lines framed by broader bands, a group of red bands and three black ones. On the neck there are three irregular encircling black lines and at the base of the neck there is a broad black band. The rim is painted and the handle has a black ladder-pattern. Height: 29 cm. Width of body: 19.8 cm. Unknown provenance. Gift from N. Rettig 1933. For the shape cf. SCE IV, fig. XLIX: 14, type 11 a.

30. *Bichrome V jug*. (Plate 6.) MM 14930. Bobbin-shaped body; splaying neck with a handle-ridge;

round rim; flat vertical handle from neck to shoulder. Greyish buff clay; buff slip. Decorated in red and black paint: on the body opposite the handle there is a central zone with a vertical row of concentric circles, framed by groups of black bands and lines, which encircle the body. There is a similar zone below the handle with a vertical row of concentric circles. The pointed ends of the bobbin-shaped body are decorated with black concentric circles. Around the neck there is a red band followed by a group of encircling black lines above the handle ridge and at the base of the neck there is a broad black band. On the handle there are vertical and horizontal black bands. The base of the handle is painted. Height: 38.5 cm. Length of body: 38 cm. Width of rim: 12.5 cm. Unknown provenance. Gift from N. Rettig 1933. SCE IV, 2 fig. XLVI: 7, type 1.

31. *Black on red I (III) bowl*. (Plate 6.) MM 14923. Round profile; base-ring. On the rim there is a slight projection with a suspension hole. Buff clay; red slip. Decorated on the exterior with five encircling black bands below the rim. There is also a band around the base. On the interior a small central circle and further out five encircling lines. The rim is painted. Height: 4.8 cm. Diam.: 20 cm. Unknown provenance. Gift from N. Rettig 1933. SCE IV, 2 fig. XXX: 9, type 2 b.

32. *Black on red III (V) deep bowl*. (Plate 6.) MM 14918. Angular shoulder and slightly incurved rim; horizontal handle; base-ring. Reddish buff, gritty clay; red slip, partly flaked off. Decorated in black paint: on the exterior two encircling black lines below the rim, on the shoulder below the handles a group of seven encircling lines; near the base a similar group of five lines. The rim is painted. On the interior a group of four encircling lines in the centre, another group of six lines encircling the inside of the shoulder and one at the base of the rim. The handles are painted and from their bases black lines are drawn obliquely towards the rim. Height: 8.2 cm. Diam.: 13.8 cm. Unknown provenance. Gift from N. Rettig 1933. For the shape cf. SCE IV, 2 fig. LIII: 7, type 7.

## Figurines

33. *Head of terracotta figurine of Syrian type*. (Plate 8.) MM 14906. Triangular face with large

almost triangular eyes, broad eyebrows, rather long nose, mouth with full lips, protruding chin. Comparatively large ears with long ear-rings. The hair is dressed in "feathered" curls above the forehead and on both sides down to the shoulders. The top of the head is now much worn but it seems as if the hair here had been rendered by close parallel incisions. Around the neck there is a necklace of the type illustrated in eg. *SCE* III, Pl. CCV. The back is flat and unworked. Buff clay with some white grit. Traces of black colour on the hair and of red on the ears. Mid 6th century B. C. Cf. *SCE* III, Pls. CCII, 12, CCIII, 1—7, J. Rogers Davis and T. B. L. Webster, *Cesnola Terracottas in the Stanford University Museum* (SIMA XVI), Lund 1964, no. 217. Height as preserved 10 cm. Unknown provenance. Gift from N. Rettig 1933.

34. *Terracotta figurine of Syrian type.* (Plate 7.) MM 14905. Rather broad face with large almond-shaped eyes, not placed at the same height, broad eyebrows, mouth with full lips, round chin. The figurine is much worn and the features blurred. The ears are concealed by ear ornaments of a type described in *SCE* III, p. 586 and below these there are other long loop-shaped ornaments. The hair is dressed in "feathered" curls above the forehead and on the sides down to the shoulders. Around the neck are two necklaces, one with round beads like the necklace illustrated in eg. *SCE* III, Pl. CCV and one with a large circular pendant with suspension tube of the type illustrated in eg. *SCE* IV, fig. 35, 22 and *SCE* I, Pl. XLIV, 57. The left arm of the figurine is held close to the body, the other one is bent up below the breasts, holding a circular object (a tympanon?). The figurine is dressed in a close-fitting tunic, which comes down to the thighs and on which there are still preserved some traces of red colour. On the hair there is black paint as well as on and below the breasts and around the arms there is also black paint, probably representing decorative borders on the sleeves of the tunic. Behind the left arm there is also black paint. The back is flat, unworked and in the head there is a vent. Cf. *SCE* III, pls. CCII, 12, CCIII, 1—7, though this figurine is less rigid, and J. Rogers Davis and T. B. L. Webster, *Cesnola Terracottas in the Stanford University Museum*, (SIMA XVI), Lund 1964, no. 217. Buff clay with white grit. Height as preserved

23 cm. Mid 6th century B. C. Unknown provenance. Gift from N. Rettig 1933.

35. *Head of Cypriote terracotta figurine.* (Plate 8.) MM 14903. Oval face with large bulbous eyes, large nose, mouth with short upper lip and full lower lip, strong chin. There are no ears, but on the left side there is an earring consisting of a round disc and from this a drop-like ornament. The hair is rendered with close oblique incisions at the temples. Above the hair there is something which may represent a diadem or a polos, but too much of it is broken off to show what it was meant to be. Around the neck there is a necklace of a type mentioned in eg. *SCE* III, p. 590 and illustrated in *SCE* III, CXCI, 5. At the back of the head a vent. One shoulder and breast preserved, the other broken off. The work is of rather poor quality and the mould has probably been worn. Buff clay; reddish buff slip, now mostly worn off. Height as preserved 14.5 cm. 5th century B. C. Unknown provenance. Gift from N. Rettig 1933.

36. *Cypriote votive figurine.* (Plate 8.) MM 14902. It is holding a tympanon. The head and face are very summarily rendered with enormous eyes and a big nose; a large ear-ring is visible on the left side of the head; hair rendered by incisions. The arms holding the tympanon are primitively made with an extra pellet to support the tympanon. The body is wheel-made and shows marks of trimming with a knife. Buff clay. On the head, neck, shoulders and tympanon traces of red paint. Height: 14 cm. It is probably later than for instance the Ayia Irini figurines. Unknown provenance. Gift from N. Rettig 1933.

37. *Cypriote votive figurine.* (Plate 8.) MM 14904. It is holding a tympanon. The head and face are simply rendered. An irregularity on the left side of the face may represent an ear-ring. The hair is rendered by short vertical incisions. The eyes are very big and the nose big and almost shapeless. The arms holding the tympanon are primitively made. The body is wheel-made, trumpet-shaped and has marks of trimming with a knife. Height: 12.8 cm. It is probably later than for instance the Ayia Irini figurines. Gift from N. Rettig 1933.

I wish to thank B. J. Peterson, Curator of the Egyptian Department of the Museum, who showed me the material while I was working at this Department in 1971 and suggested that I make a catalogue of it. He has given me much valuable information about the previous history of the objects. So has Professor O. Vessberg, Stockholm, former Director of the Museum, who also arranged to have the material discussed at a seminar. Professor S.

Brunnsåker, Uppsala, has kindly read the article and I wish to thank him also. To Professor P. Aström, Göteborg, I owe the references to the Swedish Cyprus Expedition vol. IV: 1 C, which by the time this article was completed in the spring of 1971 was not yet published. Mrs M. Sjöblom, Stockholm, took the photographs. B. R. Miller, M. A., Uppsala kindly checked my English.



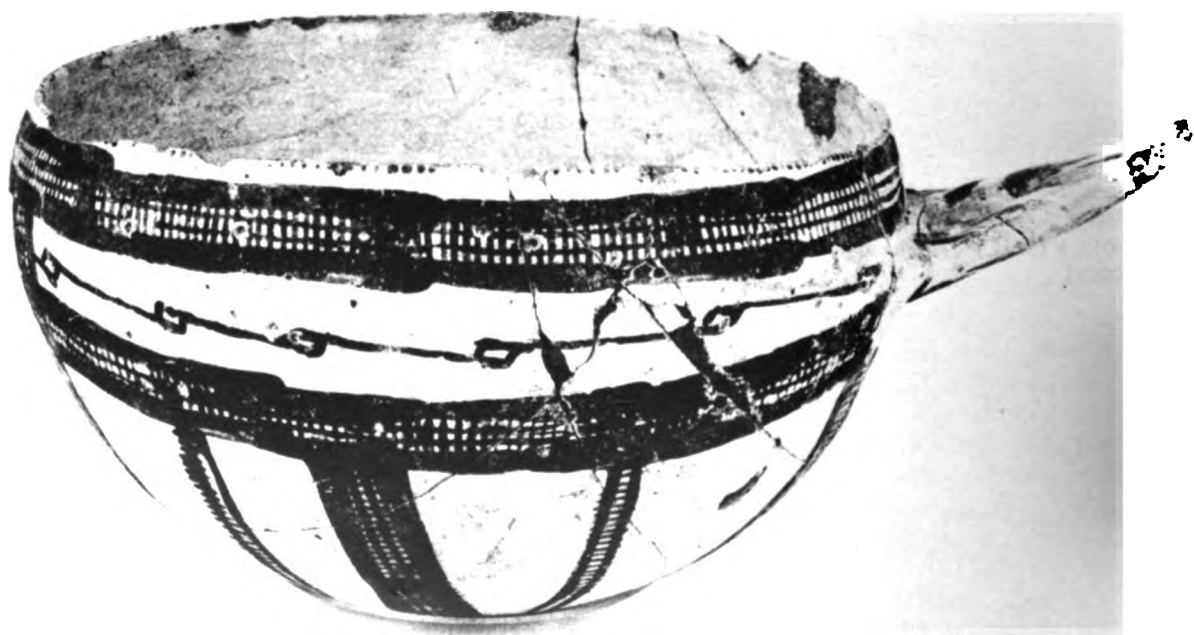
*catalogue nrs. 2—14. From left to right: 12 (MM 15404), 2 (MM 14929), 7 (MM 15402), 1 (MM 15400), 3 (MM 14959), N.2.60. (not belonging to the catalogue group), 5 (MM 10964), (MM 15401), 8 (MM 10825), 9 (MM 10834), 10 (MM 10965), 6 (MM 15403), 13 (MM 10961), 4 (MM 10963).*



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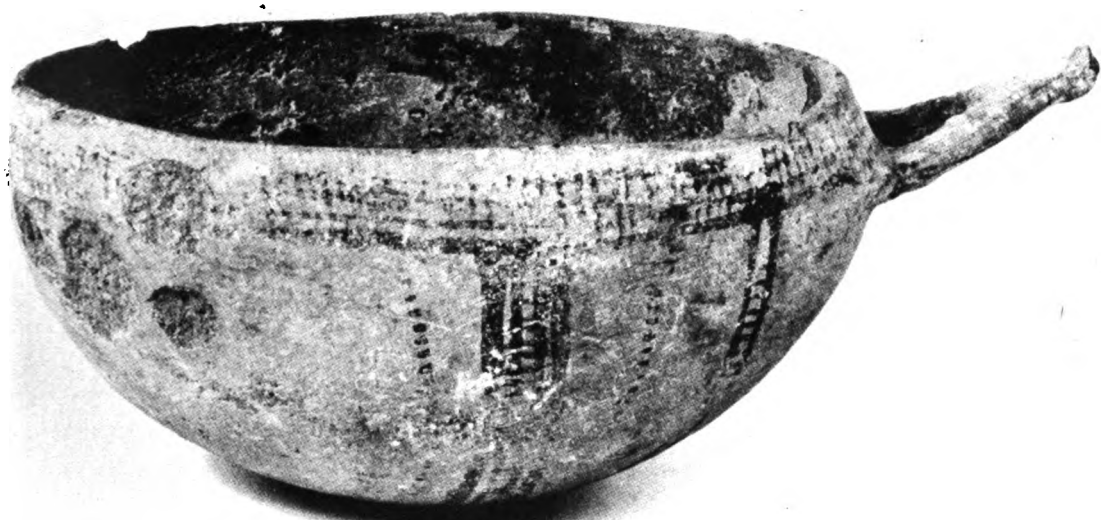
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Plate 2

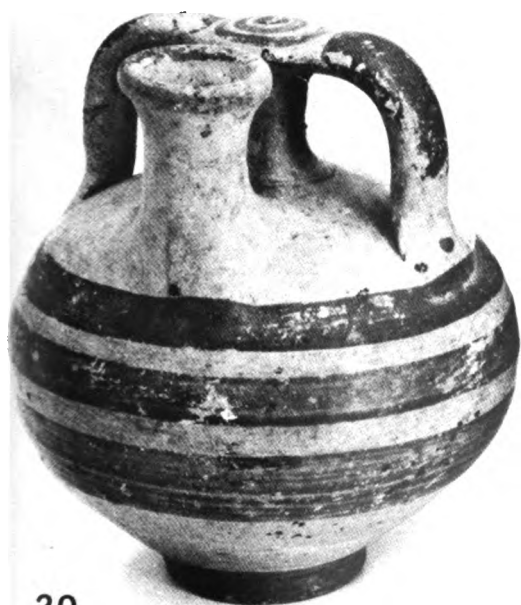




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Plate 3



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Plate 4



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Plate 5



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# Notes on an Etruscan Ring Vase in Medelhavsmuseet

Marie-Louise Winbladh

The ring vase here described<sup>1</sup> was acquired in 1912. Although some problems arise in dealing with it, not least because of its peculiar shape and so far unknown origin, the vase is a remarkable and interesting work of art. In shape it is a vertical ring vase with trefoil mouth, rope handle and high, conical stem. The vase is well preserved, except for some parts of the ring and the mouth, now mended. It is repainted on various parts of the body and on the mouth and the foot. The height is 29 cm and the diameter 16 cm. The decoration is applied on buff ground with a yellowish-red to brownish-red colour, which is worn off on parts of the body and the handle. There are also traces of white, applied to the red slip.

On both sides of the ring proper there is a ray-pattern. The convex sides of it are decorated with a row of lozenges, enclosed by vertical lines. On each side of the row there is a wave-line with points in white colour. The decoration on the neck consists of four metopes, separated from each other by four groups of two vertical lines with slanting strokes between them. The filling-ornaments in three of the metopes are composed of long-necked birds with elongated bodies. In the fourth metope are short zig-zag-lines. Both neck and stem are decorated with horizontal narrow lines above and below. The rest of the stem has vertical parallel wave-lines. The rest part of it is covered with red slip; likewise the handle, the trefoil mouth and the inner part of the ring.

As mentioned above nothing is known of the origin of the vase in Medelhavsmuseet. However, the following brief analysis has shown that one may presume an Italic provenance.

The origin of the annular shape proper can be

traced back to the Eastern Mediterranean and the Orient.<sup>2</sup> A very early example, probably from the Early Bronze Age, has been found in Troy.<sup>3</sup> It is a horizontal ring vessel on three feet with a tubular spout and a basket handle. In Cyprus the horizontal variety appeared in the Early Bronze Age and the vertical<sup>4</sup> in the Middle Bronze Age. Two flasks with annular body, probably from the Middle Bronze Age, were found at Ras Shamra; one of them has a twisted handle with a snake modelled in relief.<sup>5</sup> A small horizontal ring vase from the Mycenaean period shows that the type was represented even on the Greek mainland,<sup>6</sup> for instance at Mycenae and Delphi.

In later times the vertical type seems to become more common than earlier. During the excavations at Kerameikos was found an example from the Protogeometric period.<sup>7</sup> An alabastron with annular body, decorated with dots, from Thebe is said to belong to the Geometric period.<sup>8</sup> H. Payne, for instance, deals with its Corinthian form and adheres that all Corinthian ring vases are circular in section, compared to those of the Protocorinthian period, which are rectangular. The latter type is also larger in size and furnished with a high conical foot, which may indicate that the Corinthian vase is a new invention without anything in common with the East Greek ring askos.<sup>9</sup> Consequently it can be established that the aryballoi with annular body are less ancient than the flasks on a high stem. This can also be shown in the decoration, which is purely geometric, of the Protocorinthian ring vases.<sup>10</sup> The Corinthian type of ring vase is much less common than aryballoi and alabastera, but seems to have been used for the same purpose, i.e. as a container of perfume.<sup>11</sup> According to another opinion the



Fig. 1. MM 1972: 7.





Fig. 2—4

Corinthian perfume-bottle with annular body is a continuation of the Protocorinthian type from the geometric period.<sup>13</sup> Some Corinthian ring vases of the late seventh and early sixth century with known origin<sup>14</sup> are further examples from the same period. Mention can also be made of a small one from the Early Attic period, found on the Acropolis.<sup>15</sup>

As regards the ring vases of Italic origin, they are there to be even more uncommon. Probably the type did not occur before the Iron Age and it is that it never became frequent. Presumably it is not an Italic invention, but was a result of influence from the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean, as were, for instance, the style of decoration and the shapes of vases used in the geometric and later periods.<sup>16</sup>

Among the earliest examples of the vertical type is an annular flask from Bisenzio in South Etruria, dated to the eighth—seventh centuries B.C. It is decorated with a geometric pattern in white colour on red slip.<sup>17</sup> Another ring vase is Faliscan in origin and said to be an imitation of painted geometric ware. It is furnished with a high stem, a long neck

and a trefoil mouth. A ring vase from Cumae offers a better parallel, regarding the shape of the ring, with its flattened sides.<sup>18</sup> It is also, with its high conical foot and pure geometric decoration, very similar to the Sicyonian ring vases from the same period.<sup>19</sup> The large meander, in particular, is suggestive of the same kind of decoration in Greece and on the Greek Islands. The find-contexts of the jug from Cumae proves it to be from the Late Geometric period.<sup>21</sup> To this must be added an Iron Age jug of Buccheroid Impasto from the Esquiline.<sup>22</sup> It is furnished with a neck tapering upwards and a trefoil mouth. The decoration consists of incised parallel, encircling lines and zigzag-lines. A later and closer affinity is exemplified by an Italo-Corinthian ring vase in Munich. The ring proper has an angular shape and the rim is pinched. The vase is decorated with lines and cross-strokes in reddish-brown colour on a buff ground. From the same period is a horizontal ring vase with geometric decoration, also with a trefoil mouth.<sup>23</sup>

Another peculiar feature of the ring vase in Medelhavsmuseet is the rope handle. The presence of it seems to be rather uncommon among the Iron

Age pottery of Italic provenance. One rare parallel is a two-handled bowl with twisted handles from Narce in Southern Etruria.<sup>28</sup> On the other hand rope handles appear to be frequent in Greece in the Geometric period where it occurs principally in connection with amphorae and oinochoai.<sup>29</sup> An even earlier example from the Protogeometric or Early Geometric period has been found in the Cyclades.<sup>30</sup> In this context it is suitable to recall the flask mentioned-above with twisted handle from Ras Shamra.<sup>31</sup>

An additional detail that may illustrate the Aegean influence at this time is the high conical foot with wave-lines on the Stockholm vase, with its many counterparts on the Greek mainland and in the Cyclades.<sup>32</sup>

It can also be established that the stylistic affinities of the decoration of the vase in Medelhavsmuseet on the whole are confined to South Etruria because of the abundance in comparative material there. Among the finds from that area a majority can be dated to the Late Geometric and Subgeometric periods, but coexisting with these are also vases of the Orientalizing style.<sup>33</sup> As for the pottery belonging to the Geometric period it is an obvious fact that the style of decoration is very similar to that in Greece and the Cyclades in particular. Characteristic features, common to both regions are, for instance, the parallel wave-lines and the drooping-tailed birds enclosed in a metope or in a long row.<sup>34</sup> These evidences suggest that the Geometric style of decora-

tion in Italy, and especially Etruria, was strongly influenced by Greek and Aegean prototypes in this period.

These connections with the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean were already existing in Southern Etruria and Latium in the Previlanovan Age. The influences, which, for instance, are to be found in various types of askoi, increased in importance in the Villanovan period and became preponderant in the Orientalizing period III after 700 B.C.<sup>35</sup>

The dominating element in the decoration of the vase in Medelhavsmuseet is a somewhat irregular ray-pattern on both sides of the ring proper. This type of decoration, combined with a ring vase, seems to be rather unusual and an uncommon parallel is a ring vase from Kamiros on Rhodes with almost the same ray-pattern on the ring. The vase is Corinthian in style coming from a Rhodian work-shop.<sup>36</sup> From the same place are a couple of ring vases with geometric decoration, probably used as perfume-bottles. They are, however, all much smaller than the vase in Medelhavsmuseet.

The ray-pattern also occurs on some Subgeometric and Orientalizing oinochoai and on an Italo-Protocorinthian skyphos from Tarquinia. Further, the horizontal parallel lines which confine the neck at the top and at the bottom, are identical with those of the above mentioned jugs. The trefoil mouth and the handle are covered with red slip, like the corresponding parts of the Stockholm vase. Also the neck of our vase, which is divided in metopes with filling-ornaments, has to some extent a counterpart in the same oinochoai from Tarquinia.<sup>37</sup>

The birds of the ring vase in Medelhavsmuseet form a rather interesting feature in this context, if, as mentioned above, an Italic provenance is presumed. The drooping-tailed bird was frequently used as a decorative element in the Italo-Geometric style, but its descendants also occur on several vases in the Orientalizing period. It is considered to be more or less directly imported from the Aegean and is sometimes connected with Rhodes.<sup>38</sup>

But there is also reason for paying attention to other representations of birds which are considerably older than those mentioned above. Some of them derive from the Middle Bronze Age urnfields of the South-Western Romania and Southern Hungary, but they did not arrive in Italy before the Previlanovan Age. There the birds occurred in Etruria in the art of decoration down to the sixth century.<sup>39</sup>



Fig. 5

The original meaning of these birds is considered to be magical and religious and they often occur in connection with sun-discs or as horned animal-birds.<sup>9</sup> In the main the representations of the birds are depicted on vessels, girdles or helmets of bronze and it seems that they were not displayed on ordinary pottery vessels.

Without suggesting any connection between the birds with the urnfield background in Romania, Hungary and Italy and the birds on the vase in Medelhavsmuseet, a certain resemblance between them cannot be denied. One feature, common for both types, is the long serpentine neck. This is in contrast to the birds of Greek type, which in general are rather small and squat, the neck being much shorter. To this must be added representations of birds on a couple of vases from Cerveteri<sup>10</sup> and on an Etruscan amphora from Veji,<sup>11</sup> dating from the Orientalizing period. In Medelhavsmuseet there is also an amphora with the same kind of decoration, which must belong to about the same period.<sup>12</sup> The birds displayed on these vases offer far better parallels to the birds from the urnfields, with their elongated bodies, serpentine necks and long, slender nibs.

It seems easier, on the other hand, to trace the origin of the wave-lines depicted on the Stockholm vase. It is a typical Greek or, rather, Cycladic element and occurs frequently on Late Geometric and Subgeometric vases from Southern Etruria.<sup>13</sup> Very similar to our vase, as regards the stem, are a couple of Late Geometric vases from Bisenzio

with wave-lines, set off by parallel horizontal lines on the high conical stem.<sup>14</sup> Later on the wave-lines seem to be less frequent in the style of decoration.

It should thus be possible, with the guidance of all the above mentioned evidence, to point to an Italic or, more specific, Etruscan origin of the ring vase in Medelhavsmuseet. The comparisons made also show that the vase probably belongs stylistically to the Orientalizing period III<sup>15</sup> in Etruria. This Orientalizing style was evidently coexisting with the Late Geometric period 700—675 B.C. and, in particular, with the Subgeometric period after 675 B.C.<sup>16</sup> Further, according to E. Gjerstad, Period III is approximately contemporary in Etruria and Latium. This is proved by, for instance, the occurrence of the squat spiral amphora both in Etruria and Latium, associated with finds datable between 700—625 B.C.<sup>17</sup> An interesting example of this type is an amphora from Narce with incised double spiral, surmounted by a bird similar in style to the painted birds on the above mentioned vases from Tarquinia and Veji.<sup>18</sup> The same kind of bird is also incised on both sides of a skyphos, likewise from Narce in South Etruria.<sup>19</sup>

In the absence of better evidence there remains but to establish that the ring vase in Medelhavsmuseet is likely to derive from the Orientalizing period III, i.e. the first three quarters of the seventh century, the provenance probably being South Etruria.

Inv.no. MM 1972: 7, Figs. 1—5.

K. Friis-Johansen, *Les Vases Sicyoniens*, Paris 1923, p. 27.

AJA XXXIX 1935, pp. 555—556.

J. W. Blegen, *Troy*, London 1964, Pl. 27.

H. Schliemann, *Ilios*, London 1880, p. 596.

E. Gjerstad, SCE Vol. IV part 2, Stockholm 1948, p. 284.

E. Gjerstad, *Studies on Prehistoric Cyprus*, Uppsala 1926, p. 152 ring-vases, p. 160 ring-vase.

H. Schaeffer, *Missions en Chypre 1932—1935*, Paris 1936, t. XIX No. 2, p. 155.

H. Aström, SCE Vol. IV: I B, Lund 1972, p. 187.

<sup>9</sup> CVA Italia Fasc. VIII—Firenze Fasc. I, Milano—Roma 1931, Tav. 3 No. 2.

<sup>10</sup> Gjerstad, *Stud. on Prehist. Cypr.*, p. 126 jug No. 12.

<sup>11</sup> Gjerstad, SCE Vol. IV part 2, Fig. XIV No. 2 bottle 2.

<sup>12</sup> Syria XIX, Paris 1938, Figs. 36 E—F and 38.

<sup>13</sup> A. Furumark, *The Mycenaean Pottery*, Stockholm 1941, Fig. 20 No. 196, p. 617.

<sup>14</sup> Kerameikos IV, Berlin 1943, Taf. 25 No. 2033.

<sup>15</sup> J. Sieveking—R. Hackl, *Die Königliche Vasensammlung zu München*, Bd 1, München 1912, Abb. 50, p. 37.

<sup>16</sup> BSA XLIV 1949, p. 248.

<sup>17</sup> Friis-Johansen, *op.cit.*, p. 28 above.

<sup>18</sup> BSA XLIV 1949, p. 249.

- <sup>13</sup> Friis-Johansen, *op.cit.*, Pl. VIII No. 4.
- P. Mingazzini, *Vasi della Collezione Castellani*, Catalogo, Roma 1930, Tav. XXIX No. 4, p. 150.
- <sup>14</sup> CVA Great Britain Fasc. 9—Oxford Fasc. 2, Oxford 1931, Pl. 2 Nos. 22, 24, 38 and 40, Pl. 3 Nos. 14 and 17.
- <sup>15</sup> JdI 1887, Bd II, Berlin 1888, Fig. 21, p. 56.
- <sup>16</sup> A. Akerström, *Der Geometrische Stil in Italien*, Uppsala 1943, p. 145 ff.
- <sup>17</sup> M. Moretti, *Museo di Villa Giulia*, Roma 1961, Fig. 45, p. 62.
- <sup>18</sup> JdI Bd XXXII, Berlin 1917, Arch. Anz., Abb. 30, p. 102.
- <sup>19</sup> *MonAnt* XXII Parte 1, Milano 1913, col. 271 and 316—318.
- MonAnt* XXII Parte 2, Milano 1914, Tav. XXXIX No. 2.
- <sup>20</sup> Friis-Johansen, *op.cit.*, p. 26 below.
- <sup>21</sup> *Ibid.* p. 27 above.
- <sup>22</sup> E. Gjerstad, *Early Rome IV: I*, Lund 1966, Fig. 62 No. 7, p. 154.
- <sup>23</sup> Sieveking—Hackl, *op.cit.*, Taf. 26 Nos. 621 and 623, p. 74.
- <sup>24</sup> E. H. Dohan, *Italic Tomb-Groups in the University Museum*, Philadelphia 1942, Pl. XXIII No. 10, p. 47.
- <sup>25</sup> J. N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, London 1968, Pls. 5 a, 24 f, 27 e, 29 a, pp. 121 and 199.
- <sup>26</sup> V. R. d'A. Desborough, *Protogeometric Pottery*, Oxford 1952, Pl. 18, p. 157.
- <sup>27</sup> *Syria* XIX, Paris 1938, Figs. 36 E—F and 38.
- <sup>28</sup> Akerström, *op.cit.*, Taf. 12 and 17, pp. 60, 63, 72 and 148.
- <sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 149 and 156.
- <sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, Taf. 15 and 19, pp. 60 and 81.
- <sup>31</sup> H. Hencken, *Tarquinia and Etruscan Origins*, London 1968, p. 113.
- <sup>32</sup> K. F. Kinch, *Vroulia*, Berlin 1914, Figs. 20 a—b, col. 46.
- <sup>33</sup> Hencken, *op.cit.*, Pls. 166—168.
- E. Gjerstad, *Opusc. Romana* Vol. V, Lund 1965, Fig. 31 Nos. 1—2, p. 62.
- Akerström, *op.cit.*, Taf. 24.
- <sup>34</sup> Hencken, *op.cit.*, p. 68.
- Akerström, *op.cit.*, Figs. 33—34, p. 84.
- <sup>35</sup> Hencken, *op.cit.*, pp. 107 and 136.
- <sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 107, 110 and 112.
- <sup>37</sup> E. Pottier, *Vases Antiques du Louvre*, Paris 1897, Pls. 31 No. D 87 and 32 No. D 92.
- <sup>38</sup> R. Bartoccini—A. de Agostino, *Museo di Villa Giulia*, Milano 1961, Tav. XVI, p. 28.
- <sup>39</sup> *Inv.no.* MM 1961: 9.
- <sup>40</sup> Akerström, *op.cit.*, Taf. 12, 17, 18 and 24.
- <sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, Taf. 12.
- <sup>42</sup> Hencken, *op.cit.*, p. 113.
- <sup>43</sup> Akerström, *op.cit.*, pp. 145 and 148—149.
- <sup>44</sup> E. Gjerstad, *Early Rome IV: I*, Lund 1966, p. 322 ff.
- <sup>45</sup> Dohan, *op.cit.*, Pl. XXX No. 9, p. 56.
- <sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. XXX No. 17, p. 56.

# Bone Figures from Iran in Medelhavsmuseet's "Luristan Collection"

Patricia Marino-Hultman

In 1933 Professor Ture J. Arne bought nine bone objects from an art dealer in Teheran. They have been included in Medelhavsmuseet's large collection of Luristan bronzes, a good number of which Arne purchased while in Iran excavating Shah Tepé.<sup>1</sup> Prof. Arne was also instrumental in the acquisition of similar material by the late King Gustaf VI Adolf (then Crown Prince) during his trip to Iran in 1935 and later. These have been gathered together into the major Luristan collection at the museum as a subdivision of the "Comparative Collection". The majority are bronzes, and I am currently working on a catalogue of this excellent study collection. It is expedient, however, to publish these bone figures separately since they do not fit into the category of bronzes, and to bring them to the attention of an English reading audience. They were published briefly by Arne in *Finska Fornminnesföreningens Tidskrift*, vol. XL, 1934 (Helsinki), pp. 32—36, in Swedish. His abbreviated conclusions were based on limited evidence and not decisive. There was no more specific information available as to their provenience or age. When he inquired after information he was told that they came from Rayy (Rhages) or Saveh (Savah).

They are all made from the long bone of an animal as evidenced by the concave marrow passage on their reverse sides. All are well preserved. Two have decor in relief, the remaining seven are thinner and ornamented with drilled dotted circles, wedges, and semi-circles.

The first number given is their number within the Luristan Collection, the second that of the Comparative.

MMLur 376 SHM 20563: Bone; incised. Irregular rectangular part of long bone of animal; on the reverse a slight double concavity for the marrow. Upper third of the front incised with rows of dotted circles, dots, semi-circles and wedges assembled into a geometrical representation of a human face, i.e. eyes and eyebrows clearly recognizable. On its left side at eye level and slightly higher are two ear-like holes, and traces remain of one hole on its right side. There are marks of recent damage near the top. The incised lines are finely cut, seem stamped. Yellowish brown and polished shiny surface scarred by scraping.

L: 10.6 cm., W: 4.2 cm. Fig. 1.

MMLur 377 SHM 20563: Bone; incised. Like 376, somewhat simpler. Shoe-horn form; traces of carving on surface: parallel lines from an awl. On its right side some bright green discoloration at midsection and penetrating the entire thickness. Two ear-holes at eye level and higher intact on each side. The bottom is faceted. Very shiny pale yellow-beige surface, translucent against the light, ivory-like.

L: 9.1 cm., W: 3.9 cm., at widest, Thick: 0.13 cm. Fig. 2.

MMLur 378 a, b SHM 20563: Bone; incised. Like 376 but with carved bottom and decor covering entire surface; deeper and larger dots in the circles; incised lines form bangs at forehead. One ear-hole right, one half hole left side. Repaired break two-thirds of way down into two pieces (recent). Traces of marrow tube; rougher surface on reverse. Brownish yellow surface.

L: 10.9 cm., W: 3.4 cm. Fig. 3.



Fig. 1.  
MMLur 376.



Fig. 3.  
MMLur 378 a—b.



Fig. 2.  
MMLur 377.



Fig. 4.  
MMLur 379.

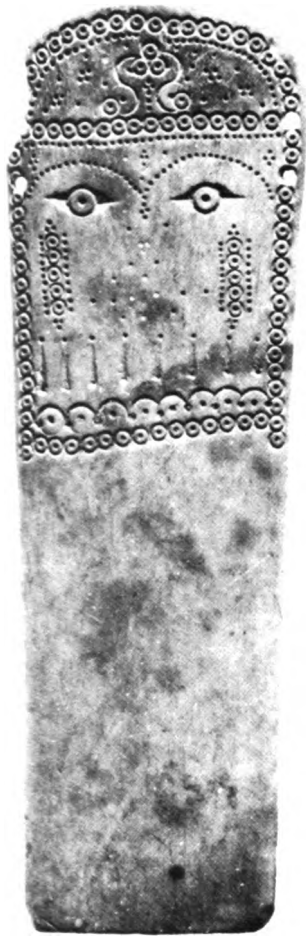


Fig. 5. MMLur 380.



Fig. 6. MMLur 381.



Fig. 7. MMLur 382.

MMLur 379 SHM 20563: Bone; incised. Like 377, 76. Flat bottom, no ear-holes. Darker brown worn surface, same on reverse.

L: 9.5 cm., W: 3.0 cm., Thick: 0.3 cm. Fig. 4.

MMLur 380 SHM 20563: Bone; incised. Like 376, slightly different pattern; small pinpoints for mouth instead of circle, central decor on forehead: two double curved vertical lines, also semi-circles and edges, more elaborate on wide cheeks. Two ear-holes on each side. Reverse carved. Greyish brown and yellow shiny surface.

L: 12.3 cm., W: 3.4 cm., at ear holes, Thick: 0.3 cm. edge, thicker in middle. Fig. 5.

MMLur 381 SHM 20563: Bone; incised. Like 380, vertical circles on cheeks. Two ear-holes intact on right side, one and a half on left. Reverse mottled with small holes. Medium brown with darker spots on surface.

L: 12.1 cm., W: 4.0 cm. at ear-holes, Thick: 0.2 cm. Fig. 6.

MMLur 382 SHM 20563: Bone; incised. Like 379. Two ear-holes intact on each side. Deep concave reverse carved hollow. Shiny green penetrates entire bottom half which narrows somewhat (associated with bronze?), darker brown surface.

L: 12.9 cm., W: 2.6 cm. at ear-holes, Thick: 0.4 cm. Fig. 7.



Fig. 8. MMLur 383.



Fig. 9—10. MMLur 384.

MMLur 383 SHM 20563: Bone; carved. Flat tube, irregular half-moon in section, with nose, mouth, and double band necklace in relief, no other decor, ends somewhat below necklace. Traces of indentation on its left side at ear level. Recent (?) break along both jagged sides. Polished ivory colored surface, polished top and bottom edges.

L: 6.8 cm., D: 4.5 cm. at top. Fig. 8.

MMLur 384 SHM 20563: Bone; carved. Carved relief nose, breasts, shoulders, waist, hips. Incised lines decor for hair, eyes, deeper mouth. Female figure. Circles on cheeks; holes in shoulder for attachment of arms? One deep circular boring for navel and 2 on upper thighs. Broken above knees; a few small recent chips on sides. Two marrow concavities on reverse. Dirty beige polished ivory surface, polished top edge.

L: 11.1 cm., W: 4.0 cm. at nose. Fig. 9—10.

MMLur 384 seems to be of a type found in Amlash,<sup>2</sup> North East Persia<sup>3</sup> and Nimrud<sup>4</sup> dated anywhere between 4000 to the Second Century B.C. There is also some similarity to Coptic Egyptian figures.

383 shows an affinity to Cycladic marble figures<sup>5</sup> which date from 2500—1100 B.C., in its simplicity. Its prominent nose and oval mouth are reminiscent of the later Luristan figures. Like our head they have necklaces, the Cycladic do not. Is it possible this head belonged to a full figure to which it had been separately attached?

Arne compares the figures 376—382 with Bulgarian ones in cut-out forms and with holes but which do not have faces like ours. The Bulgarian ones have delineated lower torsos and date as late as the First Century B.C.<sup>6</sup> in the Hallstatt period. He cites Moritz Hoernes<sup>7</sup> for earlier Bulgarian types and Hissarlik-Troy stone idols violin in shape and



remote in their resemblance to ours. Another of his comparisons with stone and shell idols in Heinrich Schliemann's collection in Berlin<sup>9</sup> are also violin shaped and/or with dotted circles indicating eyes.

With Arne in mind I include some pottery figures of the Khirbet Kerak<sup>8</sup> ware from the Amuq plain. They are as like ours as Arne's comparisons in the presence of eyes and the shapes of the figures, but have an entirely different geometric type of decor.

It seems to me that ours can be compared in material and style with those ivory hairpins from Mohenjo-Daro<sup>10</sup> or the combs, toys/pendants, and handles dated to the Greek to the Saka-Parthian periods (5th—3rd Centuries B.C.) from Taxila.<sup>11</sup> Dotted circles and holes decorating bone are widespread, both in place and time, e.g. Lachish<sup>12</sup> from 925—700 B.C. or Alishar in the "ancient Hittite stratum".<sup>13</sup> But the arrangement of the decor on our figures is still unparalleled. In his article Prof. Arne looked forward to results of the excavations at Rayy. As published today they have not really answered our questions. No bone objects were mentioned. Saveh was described as a site of "com-

mercial excavations"<sup>14</sup> (which does make it a feasible source). Rayy, at the site Chesme-I Ali, was settled during the Parthian period with a gap between 3000 and the First Century B.C.<sup>15</sup> But a grotesque mask in stucco found there, "the Parthian type of the old Mesopotamian Wind Demon Pazuzu",<sup>16</sup> is startlingly like our faces in its decorative application of circles to illustrate beard, tattooed cheeks and forehead. Its stylistic resemblance makes it possible that our figures are from the Parthian period or later and perhaps even from the area around Rayy or Saveh as Arne was told. There are additional general affinities with Parthian figures which make it possible to include 384 in this late group.<sup>17</sup> Those figures were often found in the tombs of children from the Parthian—Sasanian periods<sup>18</sup> and may very well be toys rather than idols or amulets.

While this limited material raises more questions than it answers it perhaps also adds weight to my feeling that these figures can hardly be as early as Arne would have had them, but very likely much later.

*Excavations at Shah Tepé, Iran*, Stockholm 1945.  
*Altpersische Kunst*, Galerie Beyeler, Basel, Juli—August 1962, no. and pl. 50.

*5000 Jahre persische Kunst*, Nürnberg, Jan.—Feb. 1961, cat. no. 1, pl. 16.

M. E. L. Mallowan, *Nimrud and its Remains*, vol. I, London 1966, fig. 77, p. 137.

Christian Zervos, *L'Art des Cyclades*, Paris 1957, pl. 18.

Max Ebert, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, II, Berlin 1925, tafel 92.

*Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa*, Wien 1925, p. 317, fig. 1—3; p. 361, fig. 1.

Hubert Schmidt, *Heinrich Schliemann's Sammlung ojanischer Altertümer*, Berlin 1902, nos. 7343—7347, 150 (p. 277), 7363 ...

James Mellaart, *The Chalcolithic and Early Bronze ges in the Near East and Anatolia*, Beirut 1966, p. 87, p. 30, nos. 31, 32.

H. Th. Bossert, *Geschichte des Kunstgewerbes*, III, Berlin, Wien, Zürich 1930, pl. 8, nos. 6—26.

John Marshall, *Taxila*, 3, Cambridge 1951, pl. 199: p. 13, 14, 19, 23; pl. 200: p, q, t, v, c, e.

<sup>12</sup> Olga Tufnell, *Lachish III*, The Iron Age, Oxford 1953, pl. 37: 3, 7, 8, 10, 11, 14—21, 23, 26, 27; pl. 55: 22, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28.

<sup>13</sup> Erich M. Schmidt, "Anatolia through the Ages, Discoveries at the Alishar Mound 1927—1929", *Oriental Institute Communications*, No. 11, Chicago 1931, pp. 1—16.

<sup>14</sup> Erich Schmidt, "Rayy Research 1935, Part I, Part II", *The University Museum Bulletin*, vol. 5, Nos. 3 and 4, March, May 1936, pp. 133—136.

<sup>15</sup> "The Persian Expedition, 1934", *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, XXXIII, 1935, pp. 55—59.

<sup>16</sup> Arthur Upham Pope, in *The Illustrated London News*, vol. 5018, June 22, 1935, pp. 1122—23, fig. 2.

<sup>17</sup> R. Ghirshman, *Iran*, Baltimore, Maryland 1961, pl. 39, b, Susa; Malcolm A. R. Colledge, *The Parthians*, New York, Washington 1967, pl. 17, Seleucia.

<sup>18</sup> R. de Mecquenem, G. Contenau, R. Pfister, N. Blelaiew, "Archéologie Susienne", *Memoires de la Mission Archéologique en Iran*, XXIX, Paris 1943, p. 66, fig. 55: 1, 3.

# A Selection of Some Recent Acquisitions

Bengt Peterson & Marie-Louise Winbladh

Under this heading recent acquisitions of the *Medelhavsmuseet* will be presented. There are no pretensions to completeness, nor are the notes on the objects exhaustive. Some acquisitions will be reserved for separate articles, others will be withheld simply because of lack of space in an ordinary Bulletin.

But the Direction of the Museum has found it wise not to bury all of the recently acquired objects in the store-rooms—as the show-rooms have an inadequate capacity—without a short mention in the following columns.

1. Upper part of a wooden cover to be placed upon a mummy. On a flat wooden framework a sculptured face and a voluminous wig have been fastened by means of wooden nails. The hands are likewise nailed to the framework. All parts of the wood are covered by painted stucco. The colours are rather bright, the face cream with black eyes and eyebrows, the wig likewise cream with blue, yellow and red details. On the top of the wig there is a black scarab. A neckcollar is indicated by a red and blue-pattern on a yellow background. This cover is of a very rare type from the end of the Pharaonic epoch. Unusual is the look of the eyes, the heavenward gaze with a clear religious implication. Presumably a man is represented, here crowned by a symbol of resurrection into an eternal life, a scarab.

Given by Mr. Henry Nilsson.

MME 1971: 5. Height 59 cm. Width 38 cm.

Egypt. Late Period. End of Last Millenium B.C.

B. P.



Upper part of a lid having belonged to an anthropoid mummy coffin. Sculptured face surrounded by voluminous wig. The surface is covered with painted lacquer. On the black wig there are yellow details, on the top a winged scarab. The face is pink with lips and eyebrows in black and white. A polychrome hieroglyphic pattern represents the neckcollar.

Given by Mr. Henry Nilsson.

MME 1971: 4. Height 54 cm. Width 39 cm.

Egypt. Late Period. End of Last Millenium B.C.

B. P.



Pottery vase, light-red wheeled ware with greyish

Highnecked jar with small loop handles, one of which is missing, and painted decoration. A vertical hieroglyphic inscription on the neck gives presumably the name of the owner: *𓆎𓆏𓆑𓆒*, *The Lady of House M'f*. Two black lines delimit this inscription.

Around the neck there is another pair of lines in black. Around the shoulder there are two parallel horizontal lines. They are connected by triangles in black. The type of the vase is not uncommon in stone or pottery during the 18th dynasty. The name of the woman, the housewife Maya is a rather recent New Kingdom name.

ME 1974: 46. Height 12.5 cm. Diameter 9.4 cm.

Egypt. 15th—13th Century B.C.

B. P.



4. Pottery vase, brown rather coarse wheeled ware. Peculiar shape with an ovoid body and a high wavy neck. Traces of the original colouring show alternating blue and red horizontal zones. Similar vases are known from Middle Kingdom contexts, e.g. the Beni Hasan necropolis, but also from New Kingdom sites as examples from Deir el Medineh illustrate. The same colour scheme occurs on vases from that place.

MME 1974: 47. Height 15.2 cm. Diameter 8 cm.  
Egypt. 2nd Millenium B.C.

B. P.



5. Statuette of a squatting man. Massive terracotta. Rich traces of white slip, the ground of an original colouring. This figure, seated in a free and unorthodox way, squatting and resting his left hand on his raised left knee while turning his head to the right, is a small genre representation typical of the Graeco-Roman period in Egypt. With wrinkles in the forehead and a smiling face the figure is an unconventional one far from the hieratic representations of Egyptian art proper. But there are indeed some statues of the Late Period related to this small figure. The more stiff and traditional predecessors in stone are merely reflected in this free, rapidly executed figure typical of the Hellenistic art in North Egyptian cities.

MME 1973: 2. Height 6.3 cm.  
Egypt. Graeco-Roman period.

B. P.



6. Bowl. Straight sided conical with an accentuated rim. Body somewhat irregularly shaped. Green turquoise glaze, now partially iridescent and, on the outside, crackled. The glaze covers only parts of the outside of the bowl leaving the coarse grey ware bare. But the thick glaze has been allowed to flow down irregularly thus giving the vessel a playful and elegant character. Repairs.

MM 1972: 9. Height 8 cm. Width 17 cm.

Persia. 12th—13th Century A.D.

B. P.



7. Bowl. Straight sided conical. Slip painting in manganese-purple and brownish red on cream. A central motif of interlacing ribbons in manganese-purple and red dots. The upper part of the inside painted in purple and ornamented by an incised pattern. A Kufic Arabic ornamental inscription is painted in purple outlines with red filling: "No god but one god". The outside is undecorated. Repairs.

MM 1972: 12. Height 7.5 cm. Width 21.5 cm.

Persia. Nishapur-group. 10th—11th Century A.D.

B. P.



8. Bowl. Straight sided conical. Slip painting in manganese-purple and brownish red on cream. The main decoration consists of two large Kufic Arabic inscriptions painted in purple outlines with red filling. The wording is "God" (Allah). A dot in the middle is painted in the same colours. Likewise are two somewhat irregular small halfcircles at the rim. Along the rim above the groups of Kufic writing there are undulating lines in purple. Outside undecorated. Repairs.

MM 1972: 11. Height 6.7 cm. Width 21 cm.

Persia. Nishapur-group. 10th—11th Century A.D.

B. P.



9. Marble torso of a small boy with remains of wings at the back, which mark the figure as Eros or possibly a genius. The head, arms and main part of the wings are broken away, the legs missing from the knees down. The weight is carried on his left leg, the right being slightly bent in front of the left. His right upper-arm probably was bent forward, perhaps supported by a strut. The left upper-arm of the torso seems to have been slightly pressed backwards and was probably bent away from the body since there are no traces left on this side of the torso. The surface is somewhat abraded and spotty, presumably traces of plant roots, otherwise it is well preserved. There are slight scars on the right side of the torso from the waist down to the knee, which may have been caused by a support, now broken away.

MM 1972: 13. Height 50 cm.

Probably Roman. Circa 1st—2nd Century A.D.

M.-L. W.



10. Roman marble portrait bust of an army officer wearing a paludamentum over his left shoulder. The bust is worked out of a single piece of marble. It is hollowed out at the back and furnished with a support. A small plate in the front, between the bust proper and the socle, probably was labeled with the painted name of the man represented. The shape of the bust is comparatively large, including the shoulders, a part of the upper-arms and the chest-muscles. It is very well preserved except for the tip of the nose and minor parts of the ears and the paludamentum, which are broken off. The portrait seems to represent an elderly man with a touch of resolution in his thin face with its marked cheekbones. His nose is straight and his eyes are rather deep-set. The hair is neatly combed down over the forehead. The bust evidently derives from the time of Trajan, i.e. the period 98—117 A.D., because of its similarity with portraits from that epoch, e.g. the well-known bust in the Capitoline Museum of the above mentioned emperor.

Given by H. M. King Gustaf VI Adolf and the Society of Friends of the Medelhavsmuseet.

MM 1973: 4. Height 55 cm.

Roman. Beginning of the 2nd Century A.D.

M.-L. W.



11. Amphora with slightly depressed ovoid body provided with two horizontal shoulder-handles and a base-ring. The somewhat concave neck is rather short and wide and has a ridge below the rim. On the neck, enframed by vertical parallel lines, is a winged lozenge inscribed with a latticed lozenge. The body is decorated with bands of alternating broad and narrow parallel lines and a wave-line in the handle-zone. There is a small triangle with inscribed black and white lozenges enclosed by parallel lines on the shoulder. The flat rim is decorated with broad cross-strokes.

Given by the Republic of Cyprus.

MM 1972: 1. Height 57.5 cm, diam. of the mouth 26.5 cm.

Cyprus. Cypro-Geometric III (Bichrome III) 850—700 B.C.

M.-L. W.



2. Handle, hollow cast in the form of a column, of a bronze patera. It has a ram head terminal and two broad ridges, which confine the handle on both sides. The ears and curved horns of the ram are protruding from the head, which also has curls of hair indicated. The handle is rather worn and has green patina.

MM 1972: 10. Length 13.5 cm. Acc.no. MM 1972: 10.

Probably Roman. Circa 1st—2nd Century A.D.

M.-L. W.



13. Alabaster fragment of a relief, probably from a sarcophagus. On the fragment is represented the head of a small boy with thick, short waving hair. His expression of calm thoughtfulness suggests that he is a genius or a putto initiated in a funerary context. He is depicted with the left side of his face and a part of his right shoulder visible. On the remaining part of the fragment there are stylized leaves and some kind of fruit. A ridge can be seen just below the upper fracture.

Representations of putti were common motives on Dionysiac sarcophagi from the time of the Roman emperors. During the same period winged genii were also displayed on cinerary urns leaning against an upside-down torch. However, the fragmentary condition of the alabaster piece in Medelhavsmuseet prevents from an attribution of a more specific kind of representation.

MM 1972: 6. 15.5×14.5 cm. Thickness 5 cm.

Probably Roman. 1st Century A. D. (?)

M.-L. W.



14. Roman oil-lamp with oval body in brick-red clay. The decoration of the concave upper surface or discus consists of a woman's bust in relief. A similar bust is also depicted on a lamp from the Athenian Agora and is said to represent Fausta, wife of Emperor Constantine. Below her there are a duck with extended wings and a triangular ornament. The remaining part of the upper surface is decorated with alternating triangular and rectangular ornaments and two small palmettes near the groove.

This lamp belongs to a category of "African" lamps, which appeared in the 4th—6th Centuries A.D. in North Africa, but soon spread to other countries, e.g. Greece and Italy. The "African" lamp of red clay, with a broad groove and tapering stub-handle distinguishes itself from other categories through material, shape and kind of decoration. It is closely related to the North African sigillata, both qualitatively and stylistically, and both kinds probably derive from the same work-shops.

Acquired in Tunisia.

MM 1973: 12. Length 13.5 cm, diam. 7.5 cm.

Roman. Probably 4th Century A.D.

M.-L. W.





5. Roman oil-lamp of "African" type. The moulded discus is decorated with the Sacred Monogram or Chi Rho enclosed on either side in a border of geometrical design, consisting of a row of chevrons. The whole surface of the lamp is somewhat mottled in black and red due to irregular firing. The "African" lamps are often associated with the Christian faith and a majority of the design on them is drawn from Christian symbolism. The Christ Monogram was frequently used from the 4th Century onwards and preceded the cross itself in general use.

Acquired in Tunisia.

MM 1973: 13 Length 14 cm. diam. 8 cm.

Roman. Probably 4th—5th Century A.D.

M.-L. W.



6. Roman oil-lamp of "African" type. The main sign of the moulded upper surface consists of the reversed Sacred Monogram. Below this are two symmetrically placed heart-shaped leaves. The remaining part of the surface has two branches of a tree enclosing the discus. Underneath it bears a stamp in moulded relief letters AΛ, which probably presents the name of the maker.

Acquired in Tunisia.

MM 1973: 14. Length 12.5 cm, diam. 7.5 cm.

Roman. Probably 4th—5th Century A.D.

M.-L. W.



# Activities 1973

Carl-Gustaf Styrenius

During 1973 the restoration of the Oxenstiernska Malmgården was finished. This is part of an 18th cent. farm, where, since the 1930's, the offices of the Museum, at that time under the name of the Cyprus Collections, have been accommodated. After the restoration it consists of three small buildings. The departments of conservation and of photography have been installed in the northern building. In the eastern house there will be a study collection and in the southern house there are the administrative offices as before.

The planning for a museum building where all the collections, including the Egyptian Department in the Old Town, could be concentrated has continued. The National Swedish Board of Public Building has approved a proposal from the Museum that the Eastern Stables of the former regiment, the major building of which now contains the Museum of National Antiquities, as well as the Swedish Central Office of National Antiquities, should be restored in order to house the Medelhavsmuseet. This building, situated in the same block as the Oxenstiernska Malmgården, has for a long time been designated for this purpose. The proposition has been remitted to the Ministry of Education for decision. It is too early to know, whether it will take a long time before a positive decision can be reached.

Among more important acquisitions of the Museum a Roman portrait bust in marble may be mentioned. It shows an officer and is in the typical style of the time of Emperor Trajan. The bust could be acquired thanks to contributions from the late King Gustaf VI Adolf and the Society of Friends of the Museum.

The exhibition activity increased very much and

was the largest in the history of the museum. The exhibition "The Etruscans" continued until the middle of February. This exhibition was arranged on the occasion of King Gustaf Adolf's 90th birthday in November 1972 and contained material from the excavations of the Swedish Institute in Rome since 1966 at Acqua Rossa in which King Gustaf Adolf had participated every year. This material could be shown in Stockholm thanks to the great kindness of the Italian archaeological authorities.

From March to August the exhibition "Two Pharaohs" was shown. It was comprised mainly of material from the store-rooms of the Egyptian Department of the Museum. Thanks to the great generosity of the Egyptian archaeological authorities two objects from the Tomb of Tutankhamun could also be presented. Moreover the large head in sandstone of Pharaoh Sesostri I that was a gift to Sweden from the Arab Republic of Egypt for Swedish contributions to the saving of the temple at Abu Simbel, was for the first time presented to the public. In connection with the exhibitions various catalogues and publications have been published.

During the autumn the Museum has arranged a small permanent exhibition of its own material at the University of Umeå in northern Sweden and sent out a travelling exhibition of Egyptian material to different towns in the country.

Scholars from the United States of America, Poland and Australia have spent considerable time studying the Cyprus Collections.

The Swedish excavations at Asine on the Greek mainland and at Chania in Crete have, as last year, been administrated from the Museum. The possibilities for Swedish participation in the Unesco project to save Carthage have been studied in Tunisia.

# Swedish Institute in Athens 1948—1973

Gustaf Styrenius

## *To the memory of King Gustaf VI Adolf*

On May 10th 1973 the Swedish Institute in Athens celebrated its 25th anniversary in the localities of the Institute at Boukourestiou 29 in the presence of Professor Sp. Marinatos, General Inspector of the Greek Archaeological Service, the directors of the foreign archaeological schools, the Swedish Ambassador, the Swedish consuls, Mr. Gösta Enbom, Consul General of Denmark in Piraeus, and a limited number of Greek and foreign archaeologists. For the event Professor Hjalmar Frisk, President of the Board of the Institute, and two former directors, Professor Erik Holmberg, the first director of the Institute, and the author had come from Sweden. The guests were welcomed in a brilliant speech in Greek by the new director of the Institute, Docent Petrus Hellström. The formal lecture with the title "Twenty-five years of the Swedish Institute in Athens" was given by Professor Åke Åkerström, the Grand Master of the Institute, at that time still resident in Athens.

In his lecture Professor Åkerström gave a detailed description of Swedish archaeological activity in Greece during the time before the foundation of the Institute. He showed the importance of the journeys to Greece and Asia Minor made 1876—77 by Professor Einar Löfstedt, senior, 1886—87 by Julius Centerwall and in the 1890's by Dr Johan Nilsson. Löfstedt joined the German excavation for a short time during the first campaign in Mycenae but came four months too early to Mycenae to be present when Heinrich Schliemann discovered the Circle A. All three travellers earned their importance through their lectures and writings on Greek archaeology in Swedish schools and universities and through their eagerness to stimulate

Swedish excavations in Greece. Centerwall took part in the German excavations at Pergamon. He was also invited to Schliemann.

Among Löfstedt's students in Uppsala were Sam Wide and Lennart Kjellberg, who were later responsible for the first Swedish excavations in Greece. These started on June 11th 1894 at the temple of Poseidon on the island of Kalaureia (Poros). More important were the excavations undertaken by Wide in October and November the same year at Aphidna in northern Attica. In these excavations Wide found Middle Helladic tombs with Minyan pottery as grave offerings. Such pottery had been found earlier by Schliemann at Orchomenos, but the finds at Aphidna were the first closed find groups from this at that time not yet clearly defined period. A few years later, in 1902, Lennart Kjellberg started excavations at Larissa near Smyrna in Asia Minor.

In 1909 the Swedish parliament created the first two chairs in classical archaeology at our universities. Sam Wide was appointed professor in Uppsala and one of his former students, Martin Persson Nilsson in Lund. Thirty-two years after Löfstedt's journey to Greece classical archaeology was finally acknowledged as a subject at the Swedish universities.

Classical archaeology should later on also be favoured in another way. The new Crown Prince Gustaf Adolf had a great interest in archaeology. As early as 1898, when fifteen years old, he had started his first excavations at Libtomta near Tullgarn, one of the royal palaces. One month before his death last autumn King Gustaf VI Adolf was honoured on his seventy-fifth anniversary as archaeologist, a record that is difficult to beat.

After the end of the first World War Crown Prince Gustaf Adolf went to Greece for his second visit. The first took place in 1905. When travelling



**Fig. 1. King Gustaf VI Adolf, Queen Ingrid of Denmark and the author in front of the Parthenon.**

in the Argolid he came to the charming site of Asine at the Bay of Tolon near Nauplion and became interested in the site. Two years later, in 1922, the Swedish excavations started under the direction of Axel W. Persson and Otto Frödin. The Crown Prince took part in the autumn campaign the same year. New campaigns took place in 1924, 1926 and 1930.

In the Argolid Persson extended his excavations also to Dendra in 1926 and 1927. He continued his activities during the 1930's with excavations at Dendra in 1937 and 1939 and at Berbati 1935—37, in the last mentioned site together with Åke Akerström, Gösta Säfllund and Erik Holmberg. Moreover Johan Valmin excavated in Messenia in 1927, 1929, 1933 and 1934 and Holmberg in Asea in Arcadia 1936—1938.

Thus there was great Swedish archaeological activity in Greece in the 1920's and 1930's, but the plans for an archaeological institute were not realized, although such a base would have been most convenient for all the Swedish archaeological enterprises in the eastern Mediterranean. Instead an institute was founded in Rome in 1925.

Einar Gjerstad was leader of the Swedish Cyprus expedition, which in continuous campaigns excavated twenty sites on the island during the years 1927—31. In 1935 he became director of the Swedish Institute in Rome. In 1937 he started to arrange excursions to Greece with the students as part of an annual archaeological course of the Swedish Institute in Rome, which can be considered to be the preliminaries for the Swedish Institute in Athens.

After the war the plans for the foundation of an institute in Athens were revived. These plans were promoted by the president of the Swedish Oriental Society Mr. Herbert Jacobsson and its general agent in the Mediterranean, the well-known Greek shipowner E. Eugenides. The constituting meeting took place in the Royal Palace in Stockholm on April 1946 with Crown Prince Gustaf Adolf as chairman and Einar Gjerstad as secretary. A description of this meeting and of the following preparations is given by Åke Akerström in "Svenska Institutet i Athen", published by Riksföreningen för svenskarnas bevarande i utlandet. Greece was at that time under the pressure of the civil war and the support given by those, among them Gjerstad, who were sent to the country to examine the possibilities the foundation of an institute were not too

promising. However, an application was sent to the Greek government and was approved of in a verbal note on November 20th 1947. It seems that the approval had been inspired by the well-known Greek politician Panayotis Pipinelis, who had been Gjerstad's contact in Athens and whose wife was Swedish. In the meantime Erik Holmberg had been sent to Athens in order to study the situation, to lead the archaeological course for the Swedish students coming from Rome and to prepare for the formal inauguration of the Institute. This took place on May 10th 1948 in the Gennadion Library, which is under the supervision of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, where Oscar Broneer was director at that time.

For the autumn 1948 Holmberg was succeeded by Arvid Andrén replacing Åke Akerström, the new director, who preferred to stay in Rome during the autumn. Here he received together with Gjerstad, the secretary of the board of the new-founded Institute, a message from Herbert Jacobsson saying that he was sending 200.000 Sw. Crs. for the purchase of a house or a flat for the Institute in Athens. The adventurous time until Akerström could sign the contract for buying the flat in Boukourestiou 29 on April 21st 1949 has been described in his article mentioned above where he also mentions the hospitality that he and the Swedish students enjoyed from the British School during the spring 1949.

It is Åke Akerström's indisputable merit as director 1949—1956 to have organized the Institute. His work in building up the library, often with the kind support of Greek and foreign archaeological libraries in Athens and of Swedish libraries and donations, is admirable. His interest in this respect continued also during the years 1957—1970, when he was secretary of the board after Gjerstad. His inspiring teaching during the archaeological courses every spring was founded on his profound knowledge combined with his charming and powerful manner of expression. He managed to make most students including myself very enthusiastic for Greece and Greek archaeology. Since the beginning the program of the courses has for the main part been the same, with a concentration on Athens, the Peloponnese, Delfi, Crete and Delos or, during the last years, Thera. The length of the course has now been doubled to nine weeks and the program is officially acknowledged as part of the advanced university studies in classical archaeology.



Fig. 2. The participants in the 1966 archaeological course visit the ruins on the island of Delos.

The Institute was not only a centre for archaeological education. On Gjerstad's initiative two series of publications were started in 1950, for monographs and periodicals, the latter under the name of *Opuscula Atheniensia*.

In 1956, when Åke Akerström was appointed professor at the University of Gothenburg, Arne Furumark succeeded him for less than one year, leaving during this time his chair at the University of Uppsala.

From January 1958 Paul Åström was appointed director. He had made a very rapid career and was only twenty-nine when he took over the Institute. From 1959 the Institute, that is a private foundation, received an annual government grant. However, this did not increase the resources very much, as the private contributions were reduced to nearly the same extent. In spite of that Åström made major efforts to build up the library, the extent of which increased in a most rapid way. When he left the

institute in 1963 the library was very useful, especially for a scholar on Greek prehistory.

The problem was that the Institute had already become too small in regard to the rapidly increasing library and it had no rooms for students. During the years 1953—55 Åkerström had made efforts to buy a plot for building an Institute but without success. In 1959 Åström got an option on the big flat just above the Institute for a time of six months but the opportunity was lost.

Very successful was the archaeological activity during Åström's directorship. During the first decade after the foundation of the Institute this activity was limited to Valmin's excavations in Messenia in 1952 and Åkerström's campaigns at Berbati in 1953 and in 1959. In both cases these were continuations from the 1930's.

In the autumn of 1959 I accompanied Åström and the Greek Ephoros N. M. Verdhelis on an excursion to Dendra to make a preliminary examination of a Mycenaean chamber tomb, the roof of which was reported to have fallen in. In May 1960 the tomb, that had been partly robbed in January the same year, probably because our visit was reported in the news-papers, was excavated by Åström and Verdhelis at King Gustaf VI Adolf's expense. After the marvellous find of a Mycenaean bronze cuirass the tomb is called The Cuirass Tomb. This find was important because it proved the existence of bronze cuirasses in Mycenaean times just as Homer tells us in the Iliad.

Åström also excavated another chamber tomb the same year and continued in 1962, when he found a chamber tomb and a shaft grave from the Mycenaean period at Dendra. In 1963 he excavated on the Acropolis of Midea near Dendra.

When I succeeded Åström in October 1963 the Institute had definitely grown out of the prevailing premises. Shortly after my arrival I found a suitable building for an Institute a little higher up in Boukouristiou street, that by chance was offered at reasonable price. The building was examined by a representative of the National Swedish Board of Public Building, who gave a positive report. However, no solution of the financial problems connected with a purchase of the building could be found.

In the beginning of 1964 Mr. Josef Anér accepted the post as new treasurer of the board of the Institute. He was a famous banker, known for his capacity to reorganize insolvent companies of all

sorts and for being extremely economical. I understood that my plan to get a definite solution of the problems of the Institute by buying a whole building should be considered too pretentious by the new treasurer. On the other hand I was sure that the failure of 1959 should not be repeated.

Within less than two months Mr. Anér together with his wife arrived at Athens ready to buy a flat as residence for the director. After many considerations it was decided that the flat under the Institute should be bought. This solution was also unquestionably the best which could be reached under the prevailing circumstances.

Thus, after fifteen years the director and his family could move out from the Institute to a flat of their own giving place for the library and for bedrooms for the students. It was a big step forward in the history of the Institute. In the spring of 1965 the new organization had been accomplished.

The usefulness of the Institute was very much favoured through the new arrangements and the activity could increase still more, since the director has had an assistant from 1967 on. Since 1969, when



Fig. 3. The Institute library after the new organization had been accomplished in 1965.

air conditioning was installed, the Institute can be used also during the warmest part of the summer, which was not possible before.

In the 1960's King Gustaf VI Adolf visited Greece three times, which was of special importance for the Institute. Since 1922 he had visited Greece only once in 1935 when he made his long journey to the Orient. His interest had since 1956 been concentrated on the Swedish excavations at San Giovenale in Etruria, later on at Luni and during the last years at Acqua Rossa. In March 1964 he made a short visit in Athens for the funeral of King Paul and in September the same year he returned for King Konstantine's marriage. In April 1965 he returned once more for some weeks. On the two last mentioned journeys he visited the Institute and was immediately ready to give contributions in order that the most serious gaps in the library could be filled. He also presented the Institute with the photographic turret, which later on became a useful instrument for rapid documentation of excavation trenches in photographic plans.

After the Institute had been reorganized and after the director had got an assistant it was time to start thinking about archaeological activities. An invitation from Mr. Yannis Tzedakis, the Epimelete of Chania in Crete, to collaborate with him at the excavations at Kastelli, the site of the old Venetian citadel of Chania, was most welcome. In 1967 a Greek-Swedish joint excavation was planned, and Pontus Hellström, then assistant at the Institute, worked as an architect at the Kastelli excavation. Effective collaboration started in June 1969, when Tzedakis and the author opened trial trenches at Kastelli. Since 1970 more extensive excavations in Minoan levels have taken place every year, the most important finds of which were the fragments of Linear A-tablets found in 1971.

In the autumn of 1969 the Institute was invited by the Greek General Direction of Antiquities to continue the work at Asine and so, forty years after the termination of Persson's excavations, Swedish excavations were resumed in May 1970. Also at Asine extensive excavations have taken place every year since 1970. Thus, for the first time since the 1930's Swedish archaeologists were excavating on two sites in Greece and for the first time on Crete, where already Wide had been interested in starting excavations.

During the whole period of excavations at Asine

and at Chania the Greek General Direction of Antiquities and its leader, Professor Sp. Marinatos, most kindly facilitated our work. Funds for the excavations at Asine were from the beginning put at my disposal by the Swede Gösta Enbom, Consul General of Denmark at Piraeus, while the excavations at Chania were sponsored from the beginning by the Greek-Swedish League in Athens at the initiative of the Swedish Consul Michael Souyoudjoglou, who had earlier offered for many years annual scholarships in order that Swedish architects could have the possibility to participate in the archaeological courses of the Institute. Later, contributions were given to the excavations by the Swedish Humanistic Research Council, by the Royal Society of Letters at Lund, by the Swedish Institute in Athens, by the Carl-Bertel Nathorst Foundation, by Konung Gustaf VI Adolfs 80-årsfond för Svensk Kultur, by Mr. B. Criticos and by Mr. Gunnar Michelson. Travelling scholarships have been offered by Saracakis Brothers s. a. and by The Helge Ax:son Johnson Foundation.

Here a few words may be added about the constant help and support given to the Institute through the years by the Swedish ambassadors and other representatives of the Royal Swedish Embassy in Athens. As cultural attaché under the Ambassadors Tage Grönwall, Gösta Brunnström and Dag Bergman. I was most thankful for their great interest for the Institute and its development.

In July 1970 I left the Institute and returned to the University of Lund, where Professor Krister Hanell had died shortly before. Professor Åke Akerström took over my responsibilities at the Institute first as acting director and after my appointment as director of Medelhavsmuseet as ordinary director. From October 1972 Docent Pontus Hellström was appointed director. As former assistant he knew the Institute very well. He is also a most experienced excavator having taken part in the excavations at Labraunda in Caria, and at Luni in Etruria. He was also member of the Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia. Moreover he was earlier field director of the Chania excavations. His problem is the same as that of the earlier director: that is to solve the problem of the localities of the Institute. I wish him all success in his efforts to get definite solution by buying a building south of the cropolis for the Swedish Institute in Athens.







# MEDELHAVSMUSEET

The Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities

Bulletin, Vol. 1, 1961, 64 pp. (out of print)

*Olof Vessberg*, The Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities, Medelhavsmuseet—A Presentation. *Hjalmar Larsen*, Finds from Badarian and Tasian Civilizations. *Hans Henning von der Osten*, Altorientalische Siegelsteine. *Sten V. Wängstedt*, Einige ägyptische Grabdenkmäler. *Olof Vessberg*, Recently Acquired Roman Portraits.

Bulletin, Vol. 2, 1962, 63 pp. Sw. Crs 16.

*Ture J. Arne*, The Collection of Luristan Bronzes. *Sten V. Wängstedt*, Ägyptische Siegelamulette. *Pär Göran Gierow*, A Latial Iron Age Tomb-Group. *Olof Vessberg*, Sculptures in the Throne-Holst Collection.

Bulletin, Vol. 3, 1963, 72 pp. Sw. Crs 20.

*Einar Gjerstad*, Supplementary Notes on Finds from Ajia Irini in Cyprus. *Evert Baudou*, Kreta, Tiber und Stora Mellösa, Bemerkungen zu zwei Bronzeschwertern aus dem Tiber. *Tullia Rönne-Linders*, A Black-Figured Neck-Amphora of the Leagros Group. *Olof Vessberg*, A Republican Portrait from the Sabina.

Bulletin, Vol. 4, 1964, 61 pp. Sw. Crs 20.

*Sten V. Wängstedt*, Vier Stelen und eine Opfertafel aus Deir el-Medineh. *Bengt Julius Peterson*, Two Royal Heads from Amarna. *Arvid Andréén*, An Italic Iron Age Hut Urn. *Arvid Andréén*, An Italic Iron Age Belt Plate. *Anna Mura*, Vaso d'impasto a decorazione graffita con teoria di animali fantastici. *Ake Åkerström*, A Horseman from Asia Minor. *Olof Vessberg*, A New Variant of the Helena Myth.

Bulletin, Vol. 5, 1969, 58 pp. Sw. Crs 20.

*Bengt Julius Peterson*, Some Reliefs from the Memphite Necropolis. *Paul Åström*, A Red Lustrous Wheel-made Spindle Bottle and Its Contents. *Sten V. Wängstedt*, Uschebtis aus der ägyptischen Spätzeit. *Arvid Andréén*, An Etruscan Terracotta Head. *Arvid Andréén*, An Etruscan Terracotta Ash Urn. *Hans Furuhausen*, The Roman She-Wolf on a Terracotta Tablet. *Olof Vessberg*, A Roman Togatus.

Bulletin, Vol. 6, 1972, 55 pp. Sw. Crs 20.

*Vassos Karageorghis*, Notes on Some Cypro-Mycenaean Vases in the Medelhavsmuseet. *Sylvia Törnkvist*, Arms, Armour and Dress of the Terracotta Sculpture from Ajia Irini, Cyprus.

Bulletin, Vol. 7—8, 1973, 144 pp., 80 pl. Sw. Crs 90.

*Bengt E. J. Peterson*, Zeichnungen aus einer Totenstadt. Bildostraka aus Theben-West, ihre Fundplätze, Themata und Zweckbereiche mitsamt einem Katalog der Gayer-Anderson-Sammlung in Stockholm.

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# MEDELHAVSMUSEET

*Beate George*

## Frühe Keramik aus Ägypten





THE MUSEUM OF MEDITERRANEAN AND NEAR EASTERN ANTIQUITIES

NY CARLSBERG MUSEUM

LLI IN 10 1975



# FRÜHE KERAMIK AUS ÄGYPTEN

Die dekorierte Negade II-Keramik im Medelhavsmuseet

von

BEATE GEORGE

STOCKHOLM 1975

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Edited by Bengt Peterson. Photos by Margareta Sjöblom

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# Einführung

*At the still point of the turning world. Neither flesh nor fleshless;  
Neither from nor towards; at the still point, there the dance is,  
But neither arrest nor movement. And do not call it fixity,  
Where past and future are gathered. Neither movement from nor towards,  
Neither ascent nor decline. Except for the point, the still point,  
There would be no dance, and there is only the dance.*

*T. S. Eliot, Four Quartets, Burnt Norton II 62–67*

Die Blütezeit altägyptischer Töpferkunst ist die prähistorische Epoche vor 3000 v.Chr., deren lokal mehr oder weniger begrenzte Kulturen hauptsächlich anhand verschiedener Keramikstile bestimmt werden. Von besonderem Interesse unter der Vielzahl von Gattungen ist die sogenannte „dekorierte Ware“ – *„decorated ware“* – der Negade II-Kultur, die räumlich grosse Teile Ägyptens umfasst und eitlich am Übergang zur historischen Epoche steht.

Diese Keramik ist auf hellem Tongrund mit einem braunroten Farbton aufgetragenen geometrischen oder figuralen Dekor verziert. Unter den figürlichen Darstellungen sind besonders vielrudrige Schiffe und Menschen bemerkenswert. Obwohl die Deutung dieser Bilder im Einzelfall schwierig und unsicher ist und unser Kenntnis der Negade II-Kultur nicht immer eindeutige Aufschlüsse gibt, die man vielleicht erwarten oder wünschen könnte, so werfen diese Gefässmalereien doch Licht auf eines der wichtigsten Ereignisse in Ägyptens langer Geschichte überhaupt, nämlich den Sprung aus der Prähistorie mit dem für den charakteristischen Welt- und Menschenverständnis der Historie mit ihrer neuen, andersartigen Sicht.

Weltsicht und Bewusstsein der Vorgeschichte<sup>1</sup> finden im Bereich der Keramik ihren Ausdruck in einer speziellen Art von Ornamentik. Es sind Muster, die durch ihr Vorhandensein erst die sonst als negativ erlebte Fläche erzeugen. Sie folgen der Form des Gefässkörpers und ordnen sich ihr ganz unter, entsprechend wie der Töpfer noch seinem Erzeugnis untergeordnet ist und der Mensch in die ihn umgebende Welt – Natur, Volksgruppe – eingebunden ist.

Die Hinwendung zum Figürlichen, die in der Bemalung der sogenannten „white cross-lined“-Ware der Negade I-Kultur und vor allem der dekorierten Ware von Negade II vollzogen wird, lässt eine Bewusstseins- und Weltsichtsmutation sichtbar werden, die Differenzierung, Individualisierung und Personalisierung beinhaltet. In der Kunst führt dies zur Entdeckung des plastischen Einzelraums und zur Entfaltung der Skulptur überhaupt, auf dem Gebiet des Gefässdekors über die mit Strichmustern gefüllten Darstellungen des *white cross-lined*-Stiles hinaus zu den mit Farbe ausgefüllten körperhaften Figurenwiedergaben der dekorierten Ware. Diese Maltechnik – es kommen auch Ritzmuster auf anderen Gattungen vorgeschichtlicher ägyptischer Keramik vor – mag möglicherweise von den Felsbildern inspiriert worden sein, die vom Capsien bis zum Chalkolithikum bekannt sind.

Die figuralen Darstellungen der dekorierten Ware zeigen eine bedeutende Verselbständigung des Dekors gegenüber dem Gefässkörper. Die Bilder mit zum Teil ganz neuen Themen sind zwar in Gruppen auf der Bildfläche geordnet, haben jedoch keine eigentliche räumliche Beziehung zu ihr oder unter einander. Der Hersteller ist seinem Produkt gegenüber selbständiger und bewusster geworden. Dieser Prozess wird vor allem an den Menschendarstellungen deutlich, die dem Maler besondere Schwierigkeiten bereiteten. Er schafft bewusst ein Bild, das die wichtigsten Aspekte der menschlichen Gestalt in sich vereinigt, und kommt bei aller Stilisierung und manchmal Unsicherheit in den bestgelungenen Bildern den

Wiedergaben historischer Zeit schon sehr nahe. Darin liegt vielleicht der grösste Reiz dieser Bilder, dass sie den tiefgehenden Umbruch aus der nordafrikanischen Vorzeit zu dem, was dabei ist, Ägypten zu werden, ahnen lassen.

Die ägyptische Abteilung des Medelhavsmuseet in Stockholm besitzt eine umfangreiche Sammlung von dekorierten Negade II-Keramik, deren Stücke fast ausschliesslich aus Privatsammlungen stammen. Herkunft und Fundzusammenhänge sind daher fast nie bekannt, abgesehen von drei Gefässen (Kat.nr. 81, 139, 148), die bei G. Bruntons Grabungen in Mostageda<sup>2</sup> zutage kamen. Der grössere Teil der Stockholmer Sammlung – 135 Exemplare von 155 – ist mit nicht-figürlichen Motiven bemalt, 20 Gefässe sind mit figürlichem Dekor versehen. Alle sollen hier in einem Katalog vorgelegt werden. Für Dekormotive, Formentypologie und Technik lassen sich dabei interessante Besonderheiten feststellen, für die es möglicherweise in anderen bisher unpublizierten Sammlungen Parallelen gibt.

Für eine Einteilung ägyptischer vorgeschichtlicher Keramik hat Petrie ein System von „*sequence-dates*“<sup>3</sup> (SD, Staffeldaten) entwickelt, das 80 relative, chronologisch nicht fixierte Stufen umfasst. In diesem System nimmt die Negade II-Kultur die SD 38/40–80 ein, einige wenige rotbemale Gefässe kommen jedoch schon in SD 31–39, also parallel mit Negade I, vor<sup>4</sup>. Dem Material<sup>5</sup> nach gehört die gesamte rotbemale Ware zur „*desert-ware*“, der Wüstenware, dem Dekor<sup>6</sup> nach zur Gruppe der bemalten, gegenüber mit Ritzmustern oder Relief verzierten Gattungen. Bemalte Keramik<sup>7</sup> des „*white cross-lined*“-Stils von Negade I ist charakterisiert durch weissfigurige Malerei, offene Gefässformen und damit Bevorzugung des Gefässinneren als Malfläche sowie geradlinige Ornamentik, während die Negade II-Ware durch rotbraune Malerei, Bevorzugung des Gefässäusseren als Malfläche und geschlossene Gefässformen sowie durch gebogene Ornamente<sup>8</sup> gekennzeichnet ist. Eine interessante Mischung beider Stile stellt das kleine herzförmig-längliche Gefäss Kat.nr. 138 dar, das der Form und dem Dekor nach zu Negade I gehört, dem Material und der Farbe nach aber zu Negade II.

Hauptkriterium für die Einteilung der hier präsentierten bemalten Gefässe ist die Art des Dekors, in zweiter Linie die Gefässform. Den Themen der Bemalung folgend ergeben sich die Gruppen nicht-figurale bzw. figurale Darstellungen, wobei die nicht-

figuralen in Spiralen (Kat.nr. 1–35), Steinimitationen einschliesslich Punkten (Kat.nr. 36–60) und Wellenlinien einschliesslich Netzmustern und Strichen (Kat.nr. 61–135) gegliedert werden können. Die Wellenlinien, die in einigen Fällen das ganze Gefäss umziehen, in anderen aber nur sehr kurz sind, sind nicht immer in sorgfältiger Zickzacklinie gezeichnet, sondern manchmal nur einmal in der Mitte geknickt oder nur Striche. Andeutungen von Landschaften sind möglicherweise in den Kompositionen von Wellenlinien und mit Farbe ausgefüllten Dreiecken, vielleicht Bergen, zu sehen. Gefässe mit solchem Dekor sind hier zu den figuralen gerechnet. Die figurale Gruppe umfasst weiter als Hauptmotive Pflanzen, Vögel, Schiffe und Kompositionen mit menschlichen Gestalten (Kat.nr. 136–155).

Ein Vergleich mit dem in Petries „*Prehistoric Egypt Corpus*“<sup>9</sup> – im folgendem nur als *Corpus* zitiert – zusammengestellten Material, das nach *sequence-dates* eingeteilt ist, erlaubt eine gewisse relative chronologische Gruppierung der Stockholmer Sammlung anhand des Auftauchens der Dekormotive. Wie bereits erwähnt, kommen einige rotbemale Gefässe schon ab SD 31 vor. Kat.nr. 88 mit Wellenlinien kommt *Corpus* 10 G (SD 31, 41, 61) nahe. Kat.nr. 44 – Steinimitation – dem Exemplar *Corpus* 63 C (SD 36–41). Da jedoch beide Stockholmer Stücke Abweichungen aufweisen, können sie nicht mit Sicherheit so früh angesetzt werden. Auch *Corpus* 68 A – sphärisch mit senkrechten Wellenbändern – beginnt verhältnismässig früh (SD 39–61); es ist in drei Exemplaren im Medelhavsmuseet vertreten (Kat.nr. 97, 98, 99). Einige Stücke der rotbemalten Keramik haben Form und Henkel der Wellenhenkelgefässe, die nach Petrie von SD 40–80 belegt sind, nach Kaisers Untersuchungen aber frühestens ab SD 46 vorkommen<sup>10</sup>. Diese Diskrepanz zeigt, dass die Anwendbarkeit des Staffeldatensystems sowie die Rolle der Wellenhenkelgefässe als Leitkeramik für die Negade II-Kultur überprüft werden müssen. Bei der Erwähnung dieser Ware, die als aus Palästina importierte Gattung gilt, sei auf die schwierige Frage des Einflusses aus Vorderasien hingewiesen. Darüber, wie lang andauernd und intensiv, ob direkt oder indirekt, mit welchen Gegenden Vorderasiens und über welche Wege Kontakte zwischen diesem Kulturkreis und Ägypten bestanden haben, herrschen die unterschiedlichsten Ansichten<sup>11</sup>.

Es bestehen auch Verbindungen zwischen den dekorierten Ware und Steingefässen, die vom Beginn

der historischen Zeit an die Tongefässe in ihrer Bedeutung als Bestandteil der Grabausrüstung zurückführen. Von vorgeschichtlichen bunten Steingefässen phärischer Form mit Schnurösen sind sowohl die Gestalt als auch die Oberflächenstruktur in Keramik imitiert worden. Die Tonoberfläche ist manchmal mit einem unregelmässigen, gesprenkelten Muster bemalt worden, um den kostbareren Stein nachzuahmen (cf. Kat.nr. 36–60), welches Verfahren von SD 36–78 vorkommt<sup>12</sup>. Daneben sind Bemalungen mit Wellenlinien sehr häufig, die möglicherweise auf den Inhalt der Gefässe gedeutet haben könnten, aber auch in einigen Fällen einem Tragnetz aus Flechtwerk nachgekommen. Dieser Dekor kommt in den verschiedensten Abwandlungen von SD 31 (cf. *Corpus* 10 G) bis zum Ende der prähistorischen Epoche vor (cf. Kat.nr. 1–135)<sup>13</sup>. Ein weiteres reich belegtes Motiv ist die Spirale (Kat.nr. 1–35), die um SD 40 erscheint und bis SD 63 als Dekor verwendet wird; ihre Bedeutung ist nicht mit Sicherheit eindeutig festzulegen<sup>14</sup>. Spät – ab SD 69 – erscheinen ferner grosse bauchige Gefässe mit kommaartigen Strichen<sup>15</sup> (cf. *Corpus* 66 B ff.; Kat.nr. 116–119). Spät ist auch ein dickwandiger flaschenförmiger Typ mit engem Hals (cf. Kat.nr. 111)<sup>16</sup> und ein grossformatiger wie Kat.nr. 109, dessen Form Petries Gruppe „Late“ entspricht<sup>17</sup>.

Nach Petries Klassifizierung erscheint ab SD 40 ausser der Spirale auch eine Pflanzenart (cf. *Corpus* 1 A), die schon 1897 von G. Schweinfurth als Aloe, nun auch als abessinische Banane identifiziert worden ist<sup>18</sup>. Zur magisch-religiösen Bedeutung der Aloe bei den Völkern der afrikanischen Trockenzone, ihrer heilenden und Schutz spendenden Funktion, die mit ihrem hohen Wassergehalt zusammenhängt, hat H. Baumann ein druckvolles Material präsentiert<sup>19</sup>. Da auch im alten Ägypten die Sitte besteht, Töpfe mit Aloen für Gräber zu stellen, da sie mit ihrem geringen Wasserbedarf trotz Hitze und Trockenheit die Dauer des Lebens symbolisieren, darf dieser Pflanze wohl auch für die prähistorische Epoche eine ähnliche Bedeutung zugeschrieben werden. Die Aloe erscheint auf den Gefässen Kat.nr. 140 und 141 als Hauptdekormotiv, auf Kat.nr. 148 und 150 im Zusammenhang mit Schiffsdarstellungen.

Ein weiteres Motiv – cf. *Corpus* 36 P und Kat.nr. 9, 140, 141, 145, 147, 149, 150 – scheint am ehesten einen Baum darzustellen, ist aber auch als Fächer oder noch unwahrscheinlicher als Schmetterling betrachtet worden<sup>20</sup>.

Ab SD 40 kommen weiterhin Antilopen- und

Bockarten vor, deren nähere Bestimmung unsicher ist (*Corpus* 36 C)<sup>21</sup>. Auf den Gefässen Kat.nr. 154 und 155, den einzigen mit Böcken im Medelhavsmuseet, ist offensichtlich beidemal dieselbe Art – einmal sehr schön, das andere Mal ganz flüchtig – wiedergegeben mit in grossem Bogen zum Rücken hin geschwungenen Hörnern.

Mit SD 45 beginnen dann die sehr interessanten Schiffsbilder (*Corpus* 40 ff.)<sup>22</sup>. Ein Schiff in Draufsicht auf einer Negade I-Schale enthält schon die wichtigsten Bestandteile, die auch in Negade II – da aber in Seitenansicht – abgebildet zu werden pflegen: viele Ruder, zwei Kabinen, Zweig am Bug. Bei diesem Schiffstyp ist der Schiffskörper meist mit hochgezogenem Bug und Heck, seltener ziemlich flach wiedergegeben. Am Bug befinden sich ein bis vier Zweige<sup>23</sup>. Hinter der zweiten Kabine steht eine Standarte, die möglicherweise ein Hafenzeichen ist oder auch die Familie oder den Gau des Schiffseigentümers angeben könnte, manchmal aber auch an Göttersymbole historischer Zeit erinnert<sup>24</sup>. Nach B. Landströms Untersuchungen<sup>25</sup> muss dieser Schiffstyp als Holzkonstruktion angesehen werden, die im einfachsten Falle aus den Bauteilen Boden und zwei Wänden bestand. Schiffe dieser Art kommen auf acht der elf Stockholmer Gefässe mit Schiffsdarstellungen vor (Kat.nr. 144–151). Ein derartiges Fahrzeug scheint auch auf Kat.nr. 154 gemeint zu sein, wo nur ein Schiffskörper ohne Aufbauten und Ruder sehr flüchtig skizziert ist. Hinsichtlich der Standarten ist eine Besonderheit auf Gefäss Kat.nr. 150 zu vermerken: dort sind drei Paar Hörner auf einer Querstange abgebildet, welcher Typ bei Petrie nicht verzeichnet ist.

Neben diesem Schiffstyp aus Holz gibt es auch Papyrusflösse, die seltener auf der dekorierten Ware, dagegen öfter in Felsbildern abgebildet sind. Landström nimmt weiterhin an<sup>26</sup>, dass diese auch in Holz übersetzt wurden, was eine eindeutige Bestimmung der Gefässbilder erschwert. Entweder Papyrusflösse oder Holznachbildungen sind auf den beiden kleinen fast identischen Gefässen Kat.nr. 152 und 153 wiedergegeben. Der Dekor beider gleicht im ganzen dem einiger Gefässe, deren eigentümliche Bemalung als modern betrachtet worden ist<sup>27</sup>. Die Fahrzeuge sind folgendermassen beschaffen: der Schiffskörper ist ähnlich gebogen wie im Falle der Holzschiffe, an einem Ende aber zu einer Spirale aufgeschwungen. Die senkrechte Strichelung dürfte die Seile andeuten, mit denen die Papyrusbündel zusammengebunden wurden. Ruder

fehlen. In der Mitte erhebt sich ein hoher Stamm mit zwei an Zweige oder Fächer erinnernden Wedeln, die je eine Hälfte des Fahrzeuges überschatten. An den Stamm ist rechts und links je eine Kabine ungewöhnlichen Typs gelehnt, in der eine schematisch wiedergegebene wohl weibliche Gestalt steht, eine ähnliche befindet sich auch rechts und links ausserhalb der Kabinen. Der Kopf ist als Punkt abgebildet, welcher direkt oder über einen den Hals andeutenden Strich mit dem als Dreieck stilisierten Körper verbunden ist. Gliedmassen fehlen ganz. Es muss offen bleiben, ob dieser Dekor genuin oder modern ist. Problematisch sind auch die seltsam verschlungenen Gebilde auf Kat.nr. 137.

Manchmal sind Tiere oder menschliche Gestalten in den freien Raum oberhalb der Schiffe eingefügt. Im Medelhavsmuseet gibt es dafür nur das Gefäss Kat.nr. 151 als Beispiel, auf dem oberhalb der Kabinen auf der einen Ansichtsseite eine Frau mit erhobenen Armen, auf der anderen eine ähnliche Frau und ein Mann wiedergegeben sind. Ob es sich hier und in entsprechenden Fällen um zusammenhängende Szenen handelt und welchen Sinn diese haben könnten, ist schwierig zu entscheiden. Schiffe haben in Ägypten zu allen Zeiten als Verkehrs- und Transportmittel sowie auch im Toten- und Götterkult eine hervorragende Rolle gespielt. Aus Texten historischer Zeit ist gut bekannt, dass der Tote mit dem Sonnengott im Schiff über den Himmel oder zum Osiriskultort Abydos fahren möchte<sup>28</sup>. Möglicherweise liegt ein ähnlicher Sinn schon den Gefässdarstellungen, die ja den Toten in die Gräber mitgegeben wurden, zugrunde, ohne dass dies jedoch im einzelnen nachgewiesen werden könnte.

Frauen mit erhobenen Armen erscheinen auch auf dem Stockholmer Gefäss Kat.nr. 155, das in einem Kreis Böcke, einen Flamingo und weibliche Gestalten in sehr schöner schwungvoller Malerei zwischen Wellenlinien und Dreiecksketten aufreht. Die Frauen sind viel sorgfältiger und differenzierter wiedergegeben als in den meisten anderen Fällen. Unterhalb des langen Gewandes sind beide Füße im Profil abgebildet, während sonst meist nur ein auf der Spitze stehendes Dreieck ganz schematisch Unterkörper und Beine andeutet. In den Kulturen Negade I und II erscheinen Frauen mit ähnlicher Haltung sowohl in der Rundplastik als auch in der Gefässmalerei und da besonders auf der dekorierten Ware<sup>29</sup>. Der Gestus mit der charakteristischen Armhaltung kann als Tanz<sup>30</sup> gedeutet werden, was dadurch gestützt wird, dass

manchmal Männer mit Klapperinstrumenten neben den Frauen abgebildet sind. Auf dem einzigen Stockholmer Gefäss, das Männer und Frauen zusammen zeigt (Kat.nr. 151), ist der Mann im Profil mit angewinkelten Armen ohne Instrument vor einer Tanzenden wiedergegeben. Ob mit der Frau ein göttliches Wesen, möglicherweise eine Vorform der Hathor gemeint ist, ist offen<sup>31</sup>. Die Armhaltung ist auch als Klage- oder Schutzgestus aufgefasst worden<sup>32</sup>. Das braucht nicht im Widerspruch zur Deutung als Tanz zu stehen, da klagende oder schützende Gebärden ja tänzerisch ausgeformt werden können. Sie gehörten ihrem Sinne nach zu Tod und Begräbnis. Stattdessen kann aber auch an den Tanz als Erfreuung und an die Bilder als magische Mittel zur Wiederholung irdischer Phänomene im Jenseits gedacht werden.

Ein weiteres dem Stil und der Komposition der Dekors nach einzigartiges Gefäss der Stockholmer Sammlung sei noch besonders erwähnt. Es ist das Wellenhenkelgefäss Kat.nr. 154, das in flüchtiger Malweise vier Motive lose über den Gefässkörper verstreut trägt, einen Bock, wohl einen Schiffskörper ohne Ruder und Aufbauten, einen Flamingo und einen Mann.

Weiterhin erscheint ab SD 46 eine Vogelart (*Corpus* 41 M), die man erst als Strauss, dann als Flamingo identifiziert hat<sup>33</sup> und die meist in Gruppen auftritt. Der Körper ist gewöhnlich ganz mit Farbe ausgefüllt und nur sehr selten gestrichelt. Diese Vögel sind auf vier Stockholmer Gefässen abgebildet: auf Kat.nr. 142 und 143 umziehen sie das ganze Gefäss, auf 144 und 155 ist nur je einer wiedergegeben, der erst mit zwei extra gezeichneten Federn oder der Andeutung eines Flügels, was auch auf *Corpus* 43 C vorkommt.

Neu sind ferner Reihen von mit Farbe gefüllten Dreiecken (*Corpus* 54 ff.), die als Berge angesehen worden sind, so dass manchmal ganze Landschaften wiedergegeben sein könnten<sup>34</sup>. Diese naturalistische Deutung ist jedoch nicht völlig sicher. Vandier bezeichnet die Dreiecke als Überbleibsel aus Negade I, wo sie aber gestrichelt waren. Diese „Berge“ zusammen mit Wellenlinien allein erscheinen auf drei Gefässen Kat.nr. 136 und 137. Sonst sind die Dreiecke im Zusammenhang mit Vögeln (Kat.nr. 142 und 143: da auch Wellen) sowie mit Frauen, Antilopen und einem Vogel (Kat.nr. 155) wiedergegeben.

Einige merkwürdige nicht sicher deutbare Zeichnungen sind die folgenden: ein Gebilde, das als Schild oder

gelegentlich angesehen worden ist<sup>36</sup> und das auf Kat.nr. 48 und 150 vorkommt, und Zeichen wie S, Z, N i.ä., in denen man fliegende Vögel sehen wollte, was jedoch unsicher ist<sup>37</sup>.

Alle diese naturalistischen Motive nehmen um SD 0 ab und verschwinden ganz mit SD 63. Neue Typen erscheinen, z.B. bauchige Gefässe mit einem inneren Rand als Halt für einen Deckel (*Corpus* 74: D 64/65–77/80), ausserdem grosse Krüge mit grob gezeichneten Tierfiguren (*Corpus* 78 B:ab SD 60) und schliesslich mit kommaartigen Strichen (*Corpus* 66 –P:ab SD 69)<sup>38</sup>. Diese letzte Gruppe ist im Medelhavsmuseet durch die Exemplare Kat.nr. 116–119 vertreten.

Für die formentypologische Einordnung ist hier anders als im Manuel vorgenommene Klassifizierung zugrunde gelegt worden<sup>39</sup>. Diese unterscheidet drei Haupttypen: herzförmig (*cordiforme*, cf. *Corpus* 16), sphärisch (*sphérique*, cf. *Corpus* 61 A) und länglich (*allongé*, cf. *Corpus* 26 B), was seltener ist. Die ersten Typen bilden mit 58 bzw. 48 den grössten Anteil der Stockholmer Sammlung. Dazu kommen bei der seltenen länglichen Gefässe (Kat.nr. 104: länglich-bauchig, Kat.nr. 105), 5 der ebenfalls seltenen runden (*Corpus* 26 A; Katn.nr. 44, 54, 88, 109, 125), dekorierte Wellenhenkelgefässe (Kat.nr. 48, 100, 101, 102, 103 mit zwei Schnurösen ausserdem, 129, 136, 154), 3 der seltenen Deckelgefässe<sup>40</sup>, jedoch nur 2 mit einem erhaltenen Deckel (Kat.nr. 115, 137; 10 mit Deckel), 2 Zwilling Gefässe<sup>41</sup> (Kat.nr. 6, 146), welcher Typ häufiger in Negade I vorkommt, eine ebenfalls aus Negade I besser bekannte offene Schale (Kat.nr. 114), dazu ein kleines becherförmiges Gefäss (Kat.nr. 113) und eins mit abgesetztem Fuss (Kat.nr. 142). Möglicherweise könnte noch ein vierter Haupttyp ausgesondert werden; es handelt sich dabei um luminöse Gefässe mit rundem Rand und ebener Oberfläche, oft ohne Henkel (*Corpus* 26 G), die hier „bauchig“ bezeichnet werden und mit 26 Exemplaren vertreten sind (Kat.nr. 132, 139, 143, 149 und 150 haben Henkel).

Zu den Henkeln ist zu bemerken, dass die meisten herzförmigen und sphärischen Gefässe zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte oder auch nur angebohrte Schnurösen aufweisen. Zwei sphärische Gefässe – Kat.nr. 31 und 56 – haben ausser diesen Ösen noch zwei Griffe, wofür es ein Vergleichsstück aus Gebelein gibt<sup>42</sup>. Häufiger sind Gefässe mit Wellenhenkeln (Kat. 48, 100, 101, 102, 129, 136, 154), während es für die Schnurösen und zwei Wellenhenkel nur ein

Beispiel (Kat.nr. 103) in der Sammlung des Medelhavsmuseet gibt<sup>44</sup>. Einige Stücke sind mit drei schmalen waagerecht durchbohrten Schnurösen versehen<sup>45</sup> (Kat.nr. 53, 139, 143, 149) bzw. mit zwei solchen (Kat. nr. 108). In einem Fall sind diese Ösen nicht durchbohrt (Kat.nr. 155). Auf eine Eigentümlichkeit, die bisher nicht dokumentiert zu sein scheint, sei noch aufmerksam gemacht: das bauchige Gefäss Kat.nr. 132 hat zwei breite waagerechte Griffe, von denen jeder zwei senkrecht gebohrte Löcher aufweist. Das kleine sphärische Gefäss Kat.nr. 112 ist mit ebenfalls senkrecht durchbohrten schmalen Ösen versehen, während Kat.nr. 138 ziemlich breite waagerechte Henkel mit senkrechter Durchbohrung hat.

Die Herstellung von Tongefässen ist von A. Lucas<sup>46</sup> ausführlich beschrieben worden. Bei der Fabrikation von dekorierte Negade II-Ware wurde nicht Nilschlamm verwandt, sondern ein Wüstenprodukt, bestehend aus sehr feinem Ton und sehr feinem Kalziumkarbonat. Vorkommen vor allem in Ober-, aber auch in Mittelägypten sind bekannt. Aus diesem Material wurden Gefässe mit der Hand geformt. Möglicherweise hatte man auch eine Matte auf dem Boden, die rotieren konnte. Darüber, ob schon eine langsame handbewegte Töpferscheibe in Gebrauch war, herrschen verschiedene Ansichten<sup>47</sup>. Die Hälse einiger Gefässe sehen so aus, als ob sie gesondert gedreht und dann eingesetzt worden seien (cf. Kat.nr. 59, 105, 106, 107, 109, 111, 116, 117, 118, 120, 121, 122, 123, 125, 126, 127, 130, 132, 133, 134, 135), doch reichte hierzu vielleicht die rotierende Matte. Sobald ein Gefäss fertig geformt war, wurde es oft mit der nassen Hand geglättet, was manchmal den Eindruck erweckt, als sei ein Slip aus feinem Ton aufgetragen worden. Ein Slip, d.h. ein Überzug aus einer Ton-Wasser-Mischung mit oder ohne Pigment, wird jedoch erst aufgetragen, wenn das Gefäss lederhart getrocknet ist. Dasselbe gilt für das Anbringen eines Farbüberzuges (*wash*), der aus einer Pigment-Wasser-Lösung besteht. Am fertigen gebrannten Gefäss ist oft schwer zu unterscheiden, welche der drei Arten der Oberflächenbehandlung – Glätten, Slip oder Farbüberzug – angewandt worden ist.

Die Farbe der dekorierten Negade II-Ware ist graubeige oder rötlich. Dieser Unterschied in der Färbung beruht wahrscheinlich nur auf Temperaturunterschieden bei der Brennung. Um eine graue Nuance zu erzielen, ist eine Temperatur von etwa 1000° Celsius notwendig, während 500–600° reichen, um ein Tongefäss wasserundurchlässig zu machen.

Die graubeige Farbe scheint die beliebtere gewesen zu sein, da in einigen Fällen ein heller Slip auf den rötlichen Ton aufgetragen worden ist. Dies scheint bei den Gefässen Kat.nr. 3, 8, 12, 18, 20, 21, 25, 30, 37, 41, 48, 52, 60, 61, 66, 69, 71, 110, 120, 125, 126, 128, 133, 148, 152, 153 der Fall zu sein. Ein solcher Slip bot, ausser dass er dem Gefäss grössere Dichte verlieh, einen ausgezeichneten Malgrund, von dem sich der vor dem Brennen angebrachte Dekor in rotbraunem Eisenoxyd deutlicher abhob als von einem rötlichen Grund. Es ist deshalb die Vermutung geäussert worden<sup>4</sup>, dass fast alle dekorierten Negade II-Gefässe mit einem hellen Überzug versehen gewesen seien, der sich beim Reinigen im Wasser aufgelöst habe und deshalb heute in vielen Fällen verschwunden sei. Dies möchte man gern für z.B. Kat.nr. 154 annehmen, dessen kräftig rote Grundfarbe die Malereien kaum hervortreten lässt.

Eine weitere Art der Oberflächenbehandlung, die bei Kat.nr. 13, 18, 20, 27, 36, 57, 58, 68, 73, 98, 100, 119, 129, 136, 142, 143, 144 angewandt worden ist<sup>5</sup>, ist Polieren. Ein Gefäss mit oder ohne Farbüberzug kann, kurz bevor es ganz trocken ist, mit einem glatten Stein o.ä. poliert werden, wodurch sich die Farbe ändert. Wird es dann noch gebrannt, so ist die Oberfläche soviel dunkler als der Bruch, dass man auch hier wieder an einen Slip denken könnte, obwohl das Polieren allein die Veränderung bewirkt haben kann.

Die Negade II-Kultur hat sich weiter als irgend eine

andere der prähistorischen Kulturen Ägyptens ausgedehnt, ihr Ausbreitungsgebiet reicht bis Unterägypten im Norden und bis Unternubien im Süden. Siedlungen sind nur wenige ausreichend untersucht, Friedhöfe dagegen in grosser Anzahl bekannt. Die reicheren Gräber sind bereits rechteckig, die ärmeren noch rund<sup>6</sup>. Zu den kostbaren Stücken der Grabausrüstung gehören die rotdekorierten Gefässe. G. Möller<sup>7</sup> bemerkt, dass sie sich in Abusir el-Meleq meist in der Nähe der Hände des Toten unter den Toilettegegenständen befunden hätten, was vielleicht auf ihren Verwendungszweck deutet. In Bruntons Bemerkungen zum Inhalt der Keramik, die er in Gräbern gefunden hat<sup>8</sup>, finden sich für die dekorierte Ware folgende Angaben: Schlamm, ein fettiger Stoff, Reste von viel leicht Bier und Brei, rosafarbene und harzartige Sedimente, dazu ein aromatischer Geruch sind festgestellt worden, die auf Gaben für den persönlichen Gebrauch des Toten im Jenseits deuten.

Aus der Erde, aus dem Innern der Gräber sind diese Schöpfungen früher Menschheit wieder ans Tageslicht getreten. Ihre Bilder begegnen uns nach Jahrtausenden mit derselben Spannung und Kraft, aus welcher sie geschaffen sind. Im Jetzt erscheinen aus der Vergangenheit die in einem ewigen Tanz sich bewegendes Frauen, ziehen die Reihen der Vögel und Böcke, erste Zeichen nach Ausdruck und Selbsterkenntnis strebender Menschen, heute immer präsente Erinnerungsbilder unserer eigenen Geschichte.

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. etwa Wolf, Die Kunst Ägyptens, 29 ff. und vor allem Gebser, Ursprung und Gegenwart<sup>2</sup>, 55 ff., 71 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Brunton, Mostagedda, pl. XXXII 6: 1611=pl. XXXV 14 (Kat.nr. 139) und pl. XXXII 6: 221=pl. XXXV 17 (Kat.nr. 148), ausserdem Kat.nr. 81, das nicht abgebildet ist.

<sup>3</sup> Petrie, Diospolis parva, 4 ff.; idem, Prehistoric Egypt, 3 ff. Zur Revision cf. Kaiser, Stand und Probleme der ägyptischen Vorgeschichtsforschung; idem, Zur inneren Chronologie der Naqadkultur.

<sup>4</sup> Petrie, Prehistoric Egypt, 16; Vandier, Manuel I, 330 f. führt Beispiele für Stilmischungen an.

<sup>5</sup> Mond-Myers, Armant I, 49 ff. geben eine gegenüber Petrie bedeutend fundiertere Typologie mit dem Material als erstem Kriterium. Siehe auch Lucas, Materials<sup>4</sup>, 383.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Mond-Myers, op.cit., 51.

<sup>7</sup> Zu Petries Inkonssequenz, nur die bemalte Negade II-Keramik als „decorated ware“ zu bezeichnen, die der Negade I-Kultur dagegen als „white cross-lined“ cf. Peet, The Classification of Egyptian Pottery. Willkürlich ist auch

seine Einteilung der Wellenhenkelgefässe, die, wenn sie ein Netzmuster tragen, zu „wavy handled“ gerechnet sind, wenn sie dagegen anders dekoriert sind, zu „decorated“ gezählt werden: Prehistoric Egypt Corpus, pl. XXX-XXXI.

<sup>8</sup> Scharff, Altertümer I, 142; dort auch seine Unterscheidung der figürlichen Darstellungen beider Kulturen.

<sup>9</sup> Op.cit., Decorated ware, pl. XXXI-XXXVII und idem, Prehistoric Egypt, 16 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Kaiser, Stand und Probleme, 95.

<sup>11</sup> Zur Diskussion der Theorien cf. Ward, Relations between Egypt and Mesopotamia.

<sup>12</sup> Zur Frage der Steinimitationen cf. Petrie, Prehistoric Egypt, 17; Möller, Abusir el-Meleq, 20; Scharff, op.cit., 143; Baumgartel, Cultures I, 86 ff.; Vandier, op.cit., 332 f.

<sup>13</sup> Petrie, Prehistoric Egypt, 17; Vandier, op.cit., 344.

<sup>14</sup> Zur Diskussion der verschiedenen Interpretationen cf. Vandier, op.cit., 334; zur symbolischen Bedeutung Thausing, Das Symbol der Spirale im alten Ägypten.

<sup>15</sup> Petrie, Prehistoric Egypt, 17.

Cf. Scharff, op.cit., 153; Baumgartel, op.cit. I, 88.  
 Scharff, 153 und Taf. 34 Nr. 342.  
 Zur Aloe cf. Petrie, Prehistoric Egypt, 18; Vandier, op.cit., 14 ff. Zur Banane: Laurent-Täckholm, The Plant of Naqada, and Larsen, On a Detail of the Naqada Plant.  
 Baumann, Bemerkungen zur kultisch-mythischen Bedeutung der Aloe in Afrika.  
 Gegen die Deutung als Schmetterling vor allem Keimer, *modelques en forme d'insectes*. Cf. auch Vandier, op.cit., 14 ff.  
 Vandier, op.cit., 336. Antilopenarten sind schon aus ägyptischen I-Darstellungen bekannt.  
 Zu älteren Deutungen cf. Vandier, op.cit., 336 ff. Zu ägyptischen Schiffen allgemein: Landström, Ships of the pharaohs. Zu Schiffs- und Figurendarstellungen im Vergleich mit dem dekorierten Grab von Hierakonpolis cf. Kantor, The Final Phase of Predynastic Culture.  
 Cf. Petrie, Prehistoric Egypt, 19 zur Klassifizierung und Einordnung ins SD-System.  
 Petrie, op.cit., 19 f. und pl. XXIII. Vandier, op.cit., 340 f. über die Schwierigkeiten und Unsicherheiten der Deutungen zuvor.  
 Landström, op.cit., 11 ff.  
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 Cf. Otto, Ägypten<sup>3</sup>, 28 f.  
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 So z.B. Brunner-Traut, Der Tanz im alten Ägypten, 11 f.  
 Murray, Burial Customs and Beliefs in the Hereafter in predynastic Egypt.

<sup>22</sup> Brunner-Traut, op.cit., 11: Klagegestus. Hornblower, Predynastic Figures of Women and their Successors, denkt an einen mütterlichen Schutzgestus. Baumgartel, op.cit., II, 71 sieht in den Plastiken Exvotos an eine Fruchtbarkeitsgöttin, die auch im Jenseits Nachkommen gewähren sollte.  
<sup>23</sup> Vandier, op.cit., 342 f.  
<sup>24</sup> Petrie, Diospolis parva, 16.  
<sup>25</sup> Vandier, op.cit., 343 f.  
<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 346 f.  
<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 347.  
<sup>28</sup> Petrie, Prehistoric Egypt, 17.  
<sup>29</sup> Vandier, op.cit., 332. Cf. auch Frankfort, Studies I, 96 mit vier Klassen.  
<sup>30</sup> Cf. Scharff, op.cit., 144.  
<sup>31</sup> Vandier, op.cit., 332.  
<sup>32</sup> Dieser Typ ist ohne Bemalung aus Matmar bekannt: Brunton, Matmar, pl. XII, nr. 21.  
<sup>33</sup> de Morgan, L'âge de la pierre, pl. VIII nr. 2.  
<sup>34</sup> Cf. Petrie, Prehistoric Egypt Corpus, 2D, K, S; 13 D.  
<sup>35</sup> Petrie, op.cit., 59 C, P. Diese Schnurösen werden von Baumgartel, op.cit., I, 71 ff. von Susa hergeleitet, sie kommen auch in Mesopotamien und Palästina vor.  
<sup>36</sup> Lucas, op.cit., 367 ff.  
<sup>37</sup> Baumgartel, Predynastic Egypt, 28; Mond-Myers, op.cit., 167 und 177 ff.  
<sup>38</sup> Cf. Lucas, op.cit., 383 zur Diskussion der verschiedenen Ansichten.  
<sup>39</sup> Möller, op.cit., Taf. 12 Nr. 35 und S. 22.  
<sup>40</sup> Baumgartel, Predynastic Egypt, 21 ff.  
<sup>41</sup> Möller, op.cit., 21.  
<sup>42</sup> Brunton, Mostagedda, 84 f.; idem, Matmar, 18.

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# Katalog

Jede Katalogangabe umfasst fünf Punkte:

1. Katalognummer, Inventarnummer, sofern bekannt den Herkunftsort und die Masse, wobei H die Höhe, ÄD den grössten äusseren Durchmesser des Gefässkörpers, ÖD den inneren Durchmesser der Öffnung und StD den Durchmesser der Standfläche bezeichnet.
2. Erhaltungszustand und Farbe des Materials.
3. Beschreibung der Form des Gefässkörpers, von Henkeln, Rand und Standfläche.
4. Beschreibung des Dekors.
5. Einordnung anhand von Petries *Corpus* mit seinen „sequence dates“ sowie anhand anderer Publikationen prähistorischer Grabungen.

Spiralen	Nr. 1–35
Steinimitationen	Nr. 36–60
Wellenlinien	Nr. 61–135
Figuraler Dekor	Nr. 136–155

1. MM 18793: H 8,3, ÄD 6,2, ÖD 3, StD 2,1 cm

Eine Schnuröse mitsamt der Partie unterhalb von ihr ist modern ergänzt, ebenso ein Stück unterhalb der anderen Öse und im Rand. Abgegriffene Oberfläche. Beige-brauner Ton.

Herzförmig. Zwei waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen – eine davon modern – gerader Rand, unebene kleine Standfläche.

Die beiden Hauptansichtsflächen tragen je eine grosse Spirale. Vom Rand ausgehend über die eine Öse, über den Gefässboden und die andere Öse laufen drei parallele Wellenlinien zu der gegenüberliegenden Stelle am Rand. Dieser trägt Reste von Bemalung.

Cf. etwa *Corpus 31 A–G* (nach Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, 18: SD 40–45), die jedoch abweichende Wellenmuster aufweisen.

2. MM 18862: H 7,7, ÄD 6,1, ÖD 2,75–2,9, StD 1,8 cm

Beschädigter Rand, stellenweise stark korrodierte Gefässoberfläche. Beige-brauner Ton.

Herzförmig. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Zwei grosse Spiralen bedecken die Ansichtsseiten zwischen den Henkeln; vom Rand an bis auf diese sind waagerechte Wellenlinien gemalt. Unter einem Henkel beginnend läuft eine senkrechte Linie über die Standfläche bis unter den andern Henkel. Farbspuren finden sich auf dem Rand.

*Corpus 31 G* (nach Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, 18: SD 40–45) kommt am nächsten, das jedoch wohl grösser und etwas reicher dekoriert ist.



. MM 18 860: H 11,7, ÄD 8,8, ÖD 4,35–4,5, StD 1 cm

Intakt. Stark korrodierte Gefäßoberfläche. Roter Ton, anscheinend mit stellenweise erhaltenem hellerem Überzug.

Herzförmig, fast ovoid. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Je eine grosse Spirale füllt die Vorder- und die Rückseite zwischen den Henkeln aus. Von Rand zu Rand über die Henkel und die Standfläche ziehen sich kurze waagerechte Wellenlinien, die nur noch teilweise erhalten sind. Der Rand trägt Spuren von konzentrischen Wellenlinien.

Corpus 31 A (SD 47–48) und B (SD 40–45). Zum Vergleich cf. Lucas, *Materials*<sup>4</sup>, 383 und die dort zitierte Literatur.

4. MM 18 861: H 10,9, ÄD 7, ÖD 3,7–3,9, StD 1 cm

Drei Herausschläge im Rand. Beige-brauner Ton.

Herzförmig, fast ovoid. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Zwei grosse Spiralen bedecken die Ansichtsseiten zwischen den Henkeln, eine weitere beginnt auf der Standfläche und umläuft den Fuss. Vom Rand aus bis auf jeden Henkel sind je drei waagerechte Wellenlinien gemalt, unter den Henkeln ziehen sich je vier senkrechte gegen den Fuss. Der Rand trägt eine kreisförmige Wellenlinie.

Corpus 31 G, nach Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, 18: SD 40–45.



5. MM 10 288: H 14,3, ÄD 10,5, ÖD 5,3–5,45, StD 2,7 cm

Intakt bis auf leichte Oberflächenabschürfungen. Beige-brauner Ton.

Herzförmig. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Vorder- und Rückseite zwischen den Henkeln sind mit je einer grossen Spirale ausgefüllt. Vom Rand aus über beide Henkel und die Standfläche laufen waagerechte Wellenlinien. Der Rand ist mit zu ihm senkrecht stehenden Wellenlinien bemalt.

*Corpus* 31 A (SD 47, 48) und B (SD 40–45).

6. MM 18 863: H 8,6, ÄD 5,7, ÖD 3–3,25, StD 2,75 cm

Ursprünglich ein Zwillingsgefäss, eins ist jedoch fast vollständig abgeschlagen. Moderne Gipsreparatur im Rand. Beige-brauner Ton.

Herzförmig. Eine breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnuröse, gerader Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Je eine Spirale bedeckt die Ansichtsflächen, eine weitere beginnt auf der Standfläche und zieht sich um den Fuss. Vom Rand an bis über die Schnuröse sind zehn waagerechte Wellenlinien gemalt, unter der Öse gehen fünf senkrechte gegen den Fuss hin. Senkrechte Wellenlinien laufen auch um die Ansatzstelle des zweiten Gefässes.

Zwillingsgefässe sind *Corpus* 33 A und B, die jedoch einfacher dekoriert sind. Im Dekor kommt 31 G (nach Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, 18: SD 40–45) am nächsten. Zwillingsgefässe sind in Negade I häufiger als in Negade II.



MM 10 294: H 13, ÄD 8,6, ÖD 4,65, StD 2,8 cm

Intakt bis auf leichte Beschädigungen am Rand.  
Rötlich-brauner Ton.

Herzförmig. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte  
Schnurösen, gerader Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Mehrere Spiralen bedecken Gefäßoberfläche und  
Standfläche. Wellenlinien sind waagerecht über die  
Hälfte, schräg zwischen die Spiralen und kon-  
zentrisch auf den Rand gemalt.

*Corpus* 32 L kommt am nächsten, nach Petrie,  
*Prehistoric Egypt*, 18: etwa SD 58–63; besser noch:  
Brunton/Caton-Thompson, *Badarian Civilisation*, pl.  
XXXIX 31 T (SD 40–52).

8. MM 18 859: H 13,3, ÄD 8,3, ÖD 4,8–5,05, StD  
2,3–2,6 cm

Intakt. Rötlicher Ton mit hellerem Überzug.

Herzförmig. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte  
Schnurösen, gerader Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Mehrere Spiralen bedecken Gefäßkörper und Stand-  
fläche, dazwischen sind an zwei Stellen waagerechte  
Wellenlinien gezeichnet, die auch über einen Henkel  
laufen. Der Rand trägt ein Rhombenmuster.

*Corpus* 32 L (nach Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, 18:  
etwa SD 58–63) kommt am nächsten; besser noch  
lässt sich vergleichen: Brunton/Caton-Thompson,  
*Badarian Civilisation*, pl. XXXIX 31 T (SD 40–52).  
Zum Überzug cf. Lucas, *Materials*<sup>4</sup>, 383 und die dort  
zitierte Literatur.



9. MM 14715: H 11,5, ÄD 8,9, ÖD 3,15–3,25, StD 2,15 cm

Herausschläge im Rand, modern geklebte Sprünge. Rötlicher Ton mit stellenweise hellem Belag.

Unregelmässig herzförmig. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Mehrere Spiralen mit eingestreuten Wellenlinien bedecken den Gefässkörper. Waagerechte Wellenlinien sind unter und auf den Rand sowie auf die Henkel gemalt.

*Corpus* 32 L, nach Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, 18: etwa SD 58–63.

10. MM 18858: H 18,9, ÄD 14,7, ÖD 6,9–7,3, StD 5,1 cm

Der ganze untere Gefässsteil war abgeschlagen und ist, soweit die Scherben noch vorhanden waren, modern zusammengeklebt; sieben Löcher sind geblieben. Beige-brauner Ton.

Herzförmig. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Grosse Spiralen bedecken den ganzen Gefässkörper. Über die Henkel laufen waagerechte Wellenlinien, zwei schräge sind auch zwischen die Spiralen gemalt. Den Rand umziehen zu ihm parallele Wellenlinienabschnitte.

*Corpus* 35 B (SD 46–52, 59) und N (nach Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, 18: etwa SD 58–63) sind entsprechend.



1. MM 10 295: H 18,4, ÄD 13,8, ÖD 7,45, StD 6,2 cm

Leichte Beschädigungen am Rand und in der Gefäßoberfläche. Beige-brauner Ton.

Herzförmig. Zwei breite waagerechte angebohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Der Gefäßkörper und die Standfläche sind mit spiralen und eingestreuten Wellenlinien bemalt, welche letzten sich auch in waagerechter Richtung über die Henkel bis zum Rand ziehen. Dieser trägt zwei konzentrische Wellenkreise.

Vgl. *Corpus* 32 L oder auch das grössere Gefäß 5 N, nach Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, 18: beide etwa D 58–63. Früher abgebildet in *Egyptiska museet Stockholm*, Taf. 2 links.

12. MM 18 864: H 8,7, ÄD 6,9, ÖD 3,65, StD 2,5 cm

Das Gefäß war zerbrochen und ist modern zusammengeklebt. Löcher im Gefäßkörper und Henkel sind modern gefüllt. Rötlicher Ton mit hellerem Überzug.

Herzförmig. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Gefäßkörper, Henkel und Standfläche sind mit vielen kleinen Spiralen bedeckt, am Hals sind ein paar senkrechte Wellenlinien eingestreut. Solche sind auch auf den Rand gemalt.

*Corpus* 31 S, nach Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, 18: SD 40–45. Zum Überzug cf. Lucas, *Materials*<sup>4</sup>, 383 und die dort zitierte Literatur.



13. MM 18 857: H 5,8, ÄD 6,8, ÖD 2,6 cm

Herausschläge im Rand und an einem Henkel. Roter Ton, stellenweise glänzend.

Sphärisch. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, leicht nach innen abgeschrägter Rand.

Zwei grosse Spiralen bedecken die Flächen zwischen den Henkeln, drei kleine sind bei den Henkeln eingefügt. Diese sind mit waagerechten Linien bemalt, die bis zum Hals des Gefässes hinaufreichen. Auch der leicht gewölbte Boden ist mit ähnlichen Linien bemalt. Der Rand trägt ein Strichmuster.

Der Form nach steht *Corpus* 67 L (nach Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, 18: etwa SD 46–58) am nächsten, das aber im Dekor etwas abweicht. Zur Politur cf. Lucas, *Materials*<sup>4</sup>, 370 f. und Möller, *Abusir el-Meleq*, 22 und Taf. 12, 35.



14. MM 14714: H 5,9, ÄD 7,4, ÖD 3,7 cm

Herausschlag und Korrosion am Rand; kleine Beschädigung an einem Henkel und an einer Stelle des Gefässkörpers. Hellgrauer Ton.

Sphärisch. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand.

Spiralen bedecken den Gefässkörper, waagerechte Wellenlinien gehen vom Hals über die Henkel. Reste kreisförmiger Wellenlinien finden sich auf dem Rand.

Vgl. *Corpus* 67 L, das nach Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, 18 von SD 46–58 belegt ist.





. MM 18 856: H 6,9, ÄD 8,3, ÖD 3,8 cm

Beschädigungen am Rand, z.T. Abplatzungen in der Gefäßoberfläche. Rötlicher, stellenweise grauer Ton. Sphärisch. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand.

Mehrere Spiralen mit einzelnen Wellenlinien darstellen bedecken den Gefäßkörper. Waagerechte Wellenlinien gehen vom Rand bis über die Henkel. Der Rand trägt Spuren eines kreisförmigen Wellenmusters.

Der Grösse nach steht *Corpus 67 L* (Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, 18: etwa SD 46–58) am nächsten, der kor ist jedoch so sorgfältig wie bei 67 D (SD 58, 63/64).



16. MM 18 854: H 8,6, ÄD 13, ÖD 6,2 cm

Beschädigungen am korrodierten Rand und an den Henkeln. Stellenweise stark korrodierte Gefäßoberfläche. Rötlicher Ton.

Sphärisch. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand.

Spiralen bedecken den Gefäßkörper, waagerechte Wellenlinien überziehen die Henkel, eine ist auch schräg zwischen die Spiralen gestreut. Reste von einem Rhombenmuster sind auf dem Rand noch sichtbar.

*Corpus 67 L*, nach Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, 18: etwa SD 46–58, steht am nächsten; vgl. auch Brunton/Caton-Thompson, *Badarian Civilisation*, pl. XL 67 L 3.



17. MM 18852: H 8,2, ÄD 11, ÖD 5,1–5,6 cm

Intakt bis auf Beschädigungen am Rand. Roter Ton.

Sphärisch. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand.

Spiralen bedecken den Gefäßkörper und die Henkel. Wellenlinien sind eingestreut.

*Corpus* 67 L (nach Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, 18: etwa SD 46–58) kommt am nächsten, weist jedoch keine Wellenlinien auf; vgl. auch Brunton/Caton-Thompson, *Badarian Civilisation*, pl. XL 67 L3.



18. MM 18855: H 11,9, ÄD 17,8, ÖD 6,9 cm

Herausschläge im Rand, korrodierte Gefäßoberfläche. Rötlicher Ton mit hellerem Überzug, stellenweise etwas glänzend.

Sphärisch. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand.

Der Gefäßkörper ist mit Spiralen und eingestreuten Wellenlinien bemalt, welche letzteren auch in waagerechter Richtung vom Rand bis über die Henkel laufen. Der Rand weist Reste eines Rhombenmusters auf.

Cf. *Corpus* 67 D (SD 52–58, 63/64); Garstang, *Mahasna*, pl. XXV 5; Scharff, *Altertümer* I, Nr. 354, 355; Mond-Myers, *Armant* I, pl. XXV 67 d1. Zum Überzug cf. Lucas, *Materials*<sup>4</sup>, 383 und die dort zitierte Literatur. Zur Politur: Lucas, op.cit., 370 f. und Möller, *Abusir el-Meleq*, 22 und Taf. 12, 35.



MM 18 790: H 11, ÄD 16,4, ÖD 7,4–7,6 cm

akt bis auf drei moderne Reparaturen im Rand. blaugrauer Ton.

Sphärisch. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand.

Der Gefäßkörper bedecken Spiralen mit eingestrichenen Wellenlinien. Waagerechte Wellenlinien sind auch auf dem Rand und Henkel, kleine Spiralen auf die Henkel gemalt. Der Rand trägt ein Rhombenmuster.

Vgl. *Corpus* 67 D (SD 52–58, 63/64); Garstang, *Mahasna*, pl. XXV 5; Scharff, *Altortümer* I, Nr. 354, 355; Mond-Myers, *Armant* I, pl. XXV D 67 d l.



20. MM 10 305: H 15,6, ÄD 20,7, ÖD 7,3 cm

Herausbruch im Rand, stark korrodierte Oberfläche. Rötlicher Ton mit hellerem Überzug, z.T. etwas glänzend.

Sphärisch. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, nach innen leicht abgeschragter Rand.

Der Gefäßkörper ist mit Spiralen und eingestrichenen Wellenlinien bemalt. Waagerechte Wellenlinien ziehen sich auch vom Rand bis über die Henkel. Farbspuren wohl eines Rhombenmusters finden sich auf dem Rand.

Vgl. *Corpus* 67 D (SD 52–58, 63/64); Garstang, *Mahasna*, pl. XXV 5; Scharff, *Altortümer* I, Nr. 354, 355; Mond-Myers, *Armant* I, pl. XXV D 67 d l. Zum Überzug cf. Lucas, *Materials*<sup>4</sup>, 383 und die dort zitierte Literatur. Zur Politur: Lucas, op.cit., 370 f. und Möller, *Abusir el-Meleq*, 22 und Taf. 12, 35.



21. MM 18 868: H 12,7, ÄD 18,6, ÖD 8,65 cm

Beschädigungen am Rand, ein grosser Abschlag in der Gefässoberfläche. Rötlicher Ton mit hellerem Überzug.

Sphärisch. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand.

Den Gefässkörper bedecken Spiralen mit eingestreuten Wellenlinien, waagerechte Wellenlinien ziehen sich auch vom Rand bis über die Henkel. Der Rand trägt ein Rhombenmuster.

Vgl. *Corpus* 67 D (SD 52–58, 63/64); Garstang, *Mahasna*, pl. XXV 5; Scharff, *Altertümer* I, Nr. 354, 355; Mond-Myers, *Armant* I, pl. XXV 67 d1. Zum Überzug cf. Lucas, *Materials*<sup>4</sup>, 383 und die dort zitierte Literatur.



22. MM 18 867: H 14,1, ÄD 21, ÖD 8,9–9,1 cm

Intakt bis auf eine leichte Beschädigung und eine moderne Reparatur im Rand. Leichte Oberflächenbestossungen. Rötlicher Ton, stellenweise heller.

Sphärisch. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand.

Den Gefässkörper bedecken Spiralen mit eingestreuten Wellenlinien, waagerechte Wellenlinien ziehen sich auch vom Rand bis über die Henkel. Der Rand trägt ein Rhombenmuster.

Vgl. *Corpus* 67 D (SD 52–58, 63/64); Garstang, *Mahasna*, pl. XXV 5; Scharff, *Altertümer* I, Nr. 354, 355; Mond-Myers, *Armant* I, pl. XXV 67 d1.



1. MM 18 865: H 11,4, ÄD 19,7, ÖD 8,75 cm

Intakt bis auf leichte Abplatzungen in der Gefäßoberfläche. Rötlicher Ton.

Sphärisch. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand.

Den Gefäßkörper bedecken Spiralen mit eingestreuten Wellenlinien. Waagerechte Wellenlinien ziehen sich auch vom Rand bis über die Henkel. Der Rand trägt ein Strichmuster.

Vgl. *Corpus* 67 D (SD 52–58, 63/64); Garstang, *Mahasna*, pl. XXV 5; Scharff, *Altertümer* I, Nr. 354, 355; Mond-Myers, *Armant* I, pl. XXV 67 d1.



24. MM 18 869: H 14,8, ÄD 19,3, ÖD 8–8,1 cm

Grosser Herausschlag im Rand, Abplatzungen in der Gefäßoberfläche. Ton von teilweise grau-schwarzer – besonders am Rand – und teilweise roter Farbe.

Sphärisch. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, nach innen abgeschrägter Rand.

Den Gefäßkörper bedecken Spiralen unterschiedlicher Grösse mit eingestreuten Wellenlinien, waagerechte Wellenlinien ziehen sich auch vom Rand bis über die Henkel. Der Rand trägt ein Rhombenmuster.

Vgl. *Corpus* 67 D (SD 52–58, 63/64); Garstang, *Mahasna*, pl. XXV 5; Scharff, *Altertümer* I, Nr. 354, 355; Mond-Myers, *Armant* I, pl. XXV 67 d1.



25. MM 18 866: H 15,2, ÄD 21,6, ÖD 8,8–8,9 cm

Intakt bis auf modern geklebte Sprünge. Rötlicher Ton mit hellerem Überzug.

Sphärisch. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand.

Den Gefäßkörper bedecken Spiralen mit eingestreuten Wellenlinien, waagerechte Wellenlinien ziehen sich auch vom Rand bis über die Henkel. Der Rand trägt ein Rhombenmuster.

Vgl. *Corpus* 67 D (SD 52–58, 63/64); Garstang, *Mahasna*, pl. XXV 5; Scharff, *Altertümer* I, Nr. 354, 355; Mond-Myers, *Armant* I, pl. XXV 67 d1. Zum Überzug cf. Lucas, *Materials*<sup>4</sup>, 383 und die dort zitierte Literatur.



26. MM 10 291: H 14,7, ÄD 20,2, ÖD 8,4–8,55 cm

Intakt bis auf kleine Beschädigungen und eine moderne Reparatur am Rand. Heller beige-brauner Ton.

Sphärisch. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand.

Der Gefäßkörper ist mit Spiralen und eingestreuten Wellenlinien bemalt. Waagerechte Wellenlinien überziehen auch die Henkel bis zum Rand hinauf. Der Rand ist mit zu ihm senkrecht gestellten Wellenlinien dekoriert.

*Corpus* 67 D (SD 52–58, 63/64); Garstang, *Mahasna*, pl. XXV 5; Scharff, *Altertümer* I, Nr. 354, 355; Mond-Myers, *Armant* I, pl. XXV 67 d1.



MM 10 297: H 15, ÄD 20,8, ÖD 8,5 cm

rausschlag im Rand und in einem Henkel; bestos-  
e und korrodierte Oberfläche. Rötlicher Ton,  
llenweise glänzend.

iphärisch. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte  
inurösen, nach innen abgeschrägter Rand.

Der Gefäßkörper ist dicht mit verschiedenen grossen  
ralen und nur einer eingestreuten Wellenlinie be-  
t. Waagerechte Wellenlinien befinden sich auch  
schen Rand und Henkeln, während diese selbst  
einem Rhombenmuster überzogen sind.

opus 67 C (SD 44–64) kommt am nächsten. Zur  
itur cf. Lucas, *Materials*<sup>4</sup>, 370 f. und Möller,  
*Isir el-Meleq*, 22 und Taf. 12, 35.

28. MM 18 870: H 15,4, ÄD 21,6, ÖD 7,9 cm

Intakt bis auf eine leichte Beschädigung der Gefäss-  
oberfläche. Rötlicher Ton.

Sphärisch. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte  
Schnurösen, gerader Rand.

Der Gefäßkörper ist mit unterschiedlich grossen  
Spiralen bedeckt, zwischen die ab und zu doppelte  
Wellenlinien eingestreut sind. Waagerechte Wellen-  
linien bedecken auch die Henkel, während ein  
Rhombenmuster auf den Rand gemalt ist.

Am nächsten stehen Brunton/Caton-Thompson,  
*Badarian Civilisation*, pl. XL 67 d2 und c3.





29. MM 18 792: H 6,6, ÄD 8,5, ÖD 3,6 cm

Intakt bis auf Herausschläge und Gipsreparaturen im Rand. Beige-brauner Ton mit stellenweise hellem Belag. Der Boden ist an einer Stelle leicht eingedrückt.

Sphärisch. Zwei waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, leicht nach innen abgeschrägter Rand.

Der Gefässkörper ist mit Spiralen unterschiedlicher Grösse dicht bedeckt. Zwischen Rand und Henkel sind drei bzw. vier waagerechte Wellenlinien eingefügt, auf jeden Henkel sind fünf weitere gemalt. Der Rand trägt ein unregelmässiges Strichmuster.

Vgl. etwa *Corpus* 67 L, nach Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, 18: etwa SD 46–58.

30. MM 18 853: H 11,7, ÄD 15, ÖD 7,8–7,9 cm

Intakt bis auf einen Herausschlag im Rand; stellenweise korrodierte Gefässoberfläche. Rötlicher Ton mit hellerem Überzug.

Sphärisch. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, leicht nach innen abgeschrägter Rand.

Der ganze Gefässkörper ist mit vielen Spiralen bedeckt. Waagerechte Wellenlinien sind auf dem Henkel und konzentrische Wellenabschnitte auf dem Rand gemalt. Drei Z sind auf einer Seite zwischen Rand und Henkel eingefügt.

Cf. *Corpus* 67 J, nach Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, 18: etwa SD 46–58. Zum Überzug: Lucas, *Materials*<sup>4</sup>, 383 und die dort zitierte Literatur.





. MM 10 283: H 7,7, ÄD 9,2, ÖD 3,6–3,9 cm

rünge und Korrosion der Oberfläche und des  
undes, ein Henkel und ein Stück des Bodens modern  
gänzt. Hellgrauer Ton.

Sphärisch. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte  
hnrösen. Zwei Griffe dazwischen, von denen einer  
dern ergänzt ist. Leicht nach aussen abgeschrägter  
nd.

Viele kleine Spiralen bedecken den Gefässkörper,  
agerechte Striche die Henkel. Farbspuren finden  
h auf dem Rand.

Vgl. *Corpus* 67 J und L; nach Petrie, *Prehistoric  
ypt*, 18: SD 46–58. Vier Henkel, nämlich zwei  
ite Schnurösen, einen Griff und eine schmale  
hnröse (?), hat das Stück *Corpus* 9 K, besser  
gebildet in de Morgan, *L'âge de la pierre*, pl.  
II, Nr. 2, das aber im Dekor abweicht.



32. MM 10 296: H 12,7, ÄD 17,1, ÖD 7,75–8 cm

Modern geklebte Sprünge gehen durch das ganze  
Gefäss. Gipsreparatur im Rand. Hellgrauer Ton.

Sphärisch. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte  
Schnurösen; nach innen abgeschrägter Rand.

Aneinander grenzende Spiralen bedecken den  
ganzen Gefässkörper samt den Henkeln, auf dem  
gewölbten Boden sind zweimal zwei Wellenlinien ein-  
gefügt. Der Rand trägt ein Zickzackband.

Vgl. *Corpus* 67 R, nach Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*,  
18: etwa SD 46–58.



33. MM 18 851: H 11,5, ÄD 15,8, ÖD 6,85–7 cm

Ein modern geklebter Sprung geht durch das ganze Gefäß. Ein Herausschlag und eine Gipsreparatur im Rand. Rötlicher, stellenweise grauer Ton.

Sphärisch. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, leicht nach innen abgeschrägter Rand.

Aneinander angrenzende, etwas flüchtig gemalte Spiralen bedecken den Gefäßkörper und die Henkel. Der Rand trägt ein Strichmuster.

Vgl. *Corpus 67 R*, nach Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, 18: etwa SD 46–58.

34. MM 18 850: H 15,6, ÄD 22,5, ÖD 8,25 cm

Herausschläge im Rand; etwas rauhe, z.T. korrodierte Gefäßoberfläche. Hellgrauer Ton.

Sphärisch. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, nach innen leicht abgeschrägter Rand.

Der Gefäßkörper mitsamt den Henkeln ist ganz mit Spiralen bedeckt, die aneinander angrenzen. Der Rand trägt ein Rhombenmuster.

*Corpus 67 R*, das nach Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, 18 von etwa SD 46–58 belegt ist, kommt am nächsten, obwohl es kleine Zwischenräume zwischen den Spiralen aufweist.



. MM 10 309: H 15,5, ÄD 23,7, ÖD 9–9,1 cm

Intakt bis auf eine moderne Reparatur im Rand. Hellgrauer Ton, stellenweise rötlich.

Sphärisch. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand.

Der Gefässkörper ist mit ziemlich kleinen Spiralen verschiedener Grösse bemalt, dazwischen ganz reinzelte Wellenlinien. Die Henkel sind mit waagerechten Wellenlinien bedeckt, der Rand trägt ein Wellenmuster.

*Corpus* 67 A (SD 46–58) steht sehr nahe bis auf Abweichungen im Dekor der Henkel.



36. MM 10 315: H 20,6, ÄD 27,6, ÖD 9,8–10,1 cm

Intakt bis auf leichte Beschädigungen und eine moderne Reparatur am Rand. Beige-brauner Ton, stellenweise etwas glänzend.

Sphärisch. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand.

Der ganze Gefässkörper samt Rand und Henkeln ist mit kleinen bogigen Linien bemalt, um Stein zu imitieren.

*Corpus* 63 A (SD 48–63). Zur Politur cf. Lucas, *Materials*<sup>4</sup>, 370 f. und Möller, *Abusir el-Meleq*, 22 und Taf. 12, 35.



37. MM 10 307: H 16,5, ÄD 22,4, ÖD 8,8–9 cm

Stark korrodierter, etwas bröckeliger, modern mit Gips geflickter Rand; Sprünge im korrodierten Boden. Hellgrauer Überzug auf rötlichem Ton, der am Boden sichtbar ist.

Sphärisch. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand.

Das ganze Gefäß – bis auf den stark korrodierten Rand – ist mit kleinen bogigen Linien bemalt, um Stein zu imitieren.

*Corpus* 63 A (SD 48–63), vgl. auch Scharff, *Altertümer* I, Nr. 360. Zum Überzug cf. Lucas, *Materials*<sup>4</sup>, 383 und die dort zitierte Literatur.

38. MM 18 838: H 15,1, ÄD 20,2, ÖD 8,6 cm

Herausschläge und moderne Gipsreparaturen im Rand, etwas korrodierte Gefäßoberfläche. Beige-brauner Ton.

Sphärisch. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand.

Das ganze Gefäß ist mit kleinen bogigen Linien bemalt, um Stein zu imitieren.

*Corpus* 63 A (SD 48–63).



9. MM 18 785: H 10,5, ÄD 13,3, ÖD 6,25 cm

Intakt. Stark korrodierter Rand, z.T. korrodierte Gefäßoberfläche. Rötlicher Ton.

Sphärisch. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand.

Das ganze Gefäß ist mit kleinen bogigen Linien bemalt, um Stein zu imitieren.

*Corpus 63 A (SD 48–63)*, das aber wohl grösser ist.

40. MM 10 286: H 6,5, ÄD 8,7, ÖD 4,5–5 cm

Intakt bis auf leichte Beschädigungen am Rand und Sprünge. Hellgrauer Ton.

Sphärisch. Zwei nicht sehr breite waagerechte Schnurösen, eine durchbohrt, eine angebohrt; gerader Rand.

Flüchtige gebogene Linien umziehen in Kreisen den Rand und den grössten Teil des Gefäßkörpers, um Stein zu imitieren, jedoch sind die Linien nicht weit von Wellenlinien entfernt. Die leicht gewölbte Bodenfläche ist mit wellenförmigen Strichen bedeckt.

Vgl. *Corpus 9 C (SD 40–52)*, jedoch ist die Bemalung flüchtiger; auch Petrie–Quibell, *Naqada and Ballas*, pl. XXXIII 7a.



41. MM 18 796: H 11,2, ÄD 15,2, ÖD 6,6–6,8 cm

Intakt bis auf Gipsreparaturen im Rand. Hellgrauer Überzug auf rötlichem Ton.

Sphärisch. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, nach innen leicht abgeschrägter Rand.

Das ganze Gefäss ist mit flüchtigen bogigen Linien bemalt, um Stein zu imitieren.

*Corpus* 63 A (SD 48–63), das aber wohl grösser ist. Zum Überzug cf. Lucas, *Materials*<sup>4</sup>, 383 und die dort zitierte Literatur.

42. MM 18 827: H 7,9, ÄD 10,25, ÖD 4,1 cm

Abschläge am Rand und an einem Henkel; stellenweise korrodierte Gefässoberfläche. Beige-brauner Ton.

Sphärisch. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, von denen eine grösstenteils abgeschlagen ist. Nach innen abgeschrägter Rand.

Das ganze Gefäss ist mit kleinen bogigen Linien, die sich überschneiden, bemalt, um Stein zu imitieren.

*Corpus* 63 B (SD 43) steht nahe.



3. MM 18 841: H 12,9, ÄD 17,6, ÖD 7,55 cm

in Herausschlag im abgeriebenen Rand. Korrodierte Oberfläche an Hals und Henkeln. Hellgrauer Ton.

Sphärisch. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand.

Kleine seitwärts gebogene Linien, die Stein imitieren, bedecken die Gefäßoberfläche, wo sie nicht korrodiert ist.

*Corpus* 63 steht nahe, weicht jedoch etwas im Dekor ab; eine weitere Variante der Gruppe 63: Bond-Myers, *Armant* I, pl. XXV 63 a1 (SD 39-61).

44. MM 11 069: H 6,7, ÄD 5,8, ÖD 2,6 cm

Intakt. Beige-brauner Ton.

Ovoid, sehr grobe Form. Zwei grobe breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, nach innen abgeschrägter Rand.

Eine Fläche zwischen den Henkeln ist mit unregelmässigen bogigen Linien bemalt, um Stein zu imitieren, die andere weist keine Farbspuren auf.

*Corpus* 63 C kommt nahe (SD 36-41), das jedoch ganz bemalt ist.



45. MM 10 289: H 12,4, ÄD 8,7, ÖD 3,9–4,1, StD 2,5 cm

Intakt bis auf kleine Beschädigungen am Rand; z.T. korrodierte Oberfläche. Beige-brauner Ton.

Herzförmig. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Das ganze Gefäß ist mit unregelmässigen, teilweise ausgelaufenen Punkten bemalt, um Stein zu imitieren.

*Corpus 1 M* kommt am nächsten, nach Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, 17: etwa SD 60.

46. MM 18 805: H 12,2, ÄD 8,5, ÖD 4,7, StD 3,4 cm

Abschläge am Rand und Boden, korrodierte Gefäßoberfläche. Roter Ton, stellenweise hell- bis dunkelgrau.

Herzförmig. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Farbspuren sehr unregelmässiger Art finden sich auf Rand und Gefäßkörper, die Stein wiedergeben sollen.

Das Stück entspricht ungefähr *Corpus 1 M*, das nach Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, 17 etwa auf SD 60 fällt.





47. MM 18 804: H 11,6, ÄD 9, ÖD 4,7, StD 2,3 cm

Intakt bis auf leichte Beschädigungen am Rand, ziemlich abgegriffene Gefäßoberfläche. Rötlicher Ton.

Herzförmig, fast ovoid. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand, fast spitzer Boden.

Einzelne Farbtupfer ahmen Steinsprenkelung nach. *Corpus 1 M*, nach Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, 17: etwa SD 60.

48. MM 10 311: H 22,6, ÄD 20,5, ÖD 9,05–9,35, StD 6,9 cm

Korrosion am Rand und Abschlüge an einem Wellenhenkel. Heller Überzug auf rötlichem Ton, der an den korrodierten Stellen sichtbar ist.

Wellenhenkelgefäß. Zwei schöne breite Wellenhenkel, runder Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Unregelmässige Punkte und Striche bedecken das ganze Gefäß, um Stein zu imitieren.

Vgl. *Corpus 1 D*, nach Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, 17: etwa SD 45. Zum Überzug cf. Lucas, *Materials*<sup>4</sup>, 383 und die dort zitierte Literatur.



49. MM 18 806: H 10, ÄD 12, ÖD 5,2–5,55 cm

Herausschläge im Rand. An drei Stellen aufgeworfene Gefässwand, wohl beim Brennen entstanden. Beige-brauner Ton.

Unregelmässig sphärisch. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand.

Unregelmässige Punkte und Striche bedecken die ganze Gefässoberfläche, um Stein zu imitieren.

*Corpus* 1 T, das nach Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, 17 etwa auf SD 60 fällt.



50. MM 18 810: H 14,6, ÄD 20,7, ÖD 8,45–8,6 cm

Intakt bis auf moderne Klebungen und Gipsergänzungen im Rand; korrodierte Oberfläche; hellgrauer Ton, stellenweise rötlich.

Sphärisch. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand.

Die ganze Gefässoberfläche ist gesprenkelt bemalt, um den Eindruck von Stein hervorzurufen.

*Corpus* 62 (SD 47–71).



. MM 18 809: H 15,1, ÄD 21,2, ÖD 9,05–9,2 cm

wei Herausbrüche im Rand, eine Gipsreparatur im Gefäßkörper; stellenweise korrodierte Oberfläche. hellgrauer Ton mit rötlichen Flecken.

Sphärisch. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand.

Das ganze Gefäß ist mit Sprenkelungen bemalt, um Stein zu imitieren.

*Corpus* 62 (SD 47–71).

52. MM 10 303: H 17,2, ÄD 26,8, ÖD 10,6 cm

Intakt bis auf Abplatzungen am Rand, die einen Überzug erkennen lassen. Rötlicher Ton.

Sphärisch. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand.

Vom Dekor sind nur schwache Reste unregelmäßiger Bemalung erhalten, die wohl Steinimitation andeuten sollen.

*Corpus* 62 (SD 47–71) steht wohl am nächsten. Zum Überzug cf. Lucas, *Materials*<sup>4</sup>, 383 und die dort zitierte Literatur.



53. MM 10 301: H 17,9, ÄD 16,8, ÖD 7,5–8,2, StD 5,6 cm

Intakt. Hellroter Ton.

Bauchig. Drei schmale Schnurösen, eine durchbohrt, zwei nur angedeutet. Scharf abgesetzter unregelmässiger Hals, runder Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Die Bemalung ist nur noch schwach erhalten, sie besteht in sehr unregelmässigen Linien, die Stein imitieren sollen.

Das Gefäss steht *Corpus* 64 (SD 60) nahe, das aber nur zwei Henkel und linearen Dekor aufweist. Drei schmale Schnurösen finden sich bei anderen Typen: cf. *Corpus* 59 C (SD 46) und P; Brunton/Caton-Thompson, *Badarian Civilisation*, pl. XL 59 D; Brunton, *Mostagedda*, pl. XXXV 14 u. 15; Scharff, *Altertümer I*, Taf. 34, Nr. 346 A. Zum Zweck der Ösen cf. Baumgartel, *Cultures I*, 89: sie dienten vielleicht zur Befestigung eines Deckels.

54. MM 11 071: H 6,6, ÄD 4,6, ÖD 2,5 cm

Intakt. Rötlicher Ton.

Ovoid. Ohne Henkel und Rand.

Unregelmässige Punkte und Striche bedecken die Gefässoberfläche, um Stein zu imitieren.

Dem Dekor nach stehen *Corpus* I M und T (nach Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, 17: beide etwa SD 60) nahe: eine so einfache Form ist jedoch nicht belegt.



5. MM 18 789: H 5,5, ÄD 4,5, ÖD 2,15 cm, StD:  
nicht zu messen, da z.T. zerstört

beschädigter Rand, geklebte Sprünge, Loch im Boden  
und Fuss. Grauer bis schwärzlicher Ton.

Herzförmig. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte  
Schnurösen, gerader Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Das ganze Gefäss ist mit Punkten unregelmässig  
bedeckt, um Stein zu imitieren.

*Corpus* 16 G (SD 60–65).

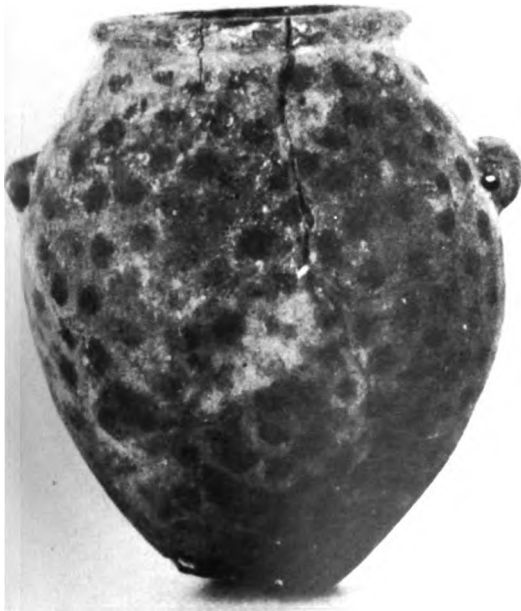
56. MM 18 786: H 4,8, ÄD 5,8, ÖD 3,05 cm

Zwei der vier Henkel sind beschädigt; stark korro-  
dierte Oberfläche. Beige-brauner Ton.

Sphärisch. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte  
Schnurösen, dazwischen zwei beschädigte Griffe;  
gerader Rand.

Das ganze Gefäss ist mit Punkten unregelmässig  
bedeckt, um Stein zu imitieren.

*Corpus* 16 N (nach Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, 17:  
etwa SD 48–60) kommt am nächsten, hat jedoch nur  
zwei Schnurösen. Vier Henkel, davon zwei breite  
Schnurösen, einen Griff und eine schmale Schnuröse  
(?), hat das Stück *Corpus* 9 K, besser abgebildet  
in de Morgan, *L'âge de la pierre*, pl. VIII 2, das aber  
im Dekor abweicht.



57. MM 14 713: H 4,55, ÄD 4,8, ÖD 1,9 cm

Intakt. Z.T. abgegriffene polierte Oberfläche. Rötlicher Ton mit drei schwarzen Flecken.

Sphärisch. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand.

Der ganze Gefäßkörper ist abwechselnd von einer Kreis- und einer Wellenlinie in waagerechter Richtung umzogen, dazu kommt ein Kranz von Punkten um den Hals. Die Oberfläche hat polierte und abgegriffene matte Stellen.

Der Typ ist wohlbekannt, der Dekor jedoch ohne genaue Parallele; am nächsten kommt *Corpus* 9 G (SD 33–63). Zur Politur cf. Lucas, *Materials*<sup>4</sup>, 370 f. und Möller, *Abusir el-Meleq*, 22 und Taf. 12, 35.

58. MM 10 284: H 4,7, ÄD 5,7, ÖD 2,1–2,25, Fuss D 2,3 cm

Intakt bis auf leichte Beschädigungen am Rand. Rötlicher Ton, stellenweise etwas glänzend.

Sphärisch mit Fuss. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand, abgesetzter Fuss.

Die obere Hälfte des Gefäßkörpers bedeckt Punkte, dann folgt eine waagerechte Kreislinie, von der aus zwölf senkrechte Streifen, gefüllt mit waagerechten Strichen, zum Fuss laufen. Der Fuss ist plastisch abgesetzt und trägt ein Karomuster. Auf dem Rand sind Reste von Strichen erhalten.

Die Form mit abgesetztem Fuss ist in Ton sehr selten, ein undekoriertes Beispiel findet sich Brunton, *Matmar*, pl. XII, Nr. 21 (ohne SD) und S. 18; wie auch das Stockholmer Stück bekräftigt, steht Nr. 21 der dekorierten Ware nahe. Vorbilder finden sich in Stein, z.B. Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, pl. XXXVII, Nr. 22 (SD 65) und Möller, *Abusir el-Meleq*, Taf. 11, Nr. 38. Zur Politur cf. Lucas, *Materials*<sup>4</sup>, 370 f. und Möller, *Abusir el-Meleq*, 22 und Taf. 12, 35.



MM 18 803: H 15,7, ÄD 14, ÖD 6,7–6,9, StD 5 cm

akt. Z.T. korrodierte Oberfläche. Roter Ton.

Bauchig. Keine Henkel, abgesetzter, vielleicht  
sondert gedrehter Hals, runder Rand, unebene  
Standfläche.

Der Gefäßkörper ist unregelmässig mit Punkten be-  
legt, um Stein zu imitieren.

Vgl. *Corpus* 16 S und T (SD 46–53). Zum gesondert  
gedrehten Hals cf. Baumgartel, *Predynastic Egypt*, 28  
d Mond-Myers, *Armant I*, 167 und 177 ff.

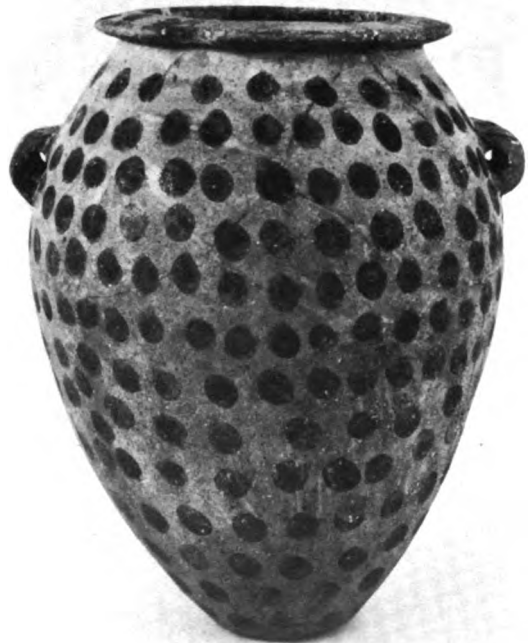
60. MM 11 112: H 18,9, ÄD 14,4, ÖD 7,7–7,85, StD  
4,7 cm

Herausschlag im Rand, z.T. modern geklebte Sprünge.  
Rötlicher Ton mit hellerem Überzug.

Herzförmig. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte  
Schnurösen, gerader Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Rand, Henkel, Gefäßkörper und Standfläche sind  
mit Punkten regemässig bemalt, um Stein zu imitieren.

Vgl. *Corpus* 16 J, nach Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*,  
17 fällt die Gruppe 16 in SD 48–60. Zum Überzug  
cf. Lucas, *Materials*<sup>4</sup>, 383 und die dort zitierte Litera-  
tur.



61. MM 18 840: H 17,1, ÄD 12,5, ÖD 7,2–7,3, StD 5,5 cm

Intakt, stellenweise korrodierte Oberfläche, die einen helleren Überzug auf rötlichem Ton erkennen lässt.

Herzförmig. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Das ganze Gefäß mit Rand, Henkeln und Standfläche ist von waagerechten Wellenlinien umzogen.

*Corpus* 8 P. Zum Überzug cf. Lucas, *Materials*<sup>4</sup>, 383 und die dort zitierte Literatur.

62. MM 18 833: H 16,7, ÄD 10,4, ÖD 5,8, StD 2,9 cm

Intakt bis auf Herausschläge im Rand. Beige-braune Ton.

Herzförmig. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Der ganze Gefäßkörper samt Henkeln und Standfläche ist von waagerechten Wellenlinien umzogen.

Vgl. *Corpus* 8 P.





MM 18 791: H 15,4, ÄD 10,1, ÖD 6,2, StD 3–3,6 cm

Herausschläge im Rand, z.T. korrodierte und an einer Stelle abgeschlagene Oberfläche. Grauer Ton, teilweise rötlich.

Herzförmig. Zwei breite waagerechte angebohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Das ganze Gefäss, einschliesslich Rand, Henkel und Standfläche, ist von waagerechten Wellenlinien überzogen.

Vgl. *Corpus* 8 P.

64. MM 18 826: H 11,5, ÄD 8, ÖD 4,7, StD 3,6 cm

Intakt bis auf zwei Herausschläge im Rand; beige-brauner Ton.

Herzförmig. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Vom Rand bis zur Standfläche ist das ganze Gefäss mit waagerechten Wellenlinien überzogen. Über den Boden laufen sechs parallele Wellenstreifen.

Vgl. *Corpus* 8 M (SD 46, 47), 8 G (SD 40–50).



65. MM 10 279: H 11,1, ÄD 8, ÖD 4,85, StD 2,7 cm

Intakt bis auf leichte Beschädigungen am geraden Rand und in der Gefäßoberfläche. Beige-brauner Ton.

Herzförmig. Zwei breite, waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen. Gerader Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Vom Rand bis zur Standfläche einschliesslich ist das ganze Gefäss mit waagerechten Wellenlinien bemalt. Über den Boden laufen zwei parallele Wellenlinien.

Vgl. *Corpus* 8 G (SD 40–50) und 8 M (SD 46, 47).

66. MM 18 824: H 10,85, ÄD 7,75, ÖD 3,9, StD 2,5 cm

Intakt bis auf Beschädigungen am Rand. Rötlicher Ton mit Resten eines helleren Überzuges.

Herzförmig. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Vom Hals bis zur Standfläche einschliesslich ist das ganze Gefäss mit waagerechten Wellenlinien umzogen. Der Rand trägt zu ihm senkrechte Striche.

Vgl. *Corpus* 8 G (SD 40–50) und 8 M (SD 46, 47).  
Zum Überzug cf. Lucas, *Materials*<sup>4</sup>, 383 und die dort zitierte Literatur.



MM 18 794: H 10,4, ÄD 7,5, ÖD 3,35, StD 1,1 cm

n Herausschlag im ziemlich korrodierten Rand; odern geklebte Sprünge im Gefässkörper; korrodierte fässoberfläche. Beige-brauner Ton, auf einer Seite ellenweise grauschwarz.

Herzförmig, fast ovoid. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand, fast spitzer xden.

Das ganze Gefäss mit Rand, Henkeln und Standche ist von waagerechten Wellenlinien umzogen.

Vgl. *Corpus* 8 G (SD 40–50).

68. MM 10 298: H 9,9, ÄD 7,4 ÖD 3,6 StD 2,6 cm

Intakt bis auf leichte Beschädigungen am Rand; z.T. etwas korrodierte Oberfläche und verwischte Malerei. Beige-brauner Ton, stellenweise glänzend.

Herzförmig. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Das ganze Gefäss einschliesslich Rand, Henkel und Standfläche ist von manchmal etwas unsicheren waagerechten Wellenlinien umzogen.

Vgl. *Corpus* 8 G (SD 40–50). Zur Politur cf. Lucas, *Materials*<sup>4</sup>, 370 f. und Möller, *Abusir el-Meleq*, 22 und Taf. 12, 35.



69. MM 18 821: H 9,8, ÄD 6,7, ÖD 3, StD 2,1 cm

Herausbrüche im Rand. Sehr stark abgeriebene Gefäßoberfläche, so dass von der Bemalung nur noch schwache Spuren vorhanden sind. Reste eines helleren Überzuges auf rötlichem Ton.

Herzförmig. Zwei breite waagerechte angebohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Das ganze Gefäß war mit waagerechten Wellenlinien bemalt, ob jedoch auch der Rand, ist nicht mehr festzustellen.

Vgl. *Corpus* 8 G (SD 40–50). Zum Überzug cf. Lucas, *Materials*<sup>4</sup>, 383 und die dort zitierte Literatur.

70. MM 13 826: H 10,1, ÄD 6,5, ÖD 3,15–4,1, StD 1,1 cm

Sehr korrodierte Oberfläche, die den Dekor nur noch ahnen lässt. Stark korrodierter und grossenteils abgeschlagener Rand. Beige-brauner Ton.

Herzförmig, fast ovoid. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, eine beschädigt. Gerader Rand, fast spitzer Boden.

Der Dekor bestand in einem Überzug waagerechter Wellenlinien, von denen noch Spuren am Rand vorhanden sind.

Vgl. *Corpus* 8 G (SD 40–50).



MM 18 820: H 8, ÄD 6,2, ÖD 3, StD 1 cm

ausbrüche im ziemlich korrodierten Rand; stellenweise stark korrodierte Gefäßoberfläche. Rötlicher Ton mit Resten eines helleren Überzuges.

Herzförmig. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Über das ganze Gefäß einschliesslich Rand, Henkel und Standfläche ziehen sich waagerechte, z.T. schwach bemalte Kreislinien.

Vgl. *Corpus* 8 G (SD 40–50) ff., die jedoch nicht so schwach in der Bemalung sind. Zum Überzug cf. *Materials*<sup>4</sup>, 383 und die dort zitierte Literatur.

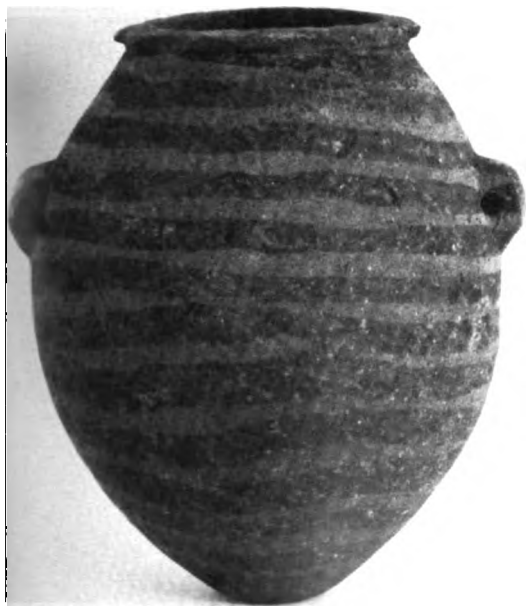
72. MM 10 282: H 5,5, ÄD 4,2, ÖD 2,1, StD 1,1 cm

Intakt bis auf Beschädigungen am Rand. Beige-brauner Ton mit stellenweise hellem Belag.

Herzförmig. Zwei waagerechte, breite durchbohrte Schnurösen. Gerader Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Rand und Gefäßkörper samt Henkeln sind mit waagerechten Kreislinien z.T. etwas flüchtig bemalt; auf der Standfläche drei Striche.

Vgl. *Corpus* 8 E (SD 40–50), das jedoch wohl kleiner und flüchtiger bemalt ist.



73. MM 18 825: H 12,1, ÄD 9,3, ÖD 4,8, StD 3,8 cm

Intakt bis auf einen Herausschlag an einem Henkel; korrodierte Gefäßoberfläche. Beige-brauner Ton, stellenweise glänzend.

Herzförmig. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Der ganze Gefäßkörper ist schachbrettartig von Gruppen von Wellenlinien überzogen. Spuren einer Spirale finden sich auf der Standfläche.

Der Form nach sind ähnlich: die Gruppe *Corpus* 8; Brunton, *Mostagedda*, pl. XXXV 11 (SD 57–58); Brunton/Caton-Thompson, *Badarian Civilisation*, pl. XXXIX 8 n (SD 46–47); Mond-Myers, *Armant I*, pl. XXV 8 b (SD 50?), die jedoch alle im Dekor abweichen. Zur Politur cf. Lucas, *Materials*<sup>4</sup>, 370 f. und Möller, *Abusir el-Meleq*, 22 und Taf. 12, 35.



74. MM 18 823: H 11,1, ÄD 8,3, ÖD 4,3, StD 0,9 cm

Intakt bis auf Korrosion am Rand und Abschürfungen der Oberfläche am unteren Gefäßkörper, dort auch eine leichte Eindrückung der Oberfläche. Beige-brauner Ton.

Herzförmig, fast ovoid. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand, fast spitz zulaufender Boden.

Die obere Hälfte des Gefäßkörpers ist von acht horizontalen Wellenlinien umzogen. Die untere Hälfte abwechselnd einen Abschnitt von sieben horizontalen Wellenlinien und eine senkrechte Reihe – einmal zwei Reihen – von seitenverkehrten N zum Dekor. In ganzen kommen viermal Wellenlinienabschnitte und viermal seitenverkehrte N vor. Den Abschluss unter bilden mindestens vier konzentrische Wellenlinien.

*Corpus* 7 F (SD 44–47) kommt am nächsten, hat jedoch keine Wellenringe um den Fuss hat.



MM 18818: H 11,8, ÄD 8,9, ÖD 3,6, StD 2,2 cm  
 akt bis auf Beschädigungen am Rand; stellen-  
 ise korrodierte Gefäßoberfläche. Beige-brauner  
 n mit stellenweise hellerem Belag.  
 herzförmig. Zwei waagerechte breite angebohrte  
 nurösen, gerader Rand, unebene Standfläche.  
 Die Fläche zwischen den Henkeln ist auf jeder Seite  
 sechs waagerechten, in der Mitte nach unten  
 geknickten Linien bemalt, die auch die Henkel be-  
 ken. Darauf folgen – immer in der Waagerechten –  
 eine Reihe auf der Seite liegender W, vier Reihen  
 der Mitte nach unten geknickter Linien, abermals  
 e Reihe auf der Seite liegender W und vier  
 tere Reihen von in der Mitte nach unten gek-  
 ckten Linien. Die Zonen zwischen Henkeln und  
 s sind jeweils mit drei Gruppen zweier senkrechter  
 Wellenlinien bemalt. Auf dem Rand finden sich  
 bspuren, wohl Reste konzentrischer Wellenab-  
 nitte, die Standfläche trägt ein Rhombenmuster.  
 orpus 8, besonders Brunton/Caton-Thompson,  
 larian Civilisation, pl. XXXIX 8 q (SD 57–58)  
 it nahe, das jedoch nicht mit auf der Seite  
 enden W belegt zu sein scheint.



76. MM 18816: H 12,5, ÄD 9,2, ÖD 4, StD 2,5 cm  
 Herausschläge im Rand, Sprünge in der Gefäßober-  
 fläche, Dekor z.T. etwas verwischt. Rötlicher, stel-  
 lenweise grauer Ton mit hellem Belag an Rand und  
 Henkeln.

Herzförmig. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte  
 Schnurösen, gerader Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Die eine Ansichtsseite zwischen den Henkeln weist  
 zwölf waagerechte, in der Mitte nach unten geknickte  
 Linien auf, einen freien Zwischenraum und dann drei  
 etwas schief verlaufende Wellenlinien um den Fuss.  
 Die andere Seite ist abweichend dekoriert: erst kom-  
 men neun waagerechte, in der Mitte nach unten  
 geknickte Linien, dann ein freier Zwischenraum,  
 darauf – ziemlich verwischt – drei Wellenlinien, ein  
 Zwischenraum und noch drei Wellenlinien. Von Rand  
 zu Rand über Henkel, Standfläche, Henkel verlaufen  
 ebenfalls drei Wellenlinien. Von dem einen Henkel  
 geht eine senkrechte Reihe von neun seitenverkehrten  
 N aus, von dem anderen rechts und links eine Reihe  
 von neun bzw. sechs seitenverkehrten N. Auf dem  
 Rand finden sich Reste von Kreislinien.

Corpus 15 (SD 44) und Petrie-Quibell, *Naqada and  
 Ballas*, pl. XXXIII 18 stehen nahe, sind jedoch im  
 Dekor der Henkelzonen einfacher, zudem wohl gleich  
 dekoriert auf beiden Seiten.



77. MM 18 817: H 11,1, ÄD 9,5, ÖD 3,6, StD 3,1 cm

Intakt bis auf Herausschläge im Rand. Beige-brauner bis grauer Ton, stellenweise heller Belag.

Herzförmig. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Die Fläche zwischen den Henkeln ist auf jeder Seite mit zwölf waagerechten, in der Mitte nach unten geknickten Linien bemalt. Darauf folgt ein freier Zwischenraum und dann um den Fuss ein Streifen von drei Wellenlinien. Von Rand zu Rand über Henkel, Standfläche, Henkel verlaufen drei Wellenlinien. Vier Gruppen von Strichen sind auf den Rand gemalt.

*Corpus 15 (SD 44) und Petrie-Quibell, Naqada and Ballas, pl. XXXIII 18.*

78. MM 18 819: H 9,7, ÄD 9,1, ÖD 3,9, StD 2,4 cm

Herausschläge im Rand und an einer Stelle im unteren Gefässkörper. Beige-brauner Ton mit grau-schwarzer Partie auf einer Seite.

Herzförmig. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Die Fläche zwischen den Henkeln ist auf jeder Seite mit zwölf waagerechten, in der Mitte nach unten geknickten Linien bemalt. Daran schliessen sich ein freier Zwischenraum und dann um den Fuss drei Wellenlinien an. Von Rand zu Rand verlaufen drei Wellenlinien über Henkel, Standfläche, Henkel. Farbspuren von Kreislinien finden sich auf dem Rand.

*Corpus 15 (SD 44) und Petrie-Quibell, Naqada and Ballas, pl. XXXIII 18.*





. MM 18811: H 20, ÄD 14,9, ÖD 8,1, StD 5,2 cm

herausgeschläge im Rand, Sprünge im Gefäßkörper, Abplatzungen in der Oberfläche. Braun-grauer Ton. Herzförmig. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand, unebene Standfläche. Neun waagerechte Wellenlinien umlaufen das Gefäß, beim Rand beginnend bis über die Henkel. Von diesen gehen an drei Stellen je vier senkrechte Wellenlinien aus und zum Fuss herunter, der von vier waagerechten Wellenlinien umzogen ist. Reste von Leinwandlinien finden sich auf dem Rand.

Der Form nach stehen *Corpus* 4 A-C (SD 49; 49, 50; 52, 53) am nächsten, der Dekor ist bei 5 N ähnlich. Vgl. auch Scharff, *Altertümer* I, Nr. 345.

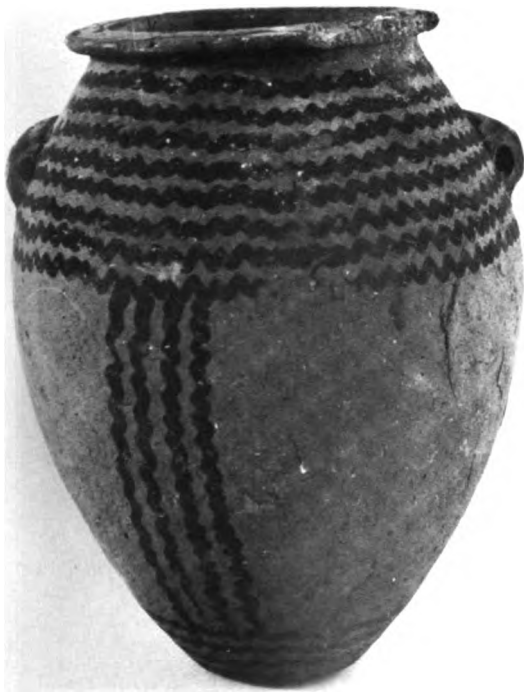
80. MM 18845: H 11,4, ÄD 8,8, ÖD 3,9, StD 2,9 cm

Intakt. Unregelmässige Gefäßoberfläche. Beige-brauner Ton.

Herzförmig. Zwei breite waagerechte angebohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Vier sorgfältig gemalte vertikale Streifen, gefüllt mit horizontalen Wellenlinien, überziehen den Gefäßkörper und die Henkel. Farbkreise sind auf die Standfläche, Abschnitte von Wellenlinien auf den Rand gemalt.

*Corpus* 10 K (SD 46-63).



81. MM10623: aus Bruntons Mostagedda-Grabungen.  
H 12,3, ÄD 9,9, ÖD 3,9-4,1, StD 3,35 cm

Zwei Herausschläge im Rand, von denen Sprünge ausgehen. Beige-brauner Ton.

Herzförmig. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Vier breite senkrechte Streifen, gefüllt mit waagerechten Wellenlinien, überziehen Gefäßkörper und Henkel vom Rand ausgehend bis zum Fuss. Dort treffen sie auf eine Spirale, die die Standfläche bedeckt. Der Rand trägt acht Wellenabschnitte in zwei Kreisen.

*Corpus* 10 K (SD 46-63).

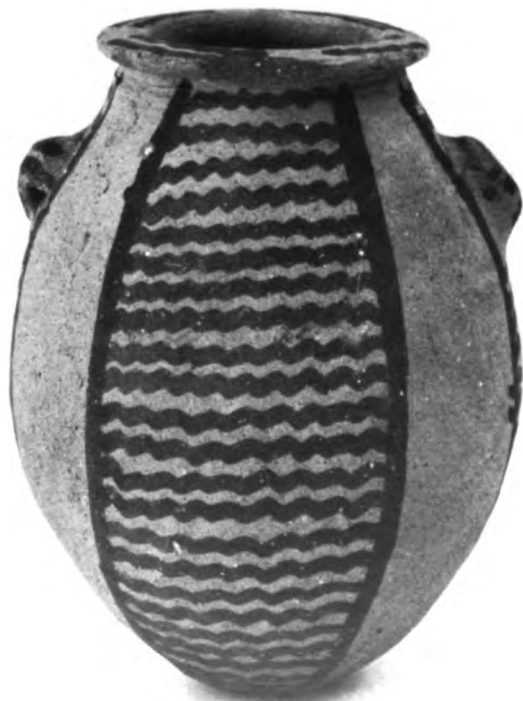
82. MM 18846: H 16,2, ÄD 13,8, ÖD 6,4, StD 5,3 cm

Intakt bis auf kleine Herausschläge im Rand. Beige-brauner Ton mit stellenweiseweissem Belag.

Herzförmig. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Vier breite vertikale Streifen, gefüllt mit horizontalen Wellenlinien, überziehen den Gefäßkörper. Wellenlinien sind auch auf den Rand gemalt. Farbspuren finden sich auf der Standfläche.

*Corpus* 10 K (SD 46-63) oder L (SD 46-48).



3. **MM 18848**: H 19,5, ÄD 15,2, ÖD 7,2, StD 5 cm  
 Herausschlag im Rand, dreieckiges Loch im Gefäßkörper mit zwei davon ausgehenden Sprüngen.  
 Rötlicher Ton, stellenweise braun-grau.  
 Herzförmig. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand, unebene Standfläche.  
 Vier breite vertikale Streifen, die mit horizontalen Wellenlinien gefüllt sind, überziehen Gefäßkörper und Henkel. Spuren zweier konzentrischer Kreise finden sich auf dem Rand. Eine Spirale bedeckt die Standfläche und reicht mit einem Ring bis auf den Gefäßfuß hinauf.

*Corpus 10 L (SD 46–48)* steht am nächsten, bei dem doch keine Spirale um den Fuß vorkommt.

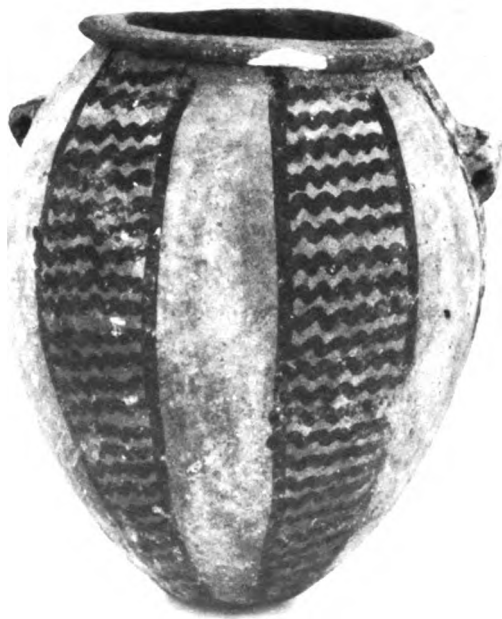
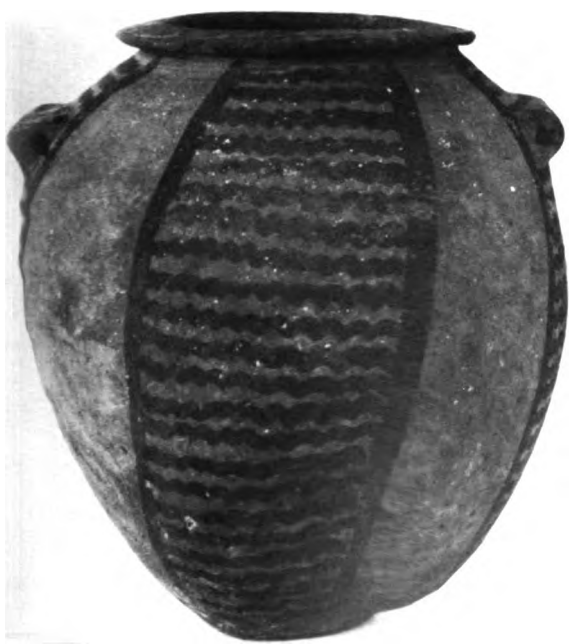
84. **MM 18797**: H 19,2, ÄD 15,7, ÖD 9, StD 4,8 cm

Intakt bis auf drei modern geflickte Stellen im Rand. Beige-brauner Ton, stellenweise hellerer Belag.

Herzförmig. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Fünf unterschiedlich breite vertikale Bänder, mit horizontalen Wellenlinien gefüllt, gehen vom Rand bis zum Fuß des Gefäßes; je ein Band läuft über die Henkel. Eine Spirale bedeckt die Standfläche. Farbspuren finden sich auf dem Rand.

*Corpus 10 L (SD 46–48).*



85. MM 10 280: H 18, ÄD 12,3, ÖD 7,4, StD 3,9 cm

Herausbruch im Rand, Abstossung in der Gefässwand. Beige-brauner Ton.

Herzförmig. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Fünf vertikale Bänder, mit horizontalen Wellenlinien gefüllt, überziehen den Gefässkörper, vier sind ungefähr gleich breit, eins ist bedeutend breiter. Ein Band läuft über einen Henkel, während der andere von zwei Bändern überschritten wird. Ein Rhombenmuster ist auf den Rand, eine Spirale auf die Standfläche gemalt.

*Corpus* 10 L, das jedoch voluminöser ist (SD 46–48). Früher abgebildet in *Egyptiska museet Stockholm*, Taf. 2 rechts.

86. MM 11 110: H 17,5, ÄD 12,6, ÖD 6,95, StD 6,15 cm

Korrodiertter Rand; ein den ganzen Körper umziehender Sprung ist an einer Stelle mit Gips geflickt und aussen rot übermalt. Beige-brauner Ton unterschiedlicher Farbintensität.

Herzförmig. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand, deutlich abgesetzte grosse unebene Standfläche.

Fünf flüchtig gezeichnete, unterschiedlich breite vertikale Streifen, mit flüchtigen waagerechten Strichen gefüllt, überziehen den Gefässkörper. Zwei von ihnen liegen ohne Zwischenraum neben einander und überschneiden einen Henkel; der andere wird von nur einem Streifen überschritten. Reste eines Rhombenmusters finden sich auf dem Rand. Die Standfläche trägt eine unordentlich gezeichnete Spirale.

*Corpus* 10 L (SD 46–48), das aber voluminöser ist.



. MM 18 844: H 10,8, ÄD 7,8, ÖD 3,9, StD 2,6 cm

akt, starke Korrosion des Randes und der Gefäß-  
oberfläche. Beige-brauner Ton mit helleren Flecken.

Herzförmig. Zwei breite waagerechte angebohrte  
Schnurösen, gerader Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Zehn unregelmässige Längsstreifen, z.T. mit flüch-  
tigem gemalten horizontalen Wellenlinien gefüllt, über-  
ziehen den Gefäßkörper. Farbspuren finden sich auf  
dem Rand und der Standfläche.

*Corpus* 10 C (SD 44) kommt am nächsten, ist aber  
geringer bemalt.

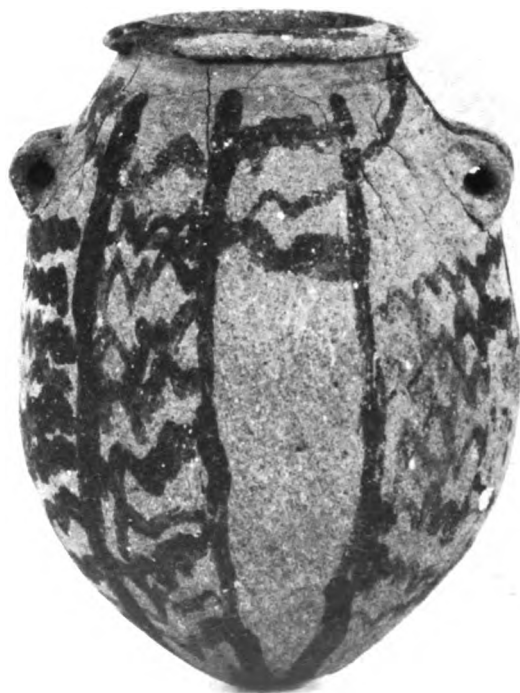
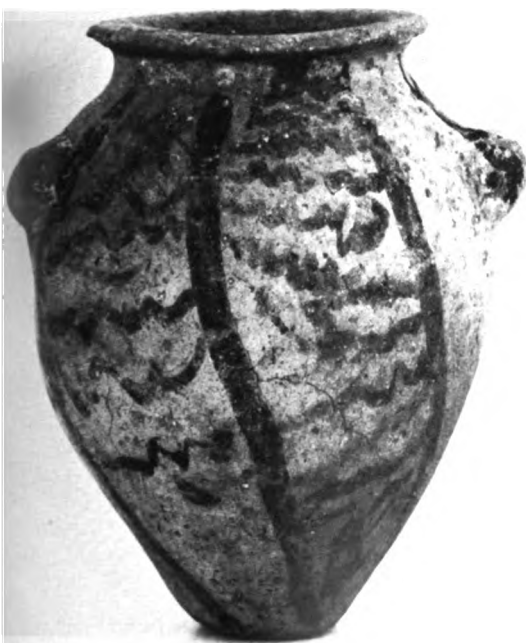
88. MM 11 108: H 9,5, ÄD 7, ÖD 3,1 cm

Herausbrüche im Rand und Sprünge in der Gefäßober-  
fläche. Beige-brauner Ton.

Ovoid. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte  
Schnurösen, gerader Rand.

Der ganze Gefäßkörper ist mit acht unregelmäs-  
sigen, flüchtig gemalten vertikalen Streifen überzogen,  
die manchmal ganz, manchmal nur oben mit un-  
ordentlichen Wellenlinien ausgefüllt sind. Auf dem  
Rand finden sich Farbspuren.

Der Form nach steht *Corpus* 10 G (SD 31, 41, 61)  
am nächsten, der Dekor ist jedoch abweichend.



89. MM 10 952: H 12,2, ÄD 8,7, ÖD 4,45, StD 2,6 cm

Intakt bis auf drei Herausschläge im Rand. Beige-brauner Ton.

Herzförmig. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Fünf ganz mit Farbe ausgefüllte, unterschiedlich breite vertikale Streifen überziehen den Gefäßkörper. Striche sind auf den Rand, eine Spirale auf die Standfläche gemalt, die mit einem Ring auf den Gefäßfuss übergreift.

Dieser Typ fehlt bei Petrie; die Form ähnelt *Corpus* 10 K (SD 46–63), für die aber keine ausgefüllten Streifen bekannt zu sein scheinen.

90. MM 18 831: H 14,9, ÄD 11,2, ÖD 6,6, StD 3,8 cm

Beschädigungen am Rand und an einem Henkel. raue Gefäßoberfläche. Rötlicher bis grauer Ton.

Herzförmig. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Fünf waagerechte Streifen, gefüllt mit senkrechten Wellenlinien, umziehen das Gefäß vom Hals bis etwa über die Standfläche. Der Rand trägt zu ihm senkrechte Striche.

Form und Dekor kommen *Corpus* 5 D am nächsten.



MM 10 287: H 6,4, ÄD 8,35, ÖD 3,7 cm

Intakt bis auf Beschädigungen am Rand; z.T. korrodierte Oberfläche. Grauer Ton.

phärisch. Zwei breite waagerechte angebohrte Schnurösen; gerader Rand.

Vier waagerechte Streifen, mit senkrechten Linien gefüllt, umziehen den ganzen Gefässkörper. Den Abschluss auf der Standfläche bildet ein Kreis mit gezeichneten Karos. Die Henkel sind mit senkrechten Strichen und einer waagerechten Linie bemalt, der Rand mit zu ihm senkrecht stehenden Linien.

Vgl. *Corpus* 69. Früher abgebildet in Wängstedt, *Optiskt konstantverk*, Abb. auf S. 3.

92. MM 10 278: H 8,2, ÄD 6,9, ÖD 2,5, StD 3,3 cm

Intakt bis auf zwei Herausbrüche im Rand. Beige-brauner Ton.

Herzförmig. Zwei breite waagerechte angebohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Der grösste Teil des Gefässkörpers, mit Ausnahme eines schmalen Hals- und breiteren Fussstreifens, ist von zwei horizontalen Streifen überzogen, einem oberen schmalen und unteren breiten, in denen Felder mit Kreuzstrichen und unausgefüllte schachbrettartig miteinander abwechseln. Striche sind auf den breiten Rand, Schräg- bzw. Kreuzstriche auf die Henkel gemalt.

Das Stück kommt *Corpus* 13 K am nächsten.



93. MM 18 828: H 7,75, ÄD 9,6, ÖD 4,1 cm

Das Gefäß war mittendurch gebrochen und ist modern geklebt; in der Bruchlinie fehlen kleine Stücke. Beschädigungen am Rand, stellenweise korrodierte Gefäßoberfläche. Beige-brauner Ton.

Unregelmässig sphärisch. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand.

Das ganze Gefäß mit Rand und Henkeln ist von waagerechten Wellenlinien umzogen, die auf der leicht gewölbten Bodenfläche in einer Spirale enden.

Brunton, *Mostagedda*, pl. XXXV 8 (SD 48-53).

94. MM 18 822: H 7,3, ÄD 10,1, ÖD 3,9 cm

Intakt bis auf einen Herausschlag im Rand. Rötlicher Ton mit stellenweise hellerem Belag.

Sphärisch. Zwei breite waagerechte angebohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand.

Die Fläche zwischen den Henkeln ist auf jeder Seite vom Rand aus mit waagerechten, in der Mitte nach oben geknickten Linien bemalt. Neben den Henkeln ist freier Raum gelassen, sie selbst sind mit Strichen bemalt wie auch der Rand. Den Gefäßboden überziehen zwei sich kreuzende Bänder von je drei Wellenlinien.

*Corpus* 9 H.





5. MM 10 956: H 8,3, ÄD 10,25, ÖD 4,55 cm

Intakt bis auf Herausschläge im Rand. Beige-brauner Ton.

Sphärisch. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, nach innen abgeschrägter Rand.

Die Bemalung ist sehr flüchtig und unregelmässig und anscheinend ohne Parallele: unter dem Rand befinden sich zunächst waagerechte gewellte Linien, die sich über die Henkel nach unten fortsetzen, während zwischen diesen senkrechte Linien und einige Punkte bemalt sind. Der untere Gefässteil ist von einer dichten Spirale bedeckt, der Rand trägt ein Rhombenmuster.

Die Form entspricht der *Corpus*-Gruppe 9, der Dekor ist jedoch abweichend.



96. MME 1969:96: H 12,8, ÄD 17,2, ÖD 7,7-7,9 cm

Leichte Beschädigungen am Rand, an den Henkeln und in der Bodenfläche. Moderne Reparaturen im Rand. Beige-brauner Ton.

Sphärisch. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand.

Vier senkrechte Bänder, gefüllt mit waagerechten Wellenlinien, ziehen sich über den Gefässkörper und über die Henkel vom Rand bis zu einer Spirale, die die leicht gewölbte Bodenfläche bedeckt. Der Rand ist mit kreisförmigen Wellenlinien bemalt.

*Corpus* 68 B (Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, 21: 68 beginnt mit SD 39).



97. MM 18 847: H 13, ÄD 17,9, ÖD 8,3–8,6 cm

Ein modern geklebter Sprung geht durch das ganze Gefäß, Stücke im Boden fehlen. Korrosion am Rand und in der Oberfläche in der oberen Gefäßzone. Beige-brauner Ton.

Sphärisch. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, leicht nach innen abgeschrägter Rand.

Sechs senkrechte Streifen, gefüllt mit waagerechten Wellenlinien, überziehen Gefäßkörper und Henkel. Sie münden auf eine Spirale, die vom Mittelpunkt des leicht gewölbten Bodens ausgeht.

Form und Dekor sind entsprechend bei *Corpus* 68 A (SD 39–61), B, M (SD 63), die jedoch nicht so sorgfältig bemalt sind.



98. MM 10 290: H 12, ÄD 18,7, ÖD 7 cm

Leichte Abschürfungen am Rand und an den Henkeln und einige Sprünge in der Gefäßoberfläche. Beige-brauner Ton, stellenweise glänzend.

Unregelmässig sphärisch. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, von denen eine ein Bohrloch an der Unterseite hat; gerader Rand.

Acht senkrechte Streifen, gefüllt mit waagerechten Wellenlinien, überziehen den Gefäßkörper vom Rand aus, zwei davon laufen auch über die Henkel. Die Streifen treffen auf eine Spirale in der Mitte des Bodens. Der Rand ist mit Rhomben bemalt.

Vgl. *Corpus* 68 A (SD 39–61); 68 B; 68 M (SD 63). Zur Politur cf. Lucas, *Materials*<sup>4</sup>, 370 f. und Möller, *Abusir el-Meleq*, 22 und Taf. 12, 35.



9. MM 18843: H 14,8, ÄD 22,1, ÖD 8–8,6 cm

Das Gefäß war ganz in Stücke geschlagen und ist  
jetzt mit Gips und Klebstoff zusammengesetzt  
worden; ein Henkel ist zur Hälfte aus Gips ergänzt.  
Beige-brauner Ton.

Sphärisch. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte  
Ringnuten, gerader Rand.

Zehn senkrechte Streifen, gefüllt mit waagerechten  
Wellenlinien, überziehen Gefäßkörper und Henkel.  
Die Streifen treffen auf eine Spirale in der Mitte der leicht  
gewölbten Bodenfläche auf. Der Rand ist mit zu ihm  
senkrecht stehenden Strichen bemalt.

Vgl. *Corpus* 68 A (SD 39–61), 68 M (SD 63).

100. MM 18876: H 15,3, ÄD 8,7, ÖD 4,1, StD 4,4 cm

Herausschläge im Rand und kleine Verletzungen der  
Gefäßoberfläche. Beige-brauner Ton, stellenweise  
glänzend.

Wellenhenkelgefäß. Zwei deutliche Wellenhenkel,  
runder Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Oberhalb der Henkel ziehen sich drei Abschnitte  
von je sechs waagerechten Wellenlinien um das  
Gefäß, unterhalb der Henkel sind es drei Abschnitte  
zu vierzehn waagerechten Linien, die gegen die drei  
oberen schachbrettartig versetzt sind.

*Corpus* 5 H (SD 62) und 12 D stehen nahe,  
weichen aber im Dekor etwas ab. Zur Politur cf.  
Lucas, *Materials*<sup>4</sup>, 370 f. und Möller, *Abusir el-Meleq*,  
22 und Taf. 12, 35.



101. MM 10 506: H 14,6, ÄD 7,8, ÖD 3,8–4,4, StD 3,5 cm

Herausschläge im Rand, kleine Beschädigungen in der Gefässoberfläche. Beige-brauner Ton.

Wellenhenkelgefäss. Zwei nicht sehr schöne Wellenhenkel, runder Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Zwei Gruppen gewellter waagerechter Linien ziehen sich zwischen den Henkeln hin, über einen Henkel laufen ausserdem drei senkrechte Linien zum Hals. Drei Abschnitte zu je sechs Linien verlaufen um die Gefässmitte, zwei ähnliche um den Fuss, zwischen ihnen drei senkrechte Striche.

Verwandt nach Form und Dekor sind *Corpus 5 H* (SD 62), 12 D und Petrie-Quibell, *Naqada and Ballas*, pl. XXXIII 3.

102. MM 18 877: H 13,3, ÄD 7,7, ÖD 3,8, StD 3,15–3,45 cm

Ein grosser Herausschlag im Rand, korrodierte Gefässoberfläche. Beige-brauner Ton, stellenweise mit hellerem Belag.

Wellenhenkelgefäss. Zwei deutliche Wellenhenkel, runder Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Sieben Streifen waagerechter Wellenlinien umziehen den Gefässkörper in unterschiedlicher Höhe.

Vgl. *Corpus 5 H* (SD 62) und 12 D; Petrie-Quibell, *Naqada and Ballas*, pl. XXXIII 3.



03. MM 13 961: H 23,7, ÄD 14,9, ÖD 8,3–8,5, StD 8,3 cm

wei vom Rand ausgehende Sprünge und drei kleine Reparatursprünge im Gefäßkörper. Rötlicher Ton.

Wellenhenkelgefäß. Das Gefäß hat zwei schöne rechte Wellenhenkel und etwas höher zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen. Runder Rand, etwas unebene Standfläche.

Sechs konzentrische Wellenlinien umziehen den Hals, weitere Wellenlinienabschnitte ziehen sich über den Körper. Runder Rand.

Gefäße mit Wellenhenkeln und Schnurösen finden sich z.B. in *Corpus* Gruppe 2 (nach Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, 17: SD 52, 60–65), jedoch mit abweichendem Dekor. Vgl. auch Garstang, *Mahasna*, pl. XXV 7.

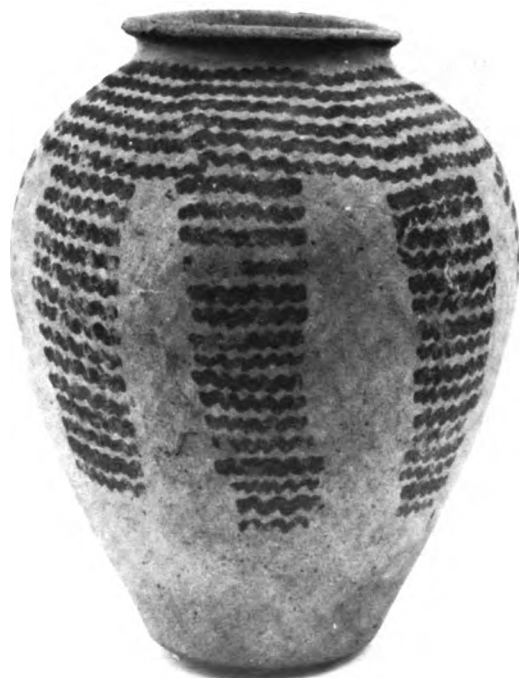
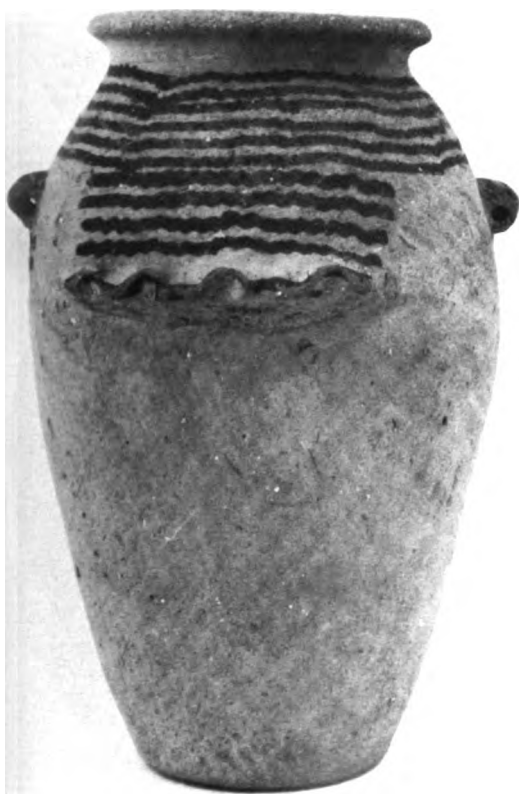
104. MM 11 139: H 22,8, ÄD 18, ÖD 7,4–8,5, StD 8,3 cm

Intakt bis auf Herausschläge im Rand. Beige-brauner Ton.

Länglich-bauchig. Keine Henkel, runder Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Unter dem Rand umziehen sechs waagerechte Wellenlinien den Gefäßkörper. Daran schliessen sich dem Fuss zu acht Abschnitte waagerechter Wellenlinien, drei zu 16, fünf zu 14 Linien, an mit unebenen Zwischenräumen dazwischen.

Die Form steht den 20er Typen des *Corpus* nahe, sie ist nicht so bauchig wie 20 N, aber auch nicht so schlank wie 20 C (SD 75). Der Dekor ähnelt Mond-Myers, *Armant I*, pl. XXV, D 10 g1 (SD 50–63?), der dort jedoch bis zum Fuss herunterreicht.



105. MM 18 787: H 28,3, ÄD 16,1, ÖD 7,5–7,7, StD 5,3 cm

Intakt bis auf leichte Herausschläge im Rand; rauhe, z.T. korrodierte Oberfläche. Grauer Ton.

Länglich. Keine Henkel, abgesetzter, wohl gesondert gedrehter Hals, runder Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Unter dem Hals gibt es vier Abschnitte von je zwölf waagerechten, flüchtig gemalten Wellenlinien mit freiem Raum dazwischen, die etwa ein Drittel des Gefäßkörpers bedecken.

Die Form kommt *Corpus 20 C* nahe (SD 75), der Dekor ist etwas abweichend. Zum gesondert gedrehten Hals cf. Baumgartel, *Predynastic Egypt*, 28 und Mond-Myers, *Armant I*, 167 und 177 ff.

106. MM 10 302: H 15,6, ÄD 13,8, ÖD 5,8, StD 4,8 cm

Intakt bis auf einen Sprung am Fuss. Beige-brauner Ton.

Bauchig. Keine Henkel, deutlich abgesetzter, wohl gesondert gedrehter Hals, runder Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Die obere Hälfte des Gefäßkörpers ist mit zehn verschiedenen breiten Gruppen waagerechter, leicht gewellter Striche in wechselnder Anzahl bemalt. Diese Gruppen sind am Hals z.T. schräg gestellt.

*Corpus 20 M* (SD 62–71). Zum gesondert gedrehten Hals cf. Baumgartel, *Predynastic Egypt*, 28 und Mond-Myers, *Armant I*, 167 und 177 ff.



7. MM 18 813: H 10,5, ÄD 12, ÖD 5 cm

Intakt bis auf Herausschläge im Rand. Rötlicher Ton. Sphärisch. Keine Henkel; der Hals ist deutlich gesetzt und wohl gesondert gedreht; runder Rand. Fünfzehn Gruppen von je drei waagerechten Wellenlinien umgeben in zwei Ringen den oberen Gefäßkörper, z.T. schachbrettartig versetzt.

Diese Form ohne Ösen fehlt im *Corpus*; vgl. abertrie, *Tarkhan II*, pl. XXXI 87 k. Zum gesondert gedrehten Hals cf. Baumgartel, *Predynastic Egypt*, 28 d Mond-Myers, *Armant I*, 167 und 177 ff.



108. MM 11 429: H 17,7, ÄD 18,3, ÖD 7, StD 4,9 cm

Intakt bis auf einige Oberflächenbeschädigungen. Beige-brauner Ton.

Bauchig. Zwei schmale, waagrecht durchbohrte Schnurösen, runder Rand, unebene kleine Standfläche. Der Gefäßkörper ist sehr bauchig und läuft spitz zu.

Drei Abschnitte von je neun Wellenlinien umziehen Hals und Henkel in waagerechter Richtung. Darunter umlaufen fünf entsprechende Abschnitte den Gefäßkörper; alle sind unterschiedlich breit.

Form und Dekor sind nicht genau in dieser Art belegt, kommen jedoch *Corpus* 12 B (SD 41-64) am nächsten.



109. MM 18 788: H 46,2, ÄD 31,6, ÖD 8,6–8,8 cm

Intakt bis auf Sprünge und kleinere Unregelmässigkeiten in der Gefässoberfläche. Hellgrauer Ton, stellenweise rötlich.

Ovoid. Keine Henkel; scharf abgesetzter, wohl gesondert gedrehter Hals, runder Rand, spitz zulaufender gerundeter Boden.

Drei Abschnitte von je zehn waagerechten Wellenlinien umziehen die Schulter. Zwei „pot-marks“ sind eingeritzt: ein grosses auf dem Gefässkörper und ein kleines unterhalb des Randes.

Vgl. Scharff, *Altertümer I*, Taf. 34, Nr. 342 und S. 155: Form und Ton sind typisch für Petries Gruppe „Late“ (cf. *Corpus* pl. 49, Nr. 47 A). Zu den „pot-marks“: Petrie, *Diospolis parva*, 29; Baumgartel, *Cultures I*, 33. Listen in: Petrie, *Diospolis parva*, pl. XX–XXIII: die Gruppe 130–161 steht dem x unterhalb des Randes nahe, Nr. 186 der Marke auf dem Gefässkörper; Petrie, *Tarkhan II*, pl. XX–XXI (SD 80–81); Brunton, *Mostagedda*, pl. XXXVIII und p. 85; Randall-Maciver/Mace, *El Amrah*, pl. XVII; Brunton, *Matmar*, pl. XXII und p. 18; Brunton/Caton-Thompson, *Badarian Civilisation*, pl. LIV f. und p. 55: Einritzungen vor dem Brennen sollen sich auf den Hersteller, nach dem Brennen auf den Besitzer beziehen. Zum gesondert gedrehten Hals cf. Baumgartel, *Predynastic Egypt*, 28 und Mond-Myers, *Arman I*, 167 und 177 ff.



110. MM 18 812: H 17,8, ÄD 15,6, ÖD 8,2–9,3, SD 8 cm. Deckel: H 4,4, D 9,4 cm

Ein grosses Stück des Gefässkörpers, das herausgebrochen war, ist modern geklebt; kleine Beschädigungen am Rand. Rötliche Oberfläche mit helleren Flecken, die wohl Reste eines Überzuges sind.

Deckelgefäss. Keine Henkel; kein äusserer Rand, sondern eine innere Kante mit vier Durchbohrungen, eine davon aufgeschlagen. Durch diese Löcher und durch in der Spitze des Deckels wurden Schnüre zur Befestigung des Deckels gezogen. Dieser ist von kegelförmiger Gestalt und innen hohl.

Die obere Hälfte des Gefässkörpers ist mit breiten horizontalen Streifen von je fünf Wellenlinien bemalt.

Der Form nach stehen *Corpus* 20 B und Brunton/Caton-Thompson, *Badarian Civilisation*, pl. XXXIX, 20 b2 und 20 b3 (SD 78) nahe, die jedoch im Dekor abweichen; vgl. auch Brunton, *Matmar*, pl. XXI & das undekoriert ist. Zum Überzug cf. Lucas, *Materials*<sup>4</sup>, 383 und die dort zitierte Literatur.





1. MM 18814: H 14, ÄD 13,7, ÖD 4,4, StD 6,9 cm

Intakt bis auf einen Herausschlag im Rand. Hellbrauer Ton mit rötlichen Flecken.

Bauchig. Keine Henkel. Der lange eingezogene Hals ist dem nach aussen umgebogenen runden Rand hinten gesondert gedreht und eingesetzt zu sein. Masse, etwas unebene Standfläche.

Vier konzentrische Wellenbänder umziehen den Gefässkörper. Eine Einritzung unten am Gefässkörper könnte möglicherweise ein „pot-mark“ sein. Dieser Typ scheint sonst nicht belegt zu sein.

Zur Gefässform vgl. Petrie, *Tarkhan II*, pl. XXXI s (SD 78) und Brunton, *Qau and Badari I*, pl. XV

E2, die jedoch undekoriert sind; zur spätem Tierung: Scharff, *Altertümer I*, 143 und Baumgartel, *Kulturen I*, 88; zum Gefäss mit gesondert gedrehtem Hals: Baumgartel, *Predynastic Egypt*, 28 und Mondeners, *Armant I*, 167 u. 177 ff. Zu den „pot-marks“ vgl. die Literatur bei Kat.nr. 109.

112. MM 18815: H 7,3, ÄD 8,2, ÖD 3,5 cm

Intakt bis auf einen Herausschlag im Rand. Beige-brauner Ton.

Sphärisch. Die zwei ziemlich kleinen Henkel sind senkrecht durchbohrt und liegen nicht genau auf dem Gefässdurchmesser. Runder Rand.

Ein waagerechtes Band von drei Wellenlinien umläuft das Gefäss zwischen dem Rand und den Henkeln, ein zweites unterhalb der Henkel. Vier Gruppen von je drei Strichen sind auf den Rand gemalt.

Die sphärische Form ist geläufig, jedoch mit senkrecht durchbohrten Henkeln und diesem Dekor im *Corpus* nicht belegt. Vgl. sonst z.B. 9 G (SD 33–63).



113. MM 11 083: H 6,2, ÄD 8,2, ÖD 6,5, StD 7,4 cm

Leichte Beschädigungen am Rand. Beige-brauner Ton.

Niedriger Becher. Keine Henkel, rund nach aussen umgebogener unregelmässiger Rand, etwas unebener Boden.

Acht Gruppen zu je vier Wellenlinien bedecken den ganzen Gefässkörper schachbrettartig.

Vgl. Petrie, *Tarkhan II*, pl. XXXI 91 r (SD 77), das auch Gruppen von Wellenlinien, jedoch nicht schachbrettartig versetzt, aufweist. Früher abgebildet in Wängstedt, *Egyptiskt konsthantverk*, Abb. auf S. 3.



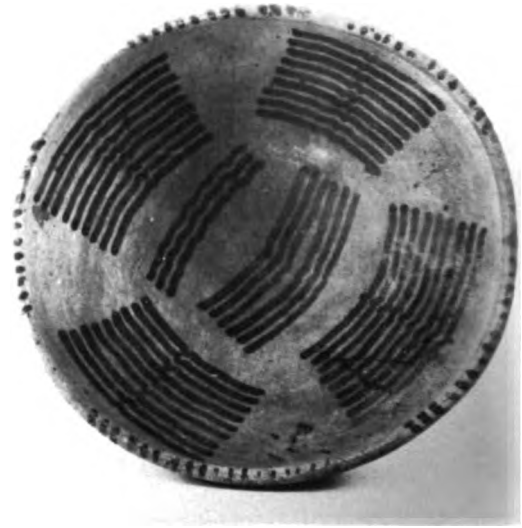
114. MM 18 836: H 7,2, ÄD 18,6, ÖD 17, StD 4,9 cm

Intakt. Hellgrauer Ton, stellenweise rötlich.

Offene Schale. Aussen markierter runder Rand, unebener Boden.

Aussendekör: Fünf Abschnitte von je sechs waagerechten Wellenlinien umziehen den Rand. Innendekör: Vier Abschnitte von je neun waagerechten, in der Mitte nach oben geknickten Linien finden sich am Rand, Gruppen von drei und sechs Wellenlinien in der Mitte. Der Rand trägt Gruppen von Strichen.

Die Form kommt *Corpus 79 M* (nach Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, 21: SD 60 und später) am nächsten, bei dem die Wellenlinien jedoch senkrecht, nicht parallel zum Rand verlaufen. Die Form ist häufig in Negade I, aber nur selten in Negade II belegt.



15. MM 11091: H 15,7, ÄD 13,3, ÖD 7,9, StD 6,6 cm

Intakt bis auf einen Sprung. Rötlicher Ton.

Deckelgefäß. Keine Henkel. Kein äusserer Rand, dagegen eine innere Kante mit vier Durchbohrungen im Anbringen eines Deckels, der nicht erhalten ist.

Die obere Hälfte des Gefässkörpers ist mit verteilten Gruppen von je drei waagerechten Wellenlinien flüchtig bemalt.

Die Form gleicht *Corpus* 20 B, das jedoch senkrechte und waagerechte Wellenlinien aufweist. Vgl. auch Brunton/Caton-Thompson, *Badarian Civilisation*, pl. XXXIX 20 b2 und 20 b3 (SD 78), die aber ebenfalls im Dekor abweichen, und Brunton, *Matmar*, pl. XXI 8, das undekoriert ist.

116. MM 10300: H 24,6, ÄD 20,3, ÖD 7,3, StD 6,5 cm

Ein Herausschlag im Rand, Unebenheiten in der Gefäßoberfläche. Hellgrauer Ton mit einem grossen rötlichen Fleck.

Bauchig. Keine Henkel, leicht abgesetzter, vielleicht gesondert gedrehter Hals, runder Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Waagerechte kurze dicke Striche sind vom Hals bis etwa zur weitesten Stelle aufgemalt.

*Corpus* 66 B (SD 69, 75) kommt am nächsten. Zum gesondert gedrehten Hals cf. Baumgartel, *Predynastic Egypt*, 28 und Mond-Myers, *Armant I*, 167 und 177 ff.



117. MM 18 798: H 23,6, ÄD 20,1, ÖD 7,3–7,6, StD 6,4–6,7 cm

Je ein Herausschlag im Rand, in der Gefäßoberfläche und in der Standfläche. Vier moderne Klebungen in der Standfläche. Beige-brauner Ton.

Bauchig. Keine Henkel, deutlich abgesetzter, vielleicht gesondert gedrehter Hals, runder Rand, sehr unebene Standfläche.

Kurze leicht gebogene Striche bedecken in waagerechter Richtung den Gefäßkörper vom Hals bis etwas über die Mitte hinaus.

*Corpus* 66 B (SD 69, 75) kommt am nächsten, ist aber etwas unregelmässiger im Dekor. Zum gesondert gedrehten Hals cf. Baumgartel, *Predynastic Egypt*, 28 und Mond-Myers, *Armant I*, 167 und 177 ff.

118. MM 18 801: H 16,5, ÄD 13, ÖD 5,6–5,8, StD 6 cm

Intakt. Roter Ton.

Bauchig. Keine Henkel, langer abgesetzter, wohl gesondert gedrehter Hals, runder Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Bogenförmige Striche in waagerechter Richtung und unregelmässiger Anordnung bedecken den Gefäßkörper.

Am nächsten steht *Corpus* 66 K (SD 70?), dessen Hals jedoch nicht so lang ist. Zum gesondert gedrehten Hals cf. Baumgartel, *Predynastic Egypt*, 28 und Mond-Myers, *Armant I*, 167 und 177 ff.



19. MM 10 304: H 12,9, ÄD 12,6, ÖD 5,45–5,9, StD 8 cm

Intakt. Grauer Ton, stellenweise etwas glänzend. Bauchig. Keine Henkel, runder unregelmässiger Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Unregelmässige bogenförmige und kommaartige Ritzungen bedecken den Gefässkörper.

*Corpus* 66 C, nach Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, 17: SD 69. Zur Politur cf. Lucas, *Materials*<sup>4</sup>, 370 f. v. Möller, *Abusir el-Meleq*, 22 und Taf. 12, 35.

120. MM 18 849: H 20, ÄD 18,5, ÖD 7,7, StD 6,9 cm

Intakt. Ziemlich korrodierter Rand. Der helle Überzug, auf den die Bemalung aufgetragen ist, ist z.T. abgesprungen. Beige-brauner Ton.

Bauchig. Keine Henkel, abgesetzter vielleicht gesondert gedrehter Hals, runder Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Unterhalb des Randes umgeben fünf waagerechte Streifen von je vierzehn Wellenlinien das Gefäss, die durch fünf Bänder je zweier senkrechter Wellenlinien von einander getrennt sind. Der Dekor reicht etwa bis zur weitesten Ausbuchtung des Gefässkörpers.

Der Form nach ist *Corpus* 20 N entsprechend, das im Dekor jedoch abweicht. Zum Überzug cf. Lucas, *Materials*<sup>4</sup>, 383 und die dort zitierte Literatur. Zum gesondert gedrehten Hals cf. Baumgartel, *Predynastic Egypt*, 28 und Mond-Myers, *Armant* I, 167 und 177 ff.



121. MM 18 842: H 19,2, ÄD 17,5, ÖD 4,9, StD 5,9 cm

Intakt bis auf Herausschläge im Rand. Beige-brauner Ton.

Bauchig. Keine Henkel, abgesetzter, vielleicht gesondert gedrehter Hals, runder Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Unterhalb des Randes umgeben fünf Bänder von je neun waagerechten Linien das Gefäß, zwischen die fünf Bänder von je drei senkrechten eingeschoben sind. Die Senkrechten werden nach einem freien Zwischenraum von drei waagerechten Strichen geschnitten, wobei ein Karomuster entsteht. Der untere Abschnitt des Gefäßes und die Standfläche sind unbemalt.

Die Form kommt *Corpus* 20 N sehr nahe, das jedoch im Dekor nicht so durchgearbeitet ist; stärker noch durchkomponiert als das hier behandelte Stück ist 21 M, vgl. auch Petrie, *Diospolis parva*, pl. XV 21 b. Zum gesondert gedrehten Hals cf. Baumgartel, *Prädynastic Egypt*, 28 und Mond-Myers, *Armant I*, 167 und 177 ff.



122. MM 18 832: H 15,5, ÄD 17,1, ÖD 6,6–7,1 cm

Intakt; stellenweise etwas korrodierte Gefäßoberfläche. Hellgrauer Ton, stellenweise rötlich.

Sphärisch. Keine Henkel. Der Hals und der unregelmässig runde Rand könnten gesondert gedreht sein.

Sechs Gruppen zu je vier senkrechten Wellenlinien laufen vom Hals aus dem gerundeten Boden zu.

Das Gefäß gehört zu *Corpus* 26 G, 27 F und G, die jedoch einen geraden Boden haben. Unten abgerundet, aber leicht abweichend im Dekor ist 26 M. Zum gesondert gedrehten Hals cf. Baumgartel, *Prädynastic Egypt*, 28 und Mond-Myers, *Armant I*, 167 und 177 ff.



3. MM 18 830: H 14,4, ÄD 13,5, ÖD 6-6,2, StD 3 cm

Intakt bis auf Sprünge im Rand und Unregelmässigkeiten in der Gefässoberfläche. Grauer Ton.

Bauchig. Keine Henkel, abgesetzter, vielleicht sonderter gedrehter Hals, runder unregelmässiger Mund mit zu ihm senkrecht stehenden Einritzungen, ebene Standfläche.

Neun Gruppen von je drei senkrechten Wellenlinien laufen in unregelmässigem Abstand vom Hals gegen die Standfläche des Gefässes.

Vgl. *Corpus* 26 G, 27 F und G. Zum gesondert gedrehten Hals cf. Baumgartel, *Predynastic Egypt*, 28 und Mond-Myers, *Armant* I, 167 und 177 ff.

124. MM 18 834: H 13, ÄD 14, ÖD 5,1, StD 5,7 cm

Intakt. Beige-brauner Ton.

Bauchig. Keine Henkel, runder Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Fünf Gruppen von je vier senkrechten Linien laufen vom Hals gegen die Standfläche des Gefässes, wo sie in unterschiedlicher Höhe enden.

Vgl. *Corpus* 26 G, 27 F und G; auch Scharff, *Altertümer* I, Nr. 343.



125. MM 18 837: H 18,8, ÄD 16, ÖD 4,6 cm

Hals und Rand sind grossenteils abgeschlagen; stellenweise korrodierte Gefässoberfläche. Hellgrauer Ton, anscheinend mit Überzug.

Ovoid. Keine Henkel, abgesetzter, vielleicht gesondert gedrehter Hals, runder Rand mit zu ihm senkrecht stehenden Einritzungen.

Fünf Streifen von je vier senkrechten durchgehenden oder unterbrochenen Wellenlinien laufen vom Hals gegen den gerundeten Boden.

Form und Dekor kommen *Corpus* 26 A (SD 74) am nächsten, das aber wohl grösser ist. Zum Überzug cf. Lucas, *Materials*<sup>4</sup>, 383 und die dort zitierte Literatur. Zum gesondert gedrehten Hals cf. Baumgartel, *Predynastic Egypt*, 28 und Mond-Myers, *Armant I*, 167 und 177 ff.



126. MM 18 800: H 16,1, ÄD 15,1, ÖD 6,6, StD 6,8 cm

Intakt; z.T. korrodierte Oberfläche. Hellgrauer Ton, stellenweise rötlich, anscheinend mit Überzug.

Bauchig. Keine Henkel; der Hals mitsamt dem runden Rand könnte gesondert gedreht sein; unebene Standfläche.

Gruppen von je drei senkrechten Wellenlinien wechseln mit Abschnitten von je drei kurzen senkrechten Strichen ab.

Der Form und dem Dekor nach sind *Corpus* 24 A (SD 61–63), 26 G, 27 F und G sehr ähnlich. Zum gesondert gedrehten Hals cf. Baumgartel, *Predynastic Egypt*, 28 und Mond-Myers, *Armant I*, 167 und 177 ff. Zum Überzug cf. Lucas, *Materials*<sup>4</sup>, 383 und die dort zitierte Literatur.





27. MM 18829: H 13,4, ÄD 12,2, ÖD 5,5, StD 4,1 cm

Intakt. Beige-brauner Ton.

Bauchig. Keine Henkel. Der Hals und der runde Rand sind wohl gesondert gedreht. Unebene Standfläche.

Vom Hals aus laufen vier Streifen von je vier senkrechten Wellenlinien, sich abwechselnd mit vier reifen kurzer senkrechter gebrochener Striche, gegen den Fuss.

Vgl. *Corpus* 24 A (SD 61–63), 26 G, 27 F und G. Im gesondert gedrehten Hals cf. Baumgartel, *Prä-historic Egypt*, 28 und Mond-Myers, *Armant I*, 167 und 177 ff.

128. MM 18839: H 21,9, ÄD 18,5, ÖD 7,6–8,4, StD 6,2 cm

Der Rand ist zu etwa einem Drittel abgeschlagen. Rötlicher Ton mit hellgrauem Überzug.

Bauchig. Keine Henkel, runder Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Insgesamt vierzehn Streifen von je drei senkrechten durchgehenden und unterbrochenen Wellenlinien wechseln mit einander ab. Sie beginnen am Hals und enden in unterschiedlicher Höhe in der Mitte bzw. im unteren Drittel des Gefäßkörpers.

Vgl. *Corpus* 24 A (SD 61–63). Zum Überzug cf. Lucas, *Materials*<sup>4</sup>, 383 und die dort zitierte Literatur.



129. MM 10314: H 12,7, ÄD 17,2, ÖD 7,9–8,4, StD 9,1 cm

Intakt, jedoch Korrosion am Rand und an einigen Stellen der Gefäßoberfläche; Sprünge. Rötlicher Ton, stellenweise glänzend.

Wellenhenkelgefäß. Zwei fast gerade Wellenhenkel, die nicht genau auf dem Gefäßdurchmesser liegen. Gerader Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Der ganze Gefäßkörper ist bedeckt mit senkrechten Streifen von je vier Wellenlinien abwechselnd mit Streifen, in denen vier senkrechte Striche mit Zwischenräumen alternieren.

Dekorierte Ware mit Wellenhenkeln ist gut bekannt: cf. *Corpus* 2 N (nach Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, 17: etwa SD 60–65), 12 D, vielfach mit zusätzlichen Schnurösen: 2 D, K, S. Jedoch scheint kein ähnlich breites, flaches und so dekoriertes Gefäß sonst bekannt zu sein. Zur Politur cf. Lucas, *Materials*<sup>4</sup>, 370 f. und Möller, *Abusir el-Meleq*, 22 und Taf. 12, 35.

130. MM 10299: H 15,5, ÄD 14, ÖD 5,1–5,2, StD 4 cm

Intakt, z.T. etwas korrodierte Oberfläche; hellgrauer Ton, stellenweise leicht rötlich.

Bauchig. Keine Henkel, deutlich abgesetzter, wohl gesondert gedrehter Hals, runder Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Dreiergruppen kürzerer und längerer senkrechter Striche bedecken das Gefäß vom Hals bis über die Mitte hinaus.

*Corpus* 26 G kommt am nächsten. Zum gesondert gedrehten Hals cf. Baumgartel, *Predynastic Egypt*, 28 und Mond-Myers, *Armant I*, 167 und 177 ff.



31. MM 18 807: H 34,3, ÄD 28,4, ÖD 9,7, StD 7,4 cm

Das ganze Gefäß war zerbrochen und ist modern  
geklebt, eine Scherbe fehlt. Roter Ton mit grauem  
Umschlag.

Bauchig. Keine Henkel, runder Rand, unebene  
Oberflächenfläche.

Der Gefäßkörper ist mit Dreiergruppen flüchtiger  
senkrechter Striche bemalt.

*Corpus* 26 B kommt am nächsten, ist aber schlanker.

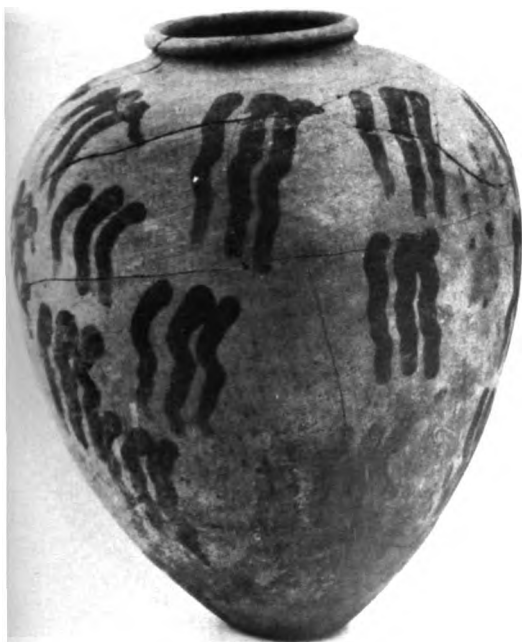
132. MM 18 802: H 19,2, ÄD 17,7, ÖD 6,85, StD  
5,75 cm

Intakt bis auf Sprünge in den Henkeln; stellenweise  
etwas unebene Gefäßoberfläche. Beige-brauner bis  
rötlicher Ton.

Bauchig. Zwei breite waagerechte Henkel, jeder mit  
zwei senkrechten Durchbohrungen; scharf abgesetzter,  
wohl gesondert gedrehter Hals, runder Rand.

Vom Hals aus verlaufen viele senkrechte Linien  
gegen den Fuss, deren Zwischenräume mit schwachen  
dünnen Schrägstrichen ausgefüllt sind.

Die vasenförmige Gestalt ist gut bekannt, cf. *Corpus*  
12, 26, 27, senkrecht durchbohrte Henkel und der  
Dekor scheinen jedoch sonst nicht belegt zu sein.  
Zum gesondert gedrehten Hals cf. Baumgartel,  
*Predynastic Egypt*, 28 und Mond-Myers, *Armant I*,  
167 und 177 ff.



133. MM 18 795: H 23, ÄD 19,3, ÖD 7,2–7,6, StD 6,2 cm

Intakt; Unregelmässigkeiten in der Gefässoberfläche. Rötlicher Ton mit hellerem Überzug.

Bauchig. Keine Henkel, deutlich abgesetzter, vielleicht gesondert gedrehter Hals, runder Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Sechs senkrechte Streifen von je drei unterbrochenen Linien gehen vom Hals bis zur Standfläche.

*Corpus* 26 G. Zum Überzug cf. Lucas, *Materials*<sup>4</sup>, 383 und die dort zitierte Literatur. Zum gesondert gedrehten Hals cf. Baumgartel, *Predynastic Egypt*, 28 und Mond-Myers, *Armant* I, 167 und 177 ff.

134. MM 18 799: H 13,8, ÄD 14,6, ÖD 6,15–6,5, StD 6,3 cm

Intakt; z.T. korrodierte Oberfläche. Rötlicher Ton mit stellenweise weiss-grauem Belag.

Bauchig. Keine Henkel, deutlich abgesetzter, wohl gesondert gedrehter Hals, runder Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Kurze senkrechte Striche in Dreiergruppen umziehen in zwei Reihen übereinander den Gefässkörper.

Vgl. *Corpus* 26G. Zum gesondert gedrehten Hals cf. Baumgartel, *Predynastic Egypt*, 28 und Mond-Myers, *Armant* I, 167 und 177 ff.



135. MM 10 292: H 18,5, ÄD 16, ÖD 5,9-6,15, StD 6 cm

takt; etwas unebene Oberfläche; hellgrauer Ton.

Bauchig. Keine Henkel; deutlich abgesetzter, wohl besonders gedrehter Hals, runder Rand, unebene Standfläche.

Der Gefässkörper ist mit vielen kurzen senkrechten Strichen unregelmässig bemalt.

*Corpus* 26 G, das jedoch regelmässiger im Dekor ist. Um besonders gedrehten Hals cf. Baumgartel, *Prä-historische Egypt*, 28 und Mond-Myers, *Armant I*, 167 und 177 ff.

136. MM 10 281: H 17,5, ÄD 11, ÖD 6,1-6,3, StD 6,6 cm

Das ganze Gefäss war in Stücke zerschlagen und ist modern zusammengeklebt. Beige-brauner Ton, stellenweise etwas glänzend.

Wellenhenkelgefäss. Zwei nicht sehr schöne Wellenhenkel, nach aussen umgebogener Rand, grosse unebene Standfläche.

Den Raum zwischen Rand und Henkeln nehmen sechs waagerechte Wellenkreise ein. Darauf folgt eine Bergreihe, die auf einer Wellenlinie steht, während sehr klein gezeichnete Wellenlinien über die Henkel laufen. Darunter umzieht eine Bergreihe das ganze Gefäss, woran sich drei Abschnitte zu je acht in der Mitte nach oben geknickten Linien anschliessen.

Dem Dekor nach steht die Gruppe *Corpus* 59 nahe, bei der jedoch kein Wellenhenkelgefäss belegt ist. Zur Politur cf. Lucas, *Materials*<sup>4</sup>, 370 f. und Möller, *Abusir el-Meleq*, 22 und Taf. 12, 35. Früher abgebildet in L. Lundkvist-Husberg/H. Lundkvist, *Keramik som hobby*, S. 10.





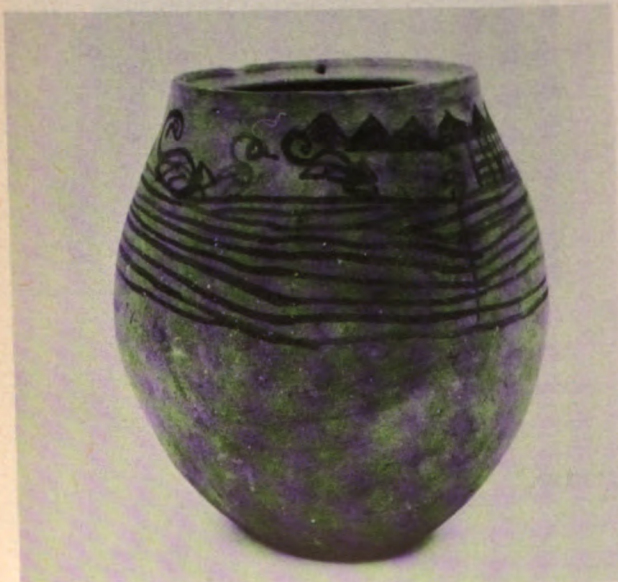
137. MM 18 808: H 19,8, ÄD 19, ÖD 9,5–9,7, StD 9,1–9,4 cm

Intakt bis auf kleine Beschädigungen im Rand und in der Gefäßoberfläche. Rötlicher Ton.

Deckelgefäß, dessen Deckel nicht erhalten ist. Nach innen vertiefter Rand mit vier Bohrlöchern, die zur Befestigung des Deckels dienten. Keine Henkel, unebene Standfläche.

Der Gefässkörper ist vom Rand bis etwa zur weitesten Ausbuchtung dekoriert. Unmittelbar unter dem Rand umzieht eine Reihe von sog. Bergen das Gefäß, die jedoch von vier merkwürdigen aus verschlungenen Linien bestehenden Gebilden unterbrochen wird. Was diese darstellen, ist nicht zu bestimmen; es gibt keine Parallele zu ihnen. Darunter umgibt ein Band sehr unsicher und flüchtig gezeichneter Linien den Gefässkörper. An einer Stelle ist noch ein Gittermuster zwischen die Berge und die Linien eingefügt. Dieser merkwürdige Dekor könnte eine Fälschung sein.

Die Form ist wohlbekannt, cf.: *Corpus* 20 B; Brunton/Caton-Thompson, *Badarian Civilisation*, pl. XXXIX 20 b2 und 20 b3; Brunton, *Matmar*, pl. XXI 8. Ähnlicher, jedoch viel sorgfältigerer Dekor findet sich: Brunton, *Mostagedda*, pl. XXXII, Nr. 1652; Petrie-Quibell, *Naqada and Ballas*, pl. XXXIV, 59; Scharff, *Altertümer I*, Taf. 15, Nr. 346, Taf. 34, Nr. 346 A; Petrie, *Diospolis parva*, pl. XVI, 59 e; in allen diesen Fällen ist jedoch die Form abweichend. Zu modernen Malereien auf antiken Gefässen cf. Brunton, *Modern Painting on Predynastic Pots*.



138. MM 11 120: H 12,8, ÄD 5,4, ÖD 4,4–4,5, StD 3,35–3,5 cm

Grosse herausgeschlagene Stücke sind modern festgeklebt. Stark korrodierte Gefäßoberfläche. Rötlicher Ton mit hellerem Belag.

Herzförmig-längliche Negade I-Form. Leicht nach aussen abgeschrägter Rand, zwei ziemlich breite waagerechte Henkel, die jedoch senkrecht durchbohrt sind, unebene grosse Standfläche.

Der Gefässkörper war anscheinend ganz mit senkrechten Strichen, die regelmässige Seitenzweige aufweisen, bemalt. Es handelt sich dabei um einen Pflanzendekor, wie er von Negade I-Gefässen der Gruppe „White cross-lined“ gut bekannt ist, jedoch nur ausnahmsweise bei „Decorated“ vorkommt. Auch die schlanke Gefässform mit grosser Öffnung ist für Negade II ungewöhnlich. Auf der Standfläche befinden sich Reste von Kreislinien.

Vgl. an Negade I-Gefässen: *Corpus* C 41, 42 D ff., 50, 69, 76 H, 96 L, 100 M, an dekorierten Waren *Corpus* D 78 D.





140. MM 18 723: H 11,2, ÄD 8, ÖD 4-4,1, StD 2,5 cm

Das Gefäss war in mehrere grosse Stücke zerschlagen und ist modern zusammengeklebt, ein Loch ist mit Gips ausgefüllt. Herausschläge im Rand. Beige-brauner Ton.

Herzförmig. Gerader Rand, zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, unebene Standfläche.

Der Rand trägt Reste einer aufgemalten Kreislinie. Von ihm aus und bis über die Henkel laufen je fünf waagerechte Wellenlinien. Die zwei Hauptansichten sind von je einer grossen Aloe ausgefüllt. Auf der einen Seite ist darüber ein Baum und eine waagerechte Reihe von acht Z eingefügt, auf der anderen Seite eine entsprechende Reihe von 11 Z und eine senkrechte Reihe von mindestens neun N. Um den Fuss ziehen sich drei waagerechte Wellenkreise, ein vierter ist auf die Standfläche gemalt.

*Corpus* 36 A (SD 40, 54) und G sind sehr ähnlich nach Form und Dekor. Zur Aloe resp. Banane cf. Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, 18; Vandier, *Manuel* I 334 ff.; Baumann, Bemerkungen zur kultisch-mythischen Bedeutung der Aloe in Afrika; Laurent-Täckholm, *The Plant of Naqada*; Larsen, *On a Detail of the Naqada Plant*. Zum Baum: Keimer, *Pendeloques en forme d'insectes*.



141. MM 10 308: H 19,3, ÄD 14,8, ÖD 7,7-7,8, StD 4,5 cm

Beschädigungen am Rand, Unregelmässigkeiten in der Gefässoberfläche. Beige-brauner Ton.

Herzförmig. Gerader Rand, zwei breite, waagerecht durchbohrte Schnurösen, unebene Standfläche.

Zwei konzentrische Wellenlinien sind auf den Rand gemalt, waagerechte Wellenlinien ziehen sich vom Rand bis über die Henkel. Die zwei Hauptansichten sind mit je einer grossen Aloe bemalt, einm ist zum Rand hin eine schräge Reihe von seitenverkehrten N eingefügt. Unter jeden Henkel ist ein Baum und eine senkrechte Reihe von seitenverkehrten N gemalt. Die Standfläche trägt eine Spirale, die sich bis um den Fuss herumzieht.

*Corpus* 36 D (SD 48) und G stehen nahe, auch Mond-Myers, *Armant* I pl. XXV 36 a1 (SD 42-59). Zur Aloe resp. Banane cf. Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt* 18; Vandier, *Manuel* I 334 ff.; Baumann, Bemerkungen zur kultisch-mythischen Bedeutung der Aloe in Afrika. Laurent-Täckholm, *The Plant of Naqada*; Larsen, *On a Detail of the Naqada Plant*. Zum Baum: Keimer, *Pendeloques en forme d'insectes*.





142. MM 10974: H 9,8, ÄD 6,5, ÖD 3,5–3,6, StD 1,5 cm

Herausschläge im Rand, stellenweise stark korrodierte Gefäßoberfläche. Rötlicher Ton, stellenweise etwas glänzend.

Herzförmig. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, gerader Rand, unebene fast spitze Standfläche.

Der Rand trägt Farbspuren. Um den Hals sind drei waagerechte Wellenkreise gemalt, von denen der unterste die Henkel überzieht, die eine weitere Wellenlinie tragen. Um den Gefäßkörper ziehen sich anschließend in senkrechter Richtung eine Reihe Berge, eine Reihe Flamingos, noch eine Reihe Berge und fünf Wellenkreise.

Nach Form und Dekor – dieser jedoch in etwas abweichender Reihenfolge – stehen *Corpus* 53 B (SD 60) und 53 B2 (SD 63) nahe. Zur Politur cf. Lucas, *Materials*<sup>4</sup>, 370 f. und Möller, *Abusir el-Meleq*, 22 und Taf. 12, 35. Früher abgebildet im Ausstellungskatalog des Medelhavsmuseet *Vägen till evigheten*, Abb. 1.



143. MM 10316: H 22, ÄD 23,7, ÖD 9,8–10,7, StD 7,1–7,3 cm

Intakt. Stellenweise etwas unebene Oberfläche. Beige-brauner Ton, glänzend.

Bauchig. Runder Rand, drei schmale, waagrecht durchbohrte Schnurösen, unebene Standfläche.

Vom Rand aus sind zwischen die Ösen dreimal halbkreisförmige konzentrische Wellenlinien gemalt;

ein Wellenkreis umzieht auch den Hals. Nach unten schliesst sich ein waagerechter Zug von Flamingos an, der an einer Stelle von vier, an einer anderen von fünf Bergen unterbrochen wird. Das Gefäss ist bis zur weitesten Ausbuchtung bemalt.

*Corpus* 50 (SD 46–53) und 51 M sind ähnlich. Zur Politur cf. Lucas, *Materials*<sup>4</sup>, 370 f. und Möller. *Abusir el-Meleq*, 22 und Taf. 12, 35. Früher abgebildet in *Egyptiska museet Stockholm*, Taf. 1 rechts.



144. MME 1969:97: H 11,5, ÄD 9,7, ÖD 4,4–4,5, StD 3,2 cm

Beschädigungen am Rand und an einem Henkel. Unregelmässigkeiten in der Gefässoberfläche. Gipsreparaturen an einem Schiffsheck. Beige-brauner Ton, stellenweise glänzend.

Herzförmig. Gerader Rand, zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, unebene Standfläche.

Der Rand trägt Spuren eines Wellenmusters. Ein Rhombendekor ist auf die Henkel gemalt, auf einer Seite zudem zwei waagerechte Wellenlinien zwischen Henkel und Hals, auf der anderen Seite zwei senkrechte, die neben dem Henkel enden. Die zwei Hauptansichtsflächen tragen je ein grosses vielrudriges Schiff mit einfachem Zweig am Bug, zwei Kabinen und einer Standarte unidentifizierten Typs. Über eins der Schiffe sind mindestens zwei seitenverkehrte N gemalt. Die Standfläche bedeckt eine Spirale, die bis auf den Fuss hinaufreicht. Unter die Boote sind je zwei waagerechte, zwischen Henkel und Fuss je zwei senkrechte Wellenlinien eingefügt.

Der Schiffstyp entspricht in allen Einzelheiten *Corpus* 41 D, das jedoch noch weitere Dekormotive aufweist und schlanker und höher ist. Zum Zweig: Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, 19: *single branch before* 46. Standarte: *ibid.* pl. XXIII Nr. 24: *early-middle*, SD 52. Zur Politur cf. Lucas, *Materials*<sup>4</sup>, 370 f. und Möller, *Abusir el-Meleq*, 22 und Taf. 12, 35.



145. MM 18 724: H 8,6, ÄD 6,8, ÖD 2,4–2,5, StD 2,6 cm

Intakt bis auf Herausschläge im Rand; z.T. unregelmässige Gefässoberfläche. Rötlicher Ton.

Herzförmig. Gerader Rand, zwei breite waagerechte angebohrte Schnurösen, unebene Standfläche.

Rand und Henkel tragen eine Bemalung von senkrecht stehenden Strichen. Auf dem Gefässkörper zwischen den Henkeln befindet sich auf jeder Seite ein Schiff mit vielen Rudern, zwei Kabinen, zwei Zweigen, die in halbkreisförmigen Gebilden enden, am Bug und einer Standarte mit Hörnern. In den Zwischenraum unter den Henkeln ist jeweils ein fächerförmiges Gebilde, das wohl als Baum anzusehen ist, eingefügt.

*Corpus 41 A (SD 51–63)* steht nahe, jedoch sind die Zweige am Bug nicht so schematisch gezeichnet. Sie gehören zu Petries Kategorie „*double branch, before SD 46–50*“ (*Prehistoric Egypt*, 19). Die Standarte steht *ibid.* pl. XXIII Nr. 5 (SD 50, 52, 53, *early-middle ship type*) und 6 (*early ship type*) nahe, weist jedoch noch mehr Bänder am Schaft auf. Zum Baum: Keimer, Pendeloques en forme d'insectes.

146. MM 10 277: H 7,2 (beide), ÄD 6 (beide), ÖD 2,7 (eins, das andere ist im Rand ergänzt), StD 1,6 cm (beide)

Das eine Gefäss dieses Zwillingsgefässes ist ganz erhalten bis auf Beschädigungen am Rand; das andere hat eine grosse moderne Ergänzung im oberen Gefässkörper und Rand. Die Oberfläche ist so korrodiert, dass von der Bemalung nur noch Spuren auf dem intakten Gefäss zu sehen sind. Beige-brauner Ton.

Herzförmig. Gerader Rand, je eine breite waagerechte angebohrte Schnuröse, unebene fast spitze Standfläche.

Vom Dekor sind noch Spuren je eines Schiffes auf der Vorder- und Rückseite des intakten Gefässes zu sehen. Unter der Schnuröse ist ein Baum eingefügt. Das eine Schiff trägt eine Standarte mit zwei Bergen.

Zum Gefässtyp vgl. *Corpus 47 M*, zum Dekor in etwa 40 M, 43 K. Zum Baum: Keimer, Pendeloques en forme d'insectes. Die Standarte entspricht Petrie. *Prehistoric Egypt*, pl. XXIII nr. 18 (SD 46–53) „*early ship type*“.



47. MM 11 123: H 9,3, ÄD 6,8, ÖD 2,6, StD 3,3 cm

eschädigungen am Rand und an einem Henkel.  
eige-brauner Ton.

Herzförmig. Zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte  
chnurösen, gerader breiter Rand, grosse unebene  
tandfläche.

Vier Gruppen zu vier, fünf, sechs bzw. sieben senk-  
chten Strichen bedecken den Rand, drei waage-  
chte Wellenlinien jeden Henkel. Die zwei Haupt-  
sichtsflächen sind mit je einem vielrudrigen Schiff  
it zwei Kabinen bemalt, das zwei Zweige am Bug  
nd eine Standarte mit drei Bergen bzw. mit Hörnern  
ägt. Darunter sind um den Gefässfuss herum drei  
äume gemalt. In die freien Zwischenräume sind hier  
nd da Reihen von S eingestreut. Der Boden trägt  
in Rhombenmuster, von einer Kreislinie umschlos-  
n.

Der Form und Dekorkomposition nach stehen  
runton/Caton-Thompson, *Badarian Civilisation*, pl.  
L 43d und 43 d2 sehr nahe, die jedoch andere  
weige am Bug und abweichende Standarten tragen.  
u den Zweigen cf. Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, 19:  
*Double branch before 46-50''*; zu den Standarten  
id. pl. XXIII nr. 19 u. 5-6. Zum Baum: Keimer,  
endeloques en forme d'insectes. Früher abgebildet in  
Vängstedt, *Egyptiskt konsthantverk*, Abb. auf S. 3.



148. MM 10 600: aus Mostagedda. H 15,5, ÄD 10,3, ÖD 5,9, StD 3,3 cm

Intakt bis auf leichte Beschädigungen am Rand und in der Gefäßoberfläche. Beige-brauner Ton.

Herzförmig. Gerader Rand, zwei breite waagerechte angebohrte Schnurösen, unebene Standfläche. Die helle Farbe scheint von einem Überzug herzustammen, der ungleichmässig erhalten ist.

Der Rand trägt ein Rhombenmuster, die Henkel senkrechte Striche. Zwischen ihnen und dem Rand befinden sich je fünf in der Mitte geknickte Linien. Jede Fläche zwischen den Henkeln trägt ein Boot mit vielen Rudern, auf dem sich zwei Kajüten befinden, eine mit einer Standarte mit drei Hügeln ohne Farbausfüllung. Am Bug sind zwei mit Querlinien gefüllte Zweige angebracht, die drei tropfenförmige Gebilde als Abschluss aufweisen. Unter diese beiden Schiffe ist je ein sog. Segel gemalt mit je einer Schiffskabine

daneben. Zwischen diese „Segel“ und unterhalb der Henkel sind zwei grosse Aloen gezeichnet, über eine von ihnen zudem noch drei schräggestellte S.

*Corpus* 41 B (SD 46), J, N, S haben dieselbe Motivzusammenstellung, weichen aber in Einzelheiten ab. Cf. auch Scharff, *Altertümer* I, Taf. 14 Nr. 329, 389. Das Stockholmer Gefäss ist abgebildet: Brunton, *Mostagedda*, pl. XXXII 6: 221=pl. XXXV Nr. 47. Zum Überzug cf. Lucas, *Materials*<sup>4</sup>, 383 und die dort zitierte Literatur. Zur Aloe resp. Banane: Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, 18; Vandier, *Manuel* I 334 ff.; Baumann, Bemerkungen zur kultisch-mythischen Bedeutung der Aloe in Afrika. Laurent-Täckholm, *The Plant of Naqada*; Larsen, On a Detail of the Naqada Plant. Zum Baum: Keimer, Pendeloques en forme d'insectes. Zum Segel: Vandier, *Manuel* I 346 f., Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, 21. Zur Standarte: dieser Typ fehlt in Petries Liste: *Prehistoric Egypt*, pl. XXIII.





149. MM 18 726: H 22,5, ÄD 22,5, ÖD 10,6–10,85, StD 8,2 cm

Herausschlag im Rand, Unregelmässigkeiten in der Gefässoberfläche. Beige-brauner Ton.

Bauchig. Runder Rand, drei schmale, waagrecht durchbohrte Schnurösen, unebene Standfläche.

Sechs Abschnitte von je vier waagerechten Wellenlinien, durch senkrechte seitenverkehrte N getrennt, umziehen den Hals. Daran anschliessend ist zwischen die Ösen je ein grosses vielrudriges Schiff mit zwei Kabinen, einem Zweig am Bug und einer Standarte

unidentifizierten Typs gemalt. Hier und da sind Reihen von S eingefügt, über zwei der Schiffe ausserdem ein Baum. Unter zwei Ösen sind je zwei senkrechte Wellenlinien, unter die dritte eine waagerechte Reihe S sowie zwei waagerechte Wellenlinien gemalt.

Die Schiffsdarstellung entspricht Petrie, *Diospolis parva*, pl. XX Nr. 6. Ähnlich ist das Gefäss de Morgan. *L'âge de la pierre*, pl. VIII bei S. 160, Nr. 1 a-b. Zu einem einzelnen Zweig am Bug vgl. Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, 19: before 46; zur Standarte: ibid. pl. XXIII Nr. 24. Zum Baum: Keimer, *Pendeloques en forme d'insectes*.







150. MM 10 293: H 17,5, ÄD 14, ÖD 7,8, StD 5,6 cm

Das ganze Gefäss war in Stücke zerschlagen und ist modern zusammengeklebt. Drei moderne Gipsergänzungen im Gefässkörper, zwei im Rand. Hellbrauner Ton mit hellerem Belag.

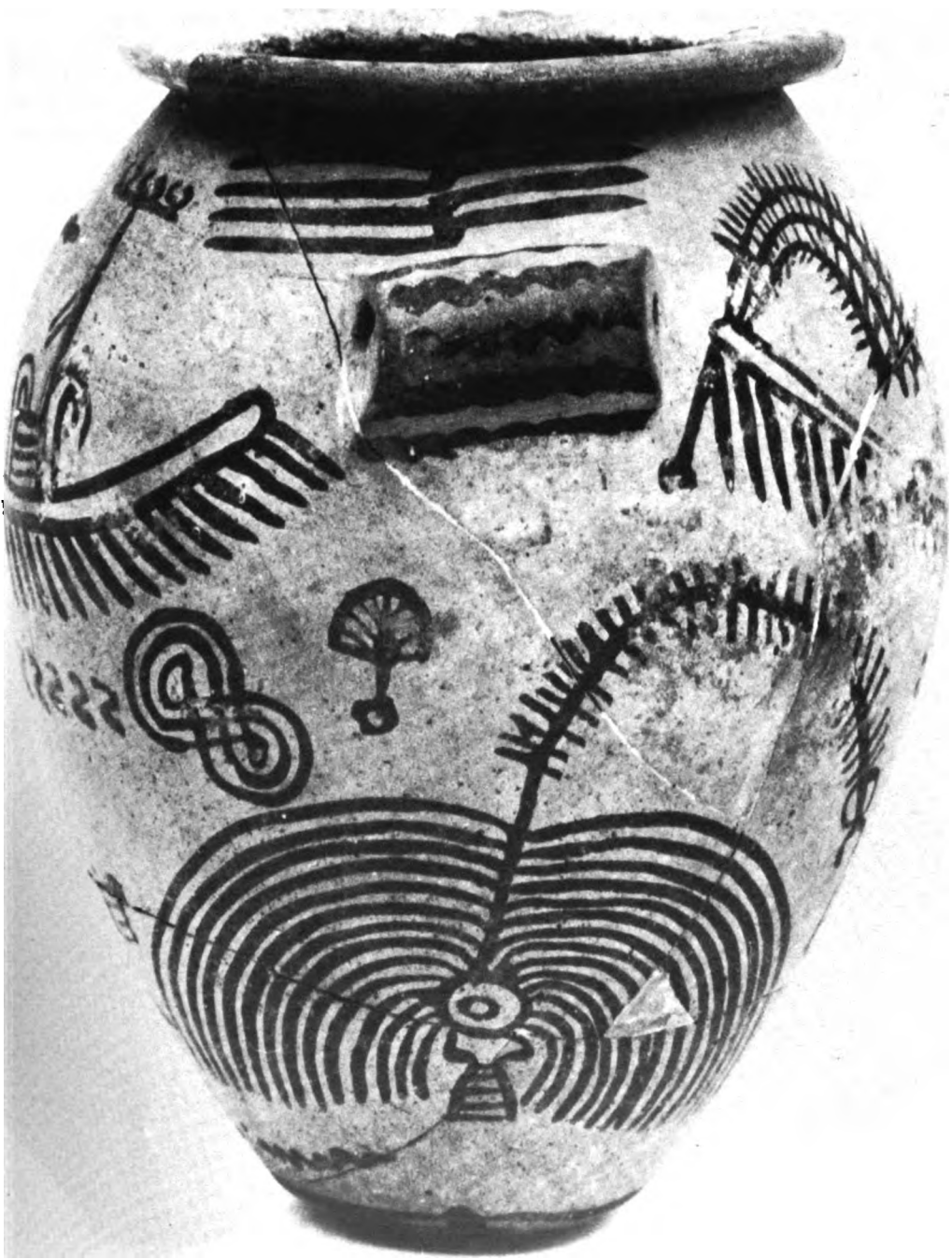
Herzförmig. Leicht nach innen abgeschrägter Rand, zwei waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, unebene Standfläche.

Der Rand trägt ein zum Teil verwischtes Rhombenmuster. Zwischen Rand und Henkel sind 3 bzw. 4 in der Mitte geknickte Linien eingefügt. Auf die Ösen sind Wellenlinien gemalt. Zwischen den Ösen befindet sich auf den beiden Hauptbildflächen je ein vielrudriges Schiff mit zwei Kajüten, einer Standarte mit drei Paar Hörnern neben einander und dreifach gegliedertem Zweig am Bug. Wellenlinien sind in den

freien Raum über den Schiffen eingestreut. Tiefer unter den Ösen befindet sich je eine grosse Ake. Zwischen diese Pflanzen und die Schiffe sind folgende Gegenstände eingefügt: eine Reihe von Z, einer 8 ähnelnde Gebilde, sog. Bäume, Kajüten, sog. Segel und Wellenlinien. Die Standfläche ist mit einer Spirale bemalt, die mit einem Ring bis auf den Gefässkörper hinaufreicht.

Vgl. *Corpus* 41 A (SD 51–63), B (SD 46), J, M, N, S, U. Der Standartentyp ist bei Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, pl. XIII nicht verzeichnet. Die drei Zweige mit Querstrichen dazwischen gehören nach Petrie. op.cit., 19 zu SD 52–63. Zum „Segel“: op.cit. 21. Vandier, *Manuel* I, 346 f. Zum Baum: Keimer, *Pendeloques en forme d'insectes*. Früher abgebildet in *Egyptiska museet Stockholm*, Taf. 2 Mitte.





151. MM 10 310: H 21,2, ÄD 20,5, ÖD 7,9–8, StD 7 cm

Intakt. Unregelmässigkeiten in der Gefässoberfläche. Beige-brauner Ton.

Bauchig. Runder Rand, keine Henkel, unebene Standfläche.

Vier konzentrische Wellenlinien umziehen den Hals, an die sich zwei Halbkreise zu acht bzw. neun konzentrischen Wellenlinien anschliessen. Zwischen diese Halbkreise ist je ein grosses vielrudriges Schiff mit zwei Kabinen, zwei Zweigen am Bug und einer Standarte unidentifizierten Typs gesetzt. Das eine Schiff trägt zudem erhöht zwischen den Kabinen eine

Frauengestalt mit über dem Kopf erhobenen Armen. Das andere Schiff hat eine ähnliche Frauengestalt über der näher am Bug liegenden Kabine mit einem Manne daneben.

Der Szene „Schiff mit Figuren“ kommt *Corpus* 46 D (SD 50) am nächsten, cf. auch Capart, *Les débuts de l'art en Égypte*, Fig. 83 auf S. 116; de Morgan, *L'âge de la pierre*, pl. X2 bei S. 162. Zu den zwei Zweigen cf. Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, 19 before 46–50; zu den Standarten: ibid. pl. XXIII Nr. 24 bzw. 5 und 6. Früher abgebildet in *Egyptiska museet Stockholm*, Taf. 1 links.





152. MM 10312: H 7,2, ÄD 5,9, ÖD 3,8, StD 2,5–2,7 cm

Leichte Abstossungen an Rand und Henkeln, unebene Gefäßoberfläche. Heller Überzug auf hellem Ton.

Herzförmig. Gerader Rand, zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, unebene Standfläche.

Der Rand trägt ein waagerechtes, jeder Henkel ein senkrechtes Wellenmuster. Auf die beiden Hauptansichtsflächen ist je ein Schiff eines Typs, der vielleicht eine moderne Erfindung ist, gemalt. Es hat die bekannte gebogene Form, jedoch keine Ruder, dagegen einen Dekor von vielen senkrechten Strichen. Am Bug ist eine merkwürdige verschlungene Verzierung angebracht. In der Mitte des Schiffes steht ein Baum, der mit zwei grossen geschwungenen Ästen, die beide viele senkrechte, parallel herunterhängende Zweige

oder Blätter tragen, das ganze Schiff überschattet. Auf dem Schiff, durch den Baum getrennt, befinden sich zwei Kajüten mit hochgezogenen Aussenwänden, in denen je eine Gestalt steht, deren Körper völlig ungegliedert dreiecksförmig dargestellt ist. Sie hat ein punktförmiges Gebilde als Kopf. Ausserhalb jeder Kajüte steht je eine ähnliche, aber grössere Figur, bei der der Hals oder Oberkörper durch einen Strich angedeutet ist. Die freien Flächen zum Rand bzw. zur Standfläche hin sind mit Wellenlinien ausgefüllt.

Der Gefässtyp ist wohlbekannt, cf. etwa *Corpus* 41 A, (SD 51–63). Zum Schiffstyp cf. Brunton, *Modern Painting on Predynastic Pots* und Kantor, *The Final Phase of Predynastic Culture*, Fig. 5 F. G, die andere merkwürdige Boote mit ähnlich stilisierten Figuren wiedergeben. Zum Überzug: Lucas, *Materials*<sup>4</sup>, 383 und die dort zitierte Literatur.



53. MM 10 313: H 7,1, ÄD 5,5, ÖD 2,8–3, StD 2,6 cm

Schädigungen am Rand und in der unebenen Gefäßoberfläche, auch an beiden Henkeln, von denen einer aufgeschlagen ist. Heller Überzug auf hellem Ton.

Herzförmig. Gerader Rand, zwei breite waagerechte durchbohrte Schnurösen, unebene Standfläche.

Der Dekor entspricht völlig dem von Kat.nr. 152, ist nur in etwas kleinerem Masstab ausgeführt und auf einer Seite etwas abgegriffen.





154. MM 11 125: H 18,5, ÄD 12,4, ÖD 6,6-6,8, StD 6,1 cm

Intakt bis auf Herausschläge im Rand. Unregelmässige und korrodierte Gefässoberfläche. Roter Ton.

Wellenhenkelgefäss. Runder Rand, zwei nicht sehr schön geformte deutliche Wellenhenkel, unebene grosse Standfläche.

Die Bemalung ist nach Stil und Motiv einzigartig: auf die Gefässoberfläche verstreut sind in flüchtiger Weise ein Bock mit langen, rückwärts geschwungenen Hörnern, ein Schiffskörper (?), ein Flamingo mit zwei gesondert gemalten Federn und ein Mann, der offensichtlich die Arme in die Höhe gehoben hat und vielleicht Federn im Haar trägt. Ganz ungewöhnlich ist die lose Streuung über die Gefässoberfläche und die Malweise, in der besonders der Mann ausgeführt ist.

Der Gefässtyp ist in Negade II wohlbekannt, zu den einzelnen Motiven vgl. *Corpus* 47 M: Bock; *Corpus* 43 C: Flamingo und Schiffskörper, jedoch mit Rudern; *Corpus* 46 D und 77 sowie Brunton/Caton-Thompson, *Badarian Civilisation* pl. LIV, 14 u. 15: Männergestalt; vergleichbare Gestalten aus Negade I: Kantor, *The Final Phase of Predynastic Culture*, Fig. 6 F und G.







155. MM 10 306: H 18,3, ÄD 18,6, ÖD 9,7, StD 6,9 cm

Intakt. Unregelmässigkeiten in der Gefässoberfläche. Hellgrauer Ton mit roten Flecken.

Bauchig. Runder Rand, drei schmale, nicht durchbohrte Ösen, unebene Standfläche.

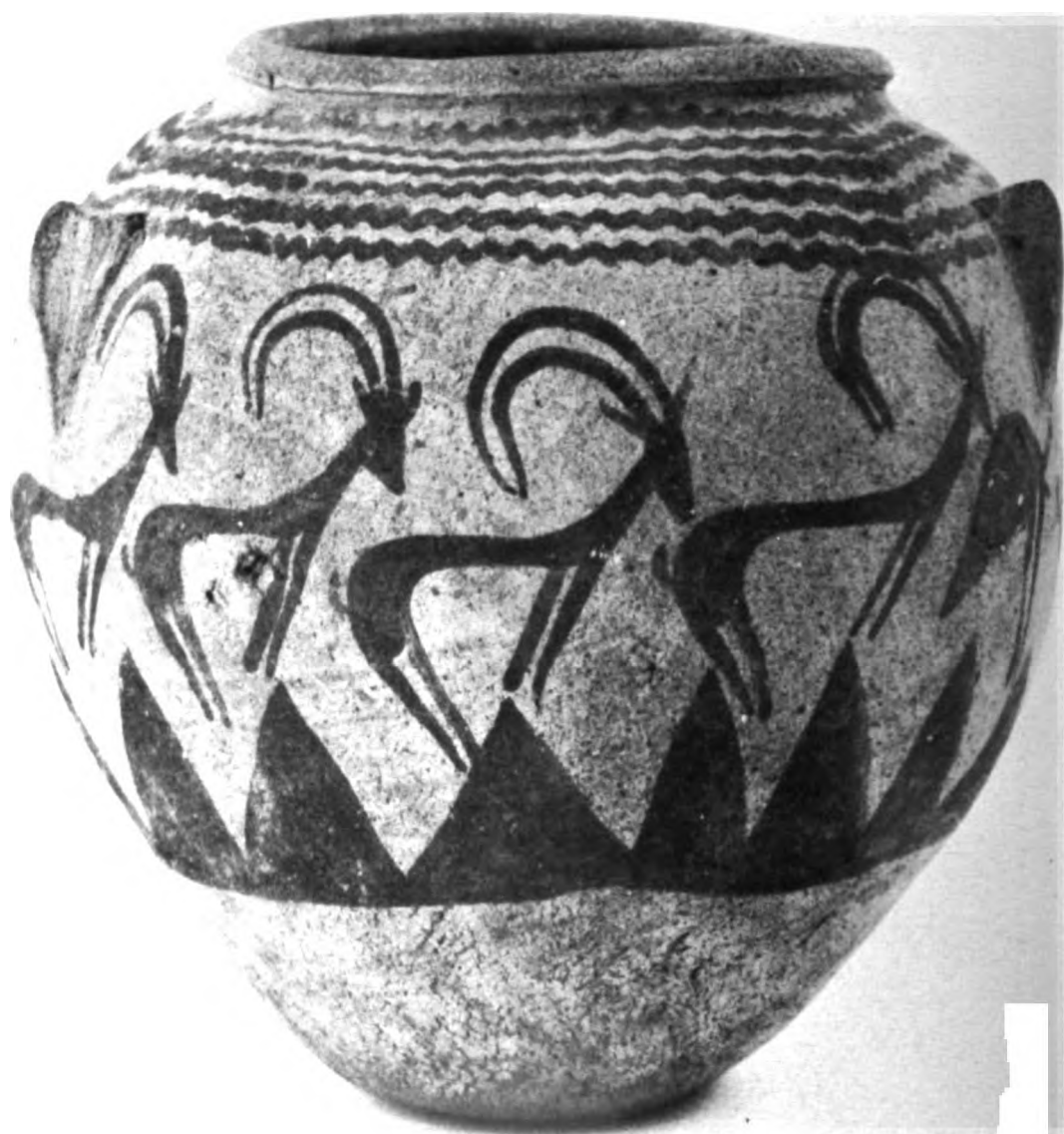
Sechs konzentrische Wellenlinien umziehen den Hals bis zu den Ösen. Daran schliesst sich ein Register mit sehr sorgfältig und schwungvoll gezeichneten figürlichen Darstellungen an: vier Böcke, fünf weib-

liche Gestalten mit über den Kopf erhobenen Armen und langem Rock, vier weitere Böcke und ein Flamingo. Über einen Bock sind fünf S gezeichnet. Den Abschluss bildet eine Bergkette, die das Gefäss in waagerechter Richtung umzieht.

Die Qualität der Malerei übertrifft das meiste des im *Corpus* abgebildeten Materials, eine genaue Parallele zur Motivzusammenstellung fehlt. Cf. zu den Böcken: Kantor, *The Final Phase of Predynastic Culture*, Fig. 9 Q; zu den Frauen mit Füßen: *ibid.*, Fig. 6 E.













# MEDELHAVSMUSEET

The Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities

Bulletin, Vol. 1, 1961, 64 pp. (out of print)

*Olof Vessberg*, The Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities, Medelhavsmuseet—A Presentation. *Hjalmar Larsen*, Finds from Badarian and Tasian Civilizations. *Hans Henning von der Osten*, Altorientalische Siegelsteine. *Sten V. Wängstedt*, Einige ägyptische Grabdenkmäler. *Olof Vessberg*, Recently Acquired Roman Portraits.

Bulletin, Vol. 2, 1962, 63 pp. Sw. Crs 16.

*Ture J. Arne*, The Collection of Luristan Bronzes. *Sten V. Wängstedt*, Ägyptische Siegelamulette. *Pär Göran Gierow*, A Latial Iron Age Tomb-Group. *Olof Vessberg*, Sculptures in the Throne-Holst Collection.

Bulletin, Vol. 3, 1963, 72 pp. Sw. Crs 20.

*Einar Gjerstad*, Supplementary Notes on Finds from Ajia Irini in Cyprus. *Evert Baudou*, Kreta, Tiber und Stora Mellösa, Bemerkungen zu zwei Bronzeschwertern aus dem Tiber. *Tullia Rönne-Linders*, A Black-Figured Neck-Amphora of the Leagros Group. *Olof Vessberg*, A Republican Portrait from the Sabina.

Bulletin, Vol. 4, 1964, 61 pp. Sw. Crs 20.

*Sten V. Wängstedt*, Vier Stelen und eine Opfertafel aus Deir el-Medineh. *Bengt Julius Peterson*, Two Royal Heads from Amarna. *Arvid Andrén*, An Italic Iron Age Hut Urn. *Arvid Andrén*, An Italic Iron Age Belt Plate. *Anna Mura*, Vaso d'impasto a decorazione graffita con teoria di animali fantastici. *Ake Åkerström*, A Horseman from Asia Minor. *Olof Vessberg*, A New Variant of the Helena Myth.

Bulletin, Vol. 5, 1969, 58 pp. Sw. Crs 20.

*Bengt Julius Peterson*, Some Reliefs from the Memphite Necropolis. *Paul Åström*, A Red Lustrous Wheel-made Spindle Bottle and Its Contents. *Sten V. Wängstedt*, Uschebtis aus der ägyptischen Spätzeit. *Arvid Andrén*, An Etruscan Terracotta Head. *Arvid Andrén*, An Etruscan Terracotta Ash Urn. *Hans Furuhausen*, The Roman She-Wolf on a Terracotta Tablet. *Olof Vessberg*, A Roman Togatus.

Bulletin, Vol. 6, 1972, 55 pp. Sw. Crs 20.

*Vassos Karageorghis*, Notes on Some Cypro-Mycenaean Vases in the Medelhavsmuseet. *Sylvia Törnkvist*, Arms, Armour and Dress of the Terracotta Sculpture from Ajia Irini, Cyprus.

Bulletin, Vol. 7—8, 1973, 144 pp., 80 pl. Sw. Crs 90.

*Bengt E. J. Peterson*, Zeichnungen aus einer Totenstadt. Bildostraka aus Theben-West, ihre Fundplätze, Themata und Zweckbereiche mitsamt einem Katalog der Gayer-Anderson-Sammlung in Stockholm.

Bulletin, Vol. 9, 1974, 80 pp. Sw. Crs 30.

*Bengt Peterson*, Ramesside Mannerism. *Beate George*, Eine Stockholmer Statuette des Gottes Osiris-Min. *Bengt Peterson*, Eine römerzeitliche Grabstele aus Ägypten. *Bengt Peterson*, Zum bildnerischen Schaffen im spätantiken Ägypten. *Beate George*, Menaslegenden und Pilgerindustrie. *Gisela Walberg*, Some Cypriote and Palestinian Pottery and Figurines. *Marie-Louise Winbladh*, Notes on an Etruscan Ring Vase in Medelhavsmuseet. *Patricia Marino-Hultman*, Bone Figures from Iran in Medelhavsmuseet's "Luristan Collection". *Bengt Peterson & Marie-Louise Winbladh*, A Selection of Some Recent Acquisitions. *Carl-Gustaf Styrenius*, Activities 1973. *Carl-Gustaf Styrenius*, Swedish Institute in Athens 1948—1973.

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MEDELHAVSMUSEET

BULLETIN 11 1976

# **The Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities MEDELHAVSMUSEET**

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## Olof Vessberg

21/4 1909–15/1 1975

A few months before his retirement the professor of Classical Archaeology and Ancient History at the University of Stockholm Olof Vessberg died on January 15th 1975.

Olof Vessberg was a well-known scholar of ancient sculpture, especially Roman portrait sculpture, his

most well-known work being his thesis "Studien zur Kunstgeschichte der römischen Republik" from 1941. He also had the ability to put forward to his students the results of his researches in a vivid and enthusiastic way either in the museums of Rome during his directorship of the Swedish Institute in Rome 1953–

1955 or after he had been appointed professor in Stockholm in 1970 during excursions to various European museums. It was also during such an excursion to the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen that he was overcome by an illness, from which he did not recover.

For the period 1945–1953 Vessberg was director of the Cyprus Collections in Stockholm and contributed also to the publication of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition with chapters on the Hellenistic and Roman periods in Cyprus. He favoured the idea that the various ancient Mediterranean collections in Stockholm should be united in one museum. When in 1954 the Medelhavsmuseet was founded by administrative combination of the Cyprus Collections, the Asine Collection and the Iranian Collection with the Egyptian Museum in the Old Town, Vessberg became director of the new Museum. He served as director for the period 1955–1970. During this time he augmented the collections systematically by acquiring especially Greek, Italian and Etruscan vases and Roman portraits. In this task he was strongly supported by King Gustaf VI Adolf as well as by Mr Henning

Throne-Holst, the first chairman of the Society of Friends of the Medelhavsmuseet.

Vessberg started the publication of the *Bulletin of the Museum* in 1961 and contributed much to the foundation of the Society of Friends of the Museum in 1966. From 1971 onwards he was chairman of this society.

As professor at the University of Stockholm Vessberg found great pleasure in the contact with his numerous students. Often he made his lectures in the collections of the Museum and not seldom the students were given subjects from these collections for scientific articles. In memory of Olof Vessberg some of his former students at Stockholm University and former collaborators at the Medelhavsmuseet have written the papers published in this *Bulletin*.

For the Museum Olof Vessberg's death was a grievous loss. Nobody else knew the collections so well and he always generously shared his knowledge with others.

*Carl-Gustaf Styrenius*

# Fragments of Akhenaten Reliefs in Stockholm

Bengt Peterson

*Ich dencke wenn man etwas in die Lufft bauen will, so sind es immer besser  
Schlösser als Kartenhäuser.  
Lichtenberg (F 534)*

The Akhenaten Temple Project established in 1967 and still in progress is one of the most interesting features of archaeological and technological cooperation in the field of Egyptological studies. Using the computer to match tens of thousands of blocks with reliefs one has already achieved remarkable results in putting together the pieces of this giant puzzle. During several decades blocks of the Akhenaten temples or chapels in Karnak have been extracted from later constructions, having been used as building material. One or two generations after Akhenaten there were hardly any standing buildings of his anymore. Now, the project will help us to know of the beginnings of the Akhenaten art. Parts of the walls can be reconstructed; their bold and often unique relief designs and their new technique give an emphasized importance to this early phase of the Akhenaten art; already in Thebes the "Amarna art" is wholly conceived. Thanks to R. W. Smith and his Egyptian and American collaborators in the project of the University Museum, Philadelphia, but also to the leaders of the Franco-Egyptian exploration of the 9th pylon of Karnak and its wealth of Akhenaten blocks we have become aware of the utmost importance of the Theban monuments of Akhenaten.<sup>1</sup>

It is evident that many of the relief blocks—called *talatat* using an Arabic word—have disappeared. But several reliefs clearly belonging to the groups of Theban *talatat*s having been found at Karnak, Luxor, Medamoud &c. have reached museums and collections all over the world.<sup>2</sup> Even in Stockholm one can find some of them—five fragments in all. The aim of this paper is their presentation. Four of the fragments were acquired in 1972 having previously belonged for several decades to a Swiss private collection; the fifth fragment was transferred from a local Swedish museum in 1960. All of the pictorial fragments repre-

sent scenes common in the cycles of the Theban monuments of Akhenaten, scenes dealing with festive occasions at the temples of the sun god Aten: the king, the greeting people, processions and offerings. A glance is enough to ascertain the classification of the Stockholm fragments; all of them—in sunk relief—are so characteristic of the Akhenaten style. Furthermore the inscriptions on two of them give another type of evidence. Their material is sandstone; this is also a feature in common of the Theban monuments; if one goes to Amarna or to the Memphite area one will find limestone as the medium of Akhenaten's reliefs.<sup>3</sup> The original thickness of the Stockholm fragments has been reduced. The faces of the blocks carrying reliefs have been cut off in modern times; the original thickness often being about 50 cm. These Stockholm fragments are kept in the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities, Medelhavsmuseet.

## 1. Men carrying a palanquin

MME 1972:14. Length 33 cm, height 8.5 cm, thickness 5 cm. Sandstone.

The first fragment is a detail of a scene which certainly has shown the arrival or departure of the king in a palanquin. Preserved are two rows of men in front of the chair proper. They are carrying the heavy poles of this palanquin. There may have been more men, at least three rows of them which is evident from some parallels.<sup>4</sup> There are two men in each row. The design of this fragment shows a traditional solution of the problem of perspective using double outlines. It is most evident in the representation of the men to the right. There is a double outline at the breast and another one from the elbow to the hand of the right arm.



1. Men carrying a palanquin. MME 1972:14.

The men at the left may have been represented in the same way. Of them only a detail of the breast and the left arm is preserved besides the heads which are complete. One sees the entire head with wig and hanging band of the first man while the second man is only indicated by the double outline of the upper front part of the first man's head, just covering the breadth of the pole behind him. There are some traces which may indicate a headdress of double feathers like those found in some parallel representations of palanquin-carriers.<sup>5</sup> It is difficult to precise whether anything else has been represented in the upper left corner of the fragment.

The dress of the men was evidently just a short skirt, the indication of which is the line on the right man's body. Otherwise their bodies were naked; there are rich traces of the original red colouring of them.

To the utmost right there is a detail of the sculptural design of the palanquin, a lion lying on a naos-shaped podium. The lion as a symbol of royal power is common on palanquins used by the king. This design with the relatively small lion seems uncommon.

## 2. The king

MME 1972:13. Length 21 cm, height 13.5 cm, thickness 5 cm. Sandstone.

Not only in Karnak but also at Amarna Akhenaten

appears with very traditional attributes of kingship, e.g. the crooked sceptre and flail.<sup>6</sup> In the Theban reliefs and sculptures there are abundant evidences of this, often perhaps connected with his appearance in the ceremonies of the *sed*-festival. The second Stockholm fragment is a representation of the king carrying the two sceptres—each in one hand—the flail is clearly pictured to the left, while the significant part of the crooked sceptre is not preserved anymore. Akhenaten's long neck, the curving line of his chin and his full mouth are very characteristic. The king's body, neck and face have been painted in red. He may have been pictured with a naked breast, the only adornment of which was a neck-collar. There are faint traces of white to indicate the bottom colour of this piece of jewellery. Behind the king shine the rays of Aten. One of them shows a customary termination: a human hand, this one holding the *wāš*-hieroglyph. The king with the sun disk above is one of the key motifs of the Akhenaten art.

It is interesting to note the very deep carving of the outline parts of the king's body while details are just softly modelled. This technical feature is so evident for the new relief type introduced by Akhenaten used in the religious constructions where the divine sun played an important role also in giving life to the wall decorations with its ever changing light. This is very characteristic but has seldom been emphasized.<sup>7</sup>

### 3. Adoring men

MME 1972:15. Length 27 cm, breadth 22.5 cm, thickness 5 cm. Sandstone.<sup>8</sup>

Another fragment is the scene where at least three men have participated, their arms raised in adoration. They lean forward and stretch out their arms. The only indication of their dress are the short sleeves of their tunics. Their faces and arms have been painted in red while their dress was white.

Also here it is important to note the way of cutting the relief with the deep incision uppermost allowing the sunlight to give an accentuated effect playing with the shadow. Then the faces are modelled in a very subtle way; especially the eyes are mere swellings where the light and of course the now vanished painting could give a soft effect by force of contrast to the sharp cutting above. One can also admire the very clever linking together of the group by means of the hands placed over the rear part of the heads thus creating a connected block of the single figures.<sup>9</sup> If the men were standing or kneeling cannot be said. Especially in

Amarna tombs there are good examples of kneeling and standing men with raised arms with little or no difference in position.<sup>10</sup>

A fragment of an upper register is also preserved. Along the line dividing the registers one can see the outstretched lower part of a human leg. Evidently it is a kneeling man turned to the left. His leg is indicated by the soft sketchy outline and is slightly modelled.

### 4. The king offering

MME 1972:12. Length 25.5 cm, height 23 cm, thickness 5 cm. Sandstone.<sup>11</sup>

Again and again one finds scenes of offerings in the Karnak talatats. The king or the queen or both of them are offering, standing at altars on which are heaped meat and bread, fruit and vegetables and all of the customary goods which the god is pleased to receive. The royal persons present the offerings, cleanse them with water or perfume them with the burning incense. This fragment shows the king standing to the left on his

### 2. The king. MME 1972:13.





3. Adoring men. MME 1972:15.

way libating. He has a characteristic vessel containing water, a traditional liturgical vessel. In the other hand he may have held the incense-burner or perhaps a small votive figure like those of Maat so often met with in his Karnak reliefs.

The king's dress is unusual, his skirt of uneven length. He also wears a tunic with short sleeves, further neck-collar and sandals. His bare arms and legs are painted in red. In front of him there is a standing royal figure—partly painted in red—wearing a uraeus on its head dress. This is a statue of the king holding a cone-shaped object—presumably a piece of bread—in its hands. One may note that its belly is shaped in the typical Akhenaten style while the figure supposed to be the king in person is very slender lacking the exaggerated features of the new art. Similar statues are

fairly common in Theban as well as in Amarna reliefs<sup>12</sup>, most often occurring in connection with offering tables or altars. In front of the statue here there are fragments of an offering-table on which are seen red-painted offerings, perhaps pieces of meat.

It is clear that the action takes place in the interior of a temple building. Behind the king a large door is flung open. Two officials are approaching. The first one holds a spouted vessel of the same type as that of the king and in his other hand a sceptre of common design. His skirt is short, he has a shaved head and wears no sandals. His body is painted in red. Leaning a little forward he is without haste approaching the door. Behind him the other man comes along. He is just fragmentarily preserved—his arm and face in red. He wears a rather voluminous dress and has a wig.



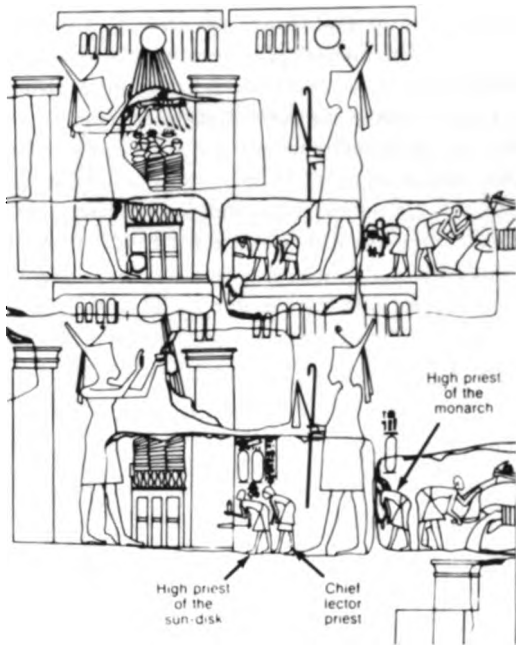
There are two lines of an inscription above the two men. It is evident that they contained their titles—or the title of one of them. It seems clear that only the beginning of the left column is lost. The upper end of the division line is untouched which means that the inscription's uppermost part has been in line with the first still visible sign of the right column. Thus the right column is entirely preserved. The profession of the men we cannot make clear but in return we can see that they belonged to the administration of the Aten temple in Thebes as the inscription continues:

𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏=𓅓𓏏, "... of the House of Aten in Southern Heliopolis".<sup>13</sup> The hieroglyphs were filled with a light blue colour as was also the division line of the registers which is to be seen at the bottom of the fragment.

In the new documents from Karnak there are some parallels which show that the Stockholm fragment belonged to a series of representations of the king's *sed*-festival. One scene reconstructed by D. B. Redford shows the same arrangement: the king offering and two officials entering the door.<sup>14</sup> They appear in about the same way and they are identified by the

4. The king offering. MME 1972:12.





Reconstruction of Karnak talatat by D. Redford.

inscriptions as the high-priest of the Aten and the chief lector priest. Scenes of this kind displaying the same iconographic pattern frequently recur as they illustrate the same visit of the king in the long row of different *sed*-festival chapels. The king is usually accompanied by the highest officials of the priesthood. D. B. Redford has also elsewhere published some blocks which display the same scene.<sup>15</sup>

## 5. The name of Nefertiti

MME 1960:3. Length 17.5 cm, height 9 cm, thickness 10 cm. Sandstone.

This fragment contains only parts of two vertical lines of hieroglyphs. The left one gives the title of the queen [𓆎 𓆏], "*the great king's wife*", while the right one contains the cartouche with the name [𓆎 𓆏 𓆑 𓆒], "*Nefertiti*".

The incised line dividing the two columns has its natural beginning just at the top of the fragment. Thus the royal title and the name represent the very beginning of the columns respectively. Often the full titulary contains other titles as well: "*The great king's wife, beloved by him, the mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt, the lady of the Two Lands Nefertiti, given life for ever and ever*". The

name is the early elementary name of the queen "*The beautiful one has come*" later to be supplemented by the "*Beautiful is the beauty of Aten*". element also contained in her cartouche. There are traces of an overall white coating of the surface of the fragment but no remains of colours in the signs.

All of these fragments are of the same stylistic quality. They have been executed in a rapid way: they are stereotype, but sometimes with a softened and detailed treatment of single parts. All of them are characteristic of the Karnak art of Akhenaten which is in itself limited by the very material of the reliefs, the rather coarse sandstone. It restricts to a large extent the execution of fine details. Those have most often been indicated by painting. In the very rapid way of execution there is a latent tendency to stereotype mannerism; these sandstone reliefs are not of the same quality as the major part of the limestone Amarna reliefs. This is perhaps also dependent on the relatively short time allowed for the huge Akhenaten constructions at Karnak, the extension of which we now are better aware of than ever before. Even if they were continued after the removal of the royal court to Amarna<sup>16</sup> the Karnak works represent an enormous effort of the craftsmen and artists involved, from the extraction of the stone in the distant quarries to the erection of the structures and to the final painting of the finely cut figures.

We have found it wise to apply a motto to this

### 5. The name of Nefertiti. MME 1960:3.



presentation of the Stockholm reliefs. It is adverse to those people who still think of Akhenaten as the religious dreamer, the passive mystic who adored his sungod forgetting about the external world. Certainly those elements are present in his personality, too. But Akhenaten also presents himself as a very extrospective and forceful person in the whole extent of the documents. His buildings as well as his hymns to Aten are significant. There is a tremendous will and an intense activity behind the concrete monuments of his age. The king has put a great personal effort in developing a completely new face of Egyptian art and architecture, of religion and literature. Even the Egyptologist can hardly imagine the very great participation demanded of the responsible person at the head of such a conception and its realization; which efforts are not behind the huge projects of Thebes, Amarna and other centres hardly known, e.g. Memphis or Nubia?

One has thought of Akhenaten as a man who raised

his eyes to heaven erecting the dreamer's lofty structures as a tribute to his god. There has been an inclination formed for taking the Akhenaten age as an accidental, evanescent episode of Egyptian history, its monuments being coulisses and splendid facades for a dramatic interludium staged by some few extatic persons. But it has been too easy to forget that there must have been a firm hold on the entire development and administration, a forceful will and a practical mind behind the entire stage. Now, since more and more monuments emerge by help of the archaeologists it is rather fair to name Akhenaten one of the great builders of his dynasty. That his successors dismantled and destroyed his monuments reviving traditional and conservative ideas is only a testimony of their outstanding and original conception and execution being the concrete form of the ideas of one single person, one of those men we like to consider as a universal genius well acquainted with earthly as well as with heavenly matters.

<sup>1</sup> R. W. Smith, The Akhenaten Temple Project, Expedition 10, 1967, Nr 1, 24 ff. Idem, Computer helps scholars re-create an Egyptian temple, National Geographic Magazine 138, 1970, Nr 5, 634 ff. D. B. Redford, Studies on Akhenaten of Thebes, JARCE 10, 1973, 77 ff. Idem, Reconstructing the temples of a heretical pharaoh, Archaeology 28, 1975, Nr 1, 16 ff. S. Sauneron-R. Sa'ad, Le démontage et l'étude du IXe pylône à Karnak, Kêmi 19, 1969, 137 ff. Idem, Travaux au IXe pylône de Karnak en 1968-1970, Kêmi 21, 1971, 145 ff. L. Daniel, Reconstitution d'un paroi du temple d'Aton à Karnak, Kêmi 21, 1971, 151 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The catalogue of a recent exhibition in the Brooklyn Museum contains several of them: C. Aldred, Akhenaten and Nefertiti, New York 1973.

<sup>3</sup> J. Cooney, Amarna Reliefs from Hermopolis in American Collections, Mainz 1965. G. Roeder, Amarna-Reliefs aus Hermopolis, Hildesheim 1969. B. Löhr, Aḥanjāti in Memphis, SAK 2, 1975, 139 ff.

<sup>4</sup> A complete scene in an Amarna tomb shows three rows in front and three behind the chair proper, N. de G. Davies, The Rock Tombs of El Amarna 3, London 1905, pl. 13. Two blocks from Luxor show the same way of representing the heads of the men, A. Fakhry, Blocs décorés provenant du temple de Louxor, ASAE 35, 1935, fig. 14. Cf. also R. Cotteville-Giraudet, Les reliefs d'Aménophis IV Akhenaton, FIFAO 13, Le Caire 1936, 32 and 53, further S. Sauneron-R. Sa'ad, op.cit., Kêmi 19, 1969, 161.

<sup>5</sup> R. Cotteville-Giraudet, op.cit., 59, Nr 4207, further J. Vandier, Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne IV, Paris 1964, 361 f. For the traces not clearly belonging to the headdress, cf. R.

Cotteville-Giraudet, op.cit., 59, Nr 6537: the feet of men kneeling above the carriers.

<sup>6</sup> It is interesting to note the palanquin-scene in the tomb of Huya at Amarna, N. de G. Davies, op.cit., pl. 13, although there is nothing to indicate that this Stockholm fragment belongs to the preceding one.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the attention given to it by J. Samson, Amarna, City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti, London 1972, 16 f.

<sup>8</sup> Previously reproduced in B. Peterson-B. George, Två faraoner. Arkeologi och historia kring Sesostri I och Tutanchamun, Borås 1973, 63.

<sup>9</sup> A similar fragmentary scene where the raised arms are used to connect single figures in an interesting way: C. Aldred, op.cit., Nr 45.

<sup>10</sup> N. de G. Davies, op.cit., II, 37, 38, 40, IV, pl. 6, 22.

<sup>11</sup> Previously reproduced in Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Årsbok 1973, Stockholm 1973, 154.

<sup>12</sup> E.g. D. B. Redford, Studies on Akhenaten at Thebes, JARCE 10, 1973, pl. 6, 1-2. G. Roeder, op.cit., pl. 207 (PC 260). C. Aldred, op.cit., Nr 81. N. de G. Davies, op.cit. III, pl. 8, 30.

<sup>13</sup> A parallel may be found in the title cited by M. Doresse, Les temples atoniens de la région thebaine, Orientalia 24, 1955, 113 ff.: "The great of seers of Aten in the House of Aten in Southern Heliopolis" (Inscriptions, pl. 2).

<sup>14</sup> D. B. Redford, Reconstructing the temples of a heretical pharaoh, Archaeology 28, 1975, Nr 1, 18.

<sup>15</sup> Idem, Studies on Akhenaten at Thebes, JARCE 10, 1973, pl. 6, 1-2.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. S. Sauneron-R. Sa'ad, op.cit. Kêmi 19, 1969, 155 f.

# Three Egyptian Terracotta Heads from the Graeco-Roman Period

Suzanne Unge

There is as yet no monograph on terracotta figurines in Egypt and the fundamental problems connected with them, such as their chronology and stylistic evolution. Many European museums have important collections of this minor art,<sup>1</sup> but, with few exceptions,<sup>2</sup> their provenance is often unknown. The same can be said of several private collections.<sup>3</sup> In Egypt the Graeco-Roman museum at Alexandria has a considerable number of terracotta figurines.<sup>4</sup>

With the first Greek settlement at Naukratis in Egypt in the seventh century B.C., the production of terracottas in Greek style was introduced on Egyptian soil. After the foundation of Alexandria in 331 B.C., this city soon became one of the artistic centres of the Hellenistic world. In the Greek cemeteries, e.g. Chatby and Hadra to the east of Alexandria, terracotta figurines of purely Greek style have been found. They represent draped women in Tanagra style and have been dated between the foundation of the city and c. 200 B.C.<sup>5</sup> Gradually the Greek settlers and the Egyptians intermingled and a mixed Graeco-Egyptian art was created,<sup>6</sup> which is reflected in the production of terracottas. From c. 200 B.C. and during the Roman Imperial period, Alexandria continued to be one of the main centres for the manufacture of terracotta figurines, but big provincial centres have also been found in Memphis and the Fayoum district. The products of Memphis are especially important as they form a large group of excavated material.<sup>7</sup>

Chemical analyses have been made of the clay of the figurines, and at least five types can be observed.<sup>8</sup> These different kinds of clay can be referred to the main centres of production and thus may sometimes give an indication of the provenance.<sup>9</sup> The majority of terracotta figurines were moulded, sometimes in combination with modelling by hand. This technique

was not new to the Egyptians; they used it in making figurines of fayence, e.g. *ushebtis* and amulets during Pharaonic times.<sup>10</sup> Enough moulds for making terracottas have been found to distinguish them from those for making bronzes.<sup>11</sup> Hollow moulded terracottas, a form which was not native to Egypt, are more abundant than those moulded solid. For both types, the moulds are generally bipartite.<sup>12</sup> This is the case even when the back part only has a round surface.

The terracotta figurines are both of a sacred and a profane character. Their provenance is often sufficient to indicate the different categories to which they should be assigned. They may be votive images from sanctuaries, funeral objects from tombs, or household gods, adornments or toys from houses.<sup>13</sup> The bounds of this classification are not always certain, and it seems as if some terracotta figurines have had several functions. This means that a terracotta, like a small ornamental figurine used in everyday life, may have come from a consecrated context.<sup>14</sup>

Among a group of terracotta figurines in the Egyptian Department of the *Medelhavsmuseet*, there are three heads, all of a strikingly realistic character. They are examples of a vast number of grotesque figurines, often with deliberately deformed features. Sometimes one can identify caricatures of different professions, such as dancers, actors and musicians.<sup>15</sup> It is suggested that the place of origin of these grotesques was either Alexandria or Smyrna, on account of the large quantity of grotesque figurines found there.<sup>16</sup> Some scholars have argued that several of these figurines illustrate some kind of disease or anatomical defect.<sup>17</sup> They are also considered to be votive images for recovery from sickness, sacrificed by the sick person himself or his parents.<sup>18</sup> This conflicts with the circumstance that these figurines have



1-2. MM 10078.

for the most part been found in houses.<sup>19</sup> Some of these "medical" figurines may have been apotropeic and have served as amulets.<sup>20</sup>

The heads described below, (numbered MME 1973:4 and MME 1973:5) were acquired in Cairo and Luxor respectively in 1967, while MM 10078 was given by a private collector in 1932. There is no information as to their provenance.

**MM 10078 (Figs. 1-3).** Terracotta head of a woman. The height is 8 cm. The head was moulded and made hollow. The clay is dark brown, with a lustrous slip of the same colour. The thickness of the clay walls is 0.7 cm at the neck. On the hair, small traces of pink colour still remain. The neck is smoothly terminated, showing no break. The head is well preserved, except for some damage on the right-hand side of the nose and on the neck.

The shape of the head is remarkably prolonged and narrow; this is accentuated even more by the high-piled, conical hairstyle. The eyes are small, with the

pupils indicated. The eyelids are thick, and beneath the eyes there is a tendency to oedema. The eyebrows are knitted, which makes the forehead low and furrowed. The nose is hooked and has extraordinarily broad wings, and the tip seems to be pushing the upper lip down, giving an impression of a hare-lip. The mouth is lopsided and has a thick under lip and deep corners. On the chin and cheeks, small cavities seem to have been deliberately made. The ears are not modelled, but a round bulge of clay may be interpreted as representing ear-rings. The hair is complicated to analyse, since the broad part along the joint is just smoothed, and the back is only modelled with some incised lines. Coils of hair are combed backwards and end in a knot. Along the temples, small curls are falling down. On the crown, the hair is piled high and rather pointed, with a round ornament in the middle of the front.<sup>21</sup>

Although the features of this head are quite irregular and coarse, the hairstyle probably indicates that it is meant to represent a woman. Among the terra-



3. MM 10078.

cotta figurines at the Graeco-Roman museum in Alexandria, there is a head that strikingly resembles the head presented here. The features seem identical, and the height is stated to be the same, 8 cm (Fig. 4).<sup>22</sup> The provenance of the "Alexandria" head is not known, but the head itself is referred to the provincial type, which in this case means that it may have come from the Fayoum district, and has been dated roughly in the Roman Imperial period. It can be assumed that the two heads were manufactured in the same workshop, though it is still uncertain if they came from the same mould.

It is tempting to attribute to this woman, as many scholars have often done,<sup>23</sup> a non-Egyptian nationality.<sup>24</sup> In the foreign quarters in Memphis, the excavator, Flinders Petrie, found several terracotta heads of different origins,<sup>25</sup> and it is interesting to note that very few heads of foreign women can be identified. In

Memphis, too, workshops have been found for terracotta figurines of a very high quality.<sup>26</sup> Often they have a lustrous slip of the same colour as the clay, as is the case also with the head under discussion. These very scrupulously worked terracottas are generally dated to the Ptolemaic period,<sup>27</sup> and, as regards this female head, it seems reasonable to ascribe to it an approximate date in the two first centuries B.C.

*MME 1973:4 (Figs. 5-7).* Terracotta head of a man. The height is 4.4 cm. The head was moulded, the back part only following the outline of the skull. It was made hollow. The clay is brown, with grey and white particles. The thickness of the clay wall where the neck breaks off is c. 0.9 cm. The neck breaks off obliquely, and the main part of the nose is damaged.

The shape of the head is dolichocephalic and the man is shown totally bald. He has a high forehead with three deep furrows. The eyes are asymmetrical, the left being a little higher than the right. Both are framed with thick eyelids. No pupils are indicated. The scanty

4. Terracotta head in Alexandria. (After Breccia, *Terracotte figurate*, nr 564).





5-7. MME 1973:4.

8-10. MME 1973:5.



remains of the nose show that it was broad, and the same can also be said of the mouth. The lips are extremely thick and the corners of the mouth are drooping. The upper lip is slightly oblique, which gives the man a cynical expression. The positions of the ears are indicated by bulges of clay. The cheek-bones are high, and both cheeks and chin are dimpled.

The break at the neck shows that this head belonged to a small figurine, but on account of the lack of any chronological clues, it is impossible to give a specific date. Like the majority of terracotta figurines of coarse brown clay, often called "Nile mud", this small grotesque may be a provincial work produced some time during the Roman Imperial period.

*MME 1973:5 (Figs. 8-10).* Terracotta head of a woman. The height is 7.5 cm. The head was moulded and is hollow. The back part is slightly concave and prolonged and pinched by hand. Through this part, a hole was made, probably for the purpose of suspension.<sup>28</sup> The clay is reddish, with small traces of white colour at the back. There are also some precipitations of salt crystals. The thickness of the clay wall is c. 0.5 cm at the neck. The front part of the neck is smoothly terminated, with damage on the left-hand side. Otherwise the head is very well preserved.

The face is finely modelled to give this woman her characteristics. It is furrowed all over. Only a pointed part of the front is seen under a voluminous hair.

The eye-brows are knitted, which gives the front a deep wavy furrow. The large oval eyes are framed by thick eyelids and no pupils are incised. The mouth is half-open with a thick protruding under lip. The mouth is oblique, with the right-hand corner drooping, which gives her a discontented, or even suffering expression. The ears are simplified without being modelled.

The most striking part of this head is her coiffure, which indicates that it is meant to represent a woman. The hair of the front part seems to be built up of three sections. The back part has deep incised lines, radiating from the centre. In front, a parting divides the hair, which is combed backwards. On the crown, six rows of small curls fall down like an ornament.

Fanciful coiffures like this are a common feature of a large number of terracotta heads dating from the beginning of Roman Imperial times.<sup>29</sup> The most complicated coiffures can be seen, especially on a series of female heads from the Fayoum district.<sup>30</sup> Some are probably built up with the aid of perukes and garlands.<sup>31</sup> These different types of hair may show the changing hair fashions of the Roman lady, and this may sometimes help to date the terracotta head.<sup>32</sup> Coiffures resembling the typical Flavian hair fashion can be identified, but, according to Vogt, the coiffure of the head under discussion was in Rome first used in the third century A.D.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Geneva*: W. Deonna, *Terres cuites gréco-égyptiennes*, *Revue Archéologique* 20, Paris 1924. *Copenhagen*: V. Schmidt, *De graesk-ægyptiske Terrakotter i Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek*, Copenhagen 1911. M. Mogensen, *La collection égyptienne de la Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg*, Copenhagen 1930. *Leiden*: W. D. van Wijngaarden, *De grieks-egyptische terracotta's in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden*, *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen Suppl. N. R. XXXIX*, Leiden 1958. *Berlin*: W. Weber, *Die ägyptisch-griechischen Terrakotten*, *Koenigl. Museen zu Berlin*, Berlin 1914. H. Philipp, *Terrakotten aus Ägypten*, Berlin 1972.

<sup>2</sup> *Frankfurt*: C.-M. Kaufmann, *Graeco-Ägyptische Koroplastik*, Leipzig 1915. (The majority come from the Fayoum district.)

<sup>3</sup> E.g. P. Perdrizet, *Les terres cuites grecques d'Égypte de la collection Fouquet*, Nancy 1921. P. Ghalioungui and G. Wagner, *Terres cuites de l'Égypte gréco-romaine de la collection P. Ghalioungui*, *Mitteilungen des Deutschen arch. Instituts abt. Kairo*, 30.2, Mainz 1974. J. Vogt, *Expedition E. von Sieglin, Ausgrabungen in Alexandria II.2. Terrakotten*, Leipzig 1924. (This collection was divided between the museums of Dresden, Stuttgart and Tübingen.)



- <sup>4</sup> E. Breccia, *Terrecotte figurate greche e greco-egizie del Museo di Alessandria*, *Monuments de l'Egypte gréco-romaine*, II, 1-2, Bergamo 1930-1934.
- <sup>5</sup> R. A. Higgins, *Greek Terracottas*, London 1967, p. 130.
- <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 132.
- <sup>7</sup> W. M. F. Petrie, *Memphis I*, BSAE 15, London 1909, the *Palace of Apries (Memphis II)*, BSAE 17, London 1909, W. M. F. Petrie, G. Wainwright, E. Mackay, *Meydum and Memphis (III)*, BSAE 18, London 1910.
- <sup>8</sup> Breccia II, 1, *op.cit.*, pp. 22-23.
- <sup>9</sup> P. Graindor, *Terres cuites de L'Egypte Gréco-Romaine*, Antwerp 1939, p. 17.
- <sup>10</sup> Philipp, *op.cit.*, p. 6.
- <sup>11</sup> Cf. C. Edgar, *Greek Moulds*, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire*, Cairo 1903.
- <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.
- <sup>13</sup> Graindor, *op.cit.*, p. 30.
- <sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.
- <sup>15</sup> Higgins, *op.cit.*, p. 132. Cf. Weber, *op.cit.*, Taf. 30-31.
- <sup>16</sup> Higgins, *op.cit.*, p. 112.
- <sup>17</sup> E.g. Perdrizet, *op.cit.*, pp. 161-169, Pls. CVIII-CXIX, Ghalioungui and Wagner, *op.cit.*, p. 175.
- <sup>18</sup> Perdrizet, *op.cit.*, p. XV.
- <sup>19</sup> Graindor, *op.cit.*, p. 37, Vogt, *op.cit.*, p. 54.
- <sup>20</sup> Graindor, *op.cit.*, pp. 38 and 50.
- <sup>21</sup> For a similar ornament, see Ghalioungui and Wagner, *op.cit.*, Taf. 64:c.
- <sup>22</sup> Cf. Breccia, II, 2, *op.cit.*, p. 56, Pl. XCIX, 564. The head is

referred to a group of heads, identified as those of farmers or slaves, wearing high conical hats. To me it is evident that in both no. 564 and the Stockholm head the hair has a conical form.

<sup>23</sup> E.g. Deonna, *op.cit.*, pp. 98-99, Kaufmann, *op.cit.*, p. 140, Taf. 51.

<sup>24</sup> In the collection of Dr. Fouquet, there is a head described as an old Jewish woman, which resembles the head under discussion. See Perdrizet, *op.cit.*, Pl. CXVII:512.

<sup>25</sup> Petrie, *Memphis I*, *op.cit.*, pp. 15-17, Pls. XXXV-XLIV, *The Palace of Apries (Memphis II)*, *op.cit.*, pp. 16-18, Pls. XXVIII-XXXIV, Petrie, Wainwright, Mackay, Meydum and Memphis III, *op.cit.*, p. 46, Pls. XLII-XLVI.

<sup>26</sup> Graindor, *op.cit.*, p. 17.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56.

<sup>28</sup> It may be possible, that this head has been a part of a lamp. Among the many terracotta lamps found at Herakleopolis Magna, some have figure handles for example of a boy's head. See W. M. F. Petrie, *Roman Ehnasya*, London 1905, Pl. LVII:12.

<sup>29</sup> E.g. Mogensen, *op.cit.*, p. 40, Pl. XXXIX, Vogt, *op.cit.*, p. 67, Taf. XIX, LXIII-LXV, and XCIII.

<sup>30</sup> Kaufmann, *op.cit.*, pp. 141-143, Taf. 52.

<sup>31</sup> Breccia, II, 2, *op.cit.*, p. 44.

<sup>32</sup> Vogt, *op.cit.*, p. 68, Deonna, *op.cit.*, p. 103.

<sup>33</sup> Vogt, *op.cit.*, p. 68, Taf. LXIV, especially no. 3 (Stuttgart), which resembles the Stockholm head in the way which the hair is arranged.

# A Head of Sarapis in Stockholm

Cecilia Beer

In 1968 the Egyptian Department of the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities, Medelhavsmuseet, acquired a head of Sarapis (MME 1968:1) from an art dealer in Holland. Its provenance is said to be Oxyrhynchos in Middle Egypt.<sup>1</sup> The head is carved in a soft limestone frequent in that area<sup>2</sup> and its height is c. 27 cm.

The head is damaged in several places. The nose is missing (now repaired), together with the left-hand end and upper right-hand part of the moustache and a piece above the left-hand corner of the mouth, and parts of the locks on the forehead, of which the second from the left is entirely missing. The hair on the sides of the head is partly damaged, the left-hand side being, on the whole, better preserved than the right.

The most impressive features of the head are the big eyes, which gaze slightly upwards and to the left. They are set in a narrow, somewhat triangular face. The stone is deeply incised between hair and face, and this underlines the shape of the face, embedded in thick hair and a big beard. The execution of the eyes is crude. They are nevertheless expressive, owing to the large ovals where the torus-shaped eye-lids hang over a quarter of the iris, which is left free on the eye-ball like an island. The pupils of the eyes were incised with a chisel; the right-hand one is nearly a full circle and the left is segment-shaped.

The mouth is half open, with no teeth visible and a short moustache, the right-hand end of which curls upwards. I shall come back to the direction of the left-hand end in discussing the canon. The forehead is smooth, without wrinkles, and, when seen from the side, protrudes over the eyes. There are no distinct eyebrows. On the forehead there were probably four or possibly five separate locks of hair. It is difficult to tell whether the now damaged lock on the right-hand

side of the head originally fell down on the forehead or was just the short end of the bigger mass of hair. Above these locks there is a second parallel row of three other independent locks.<sup>3</sup> The treatment of the hair is rather careless. It is merely the surface of the hair that is worked and the locks are only accentuated parts of the mass of hair. The locks on the forehead do not stand out at all from the underlying stone. The work is more relief-like and is remote from the elaborate examples in which the broken-off locks of hair only leave *puntelli* on the forehead as the sole traces of their previous existence. Here, the hair on the sides is only marked as long, wavy strands. The more distant from the face the hair is situated, the more careless the treatment becomes, so that it is hardly noticeable on the back of the head. The back was evidently hidden and was not intended to show. This was a familiar practice in the long Egyptian tradition of sculpture where the front mattered most.

The beard is not very carefully executed either. On the surface, each curl has become a thick roll, which in most cases terminates with a drill-hole in the middle. There is no apparent division of the beard into two halves, a typical feature of the more carefully worked heads of Sarapis.<sup>4</sup> No part of the beard has been worked free from the stone. The impression it gives is that of a compact mass. Especially when seen from the side, the beard and the solid neck together form a lump. Here the block of stone has been left practically unworked.

There are no drill-holes in the hair, as distinguished from the beard, except in one curly lock above the middle of the face and just below the *taenia*. Some other smaller holes may only be natural cavities in the stone, as also in the case of the hole on the left temple. I cannot see what function a drill-hole would have on





the left temple, unless it was placed there by accident.

On the head there are no big holes for attachment, either on the skull, where normally the *calathus* was placed (indicated here by its lower part the *taenia*), or under the neck. At least the back of the skull, which slopes sharply downwards, has a rather level surface. There does not seem to be a fracture surface on the under side of the neck either. The reason for this lack of signs of attachment is presumably that the head was made separately for fitting into a body or insertion in a niche, into which it fitted neatly.

The identification of Sarapis is clear from the *taenia* on the head, while the *calathus* is missing. Following W. Hornbostel's division of Sarapis representations into two main groups, the "Anastoletypus" and the "Fransentypus", according to the hairstyle, the present head must be assigned to the latter group.<sup>3</sup>

The images of the first group, the anastole type, are characterized by upraised strands of hair above the forehead (ἀναστολή) and are considered to be copies or adaptations of the original Hellenistic cult statue at



the Sarapeum in Alexandria, the anastole being a reflection of the hairstyle in the portraits of Alexander the Great.<sup>6</sup>

The second group—translating Hornbostel's "Fransentypus" by "lock type"—goes back to the Alexandrian cult statue of the Roman period, according to L. Castiglione and others,<sup>7</sup> whereas Hornbostel considers it to be typical of the original Hellenistic statue.<sup>8</sup> This lock type had the hair arranged in, presumably, five undulant strands or locks on the forehead.<sup>9</sup> It was also this type that was to become canonical.<sup>10</sup>

The most frequent representation of Sarapis, and also that of both cult statues at the Sarapeum in Alexandria, is the image of a seated god of dignified Greek appearance, a father-god type, such as Zeus, Asklepios or Dionysos.<sup>11</sup> He is wearing both a tunic-like chiton and a loose-fitting himation, with a basket-shaped calathus on his head. The left hand is raised to hold a spear or a sceptre and the right rests on the three-headed Cerberus.<sup>12</sup> The images of this enthroned god, as reflected in numerous reproductions (and reproductions of reproductions) of the most ancient statue, then developed in two directions, distinguished by the hairstyle.<sup>13</sup> Whether it is the question of an anastole or a lock type, they both have a thick beard and a moustache. On most examples the moustache curls up at the left end and down at the right.<sup>14</sup> In the case of the Stockholm head, the right-hand end of the moustache curls up, while the left-hand end is missing. To my knowledge, there is no head in existence or else it is very rare, in which the scheme is the opposite to that mentioned above, i.e. the right-hand end of the moustache curls up and the left-hand end curls down. If this first rule is not followed, the most common is a moustache in which both ends curl up symmetrically, though there is a rare example in which both ends curl down.<sup>15</sup> Accordingly, the Stockholm head ought to have such a moustache, with both ends arranged alike, i.e. curling upwards. However, on the left-hand side, where a piece is missing, there is a drill-

hole placed markedly below the level of the drill-hole on the right-hand end. This may indicate that the end of the moustache curled down at this side, in which case this may be a very rare example in which the left end curls down and not the right, but the drill-hole may also belong to a possible curl at this place.

We need not take into consideration here the complex problem of when exactly the respective hairstyles appeared for the first time, as it seems that they occurred in parallel<sup>16</sup> and that in any case the lock type, with which we are here concerned, was the more frequent during the Roman period.<sup>17</sup>

If the original cult statue of Sarapis in Alexandria was a Greek work, there is nothing Greek about the present head. The deep cutting between face and hair, with its light-and-shade effect so typical of the Antonine period, gives a clue for the dating of the head only as a *terminus post quem*. Other criteria of style, such as the narrowness of the face and its triangular and asymmetrical shape, frequently occur in heads of Sarapis over a long period of time, from the second century to about 300 A.D. Around this date, the forms of sculpture harden to a stiff stylization, but of this frozen formalism there is not the least trace in the present head. Instead we can observe how the canonical typology still survives, although the execution is negligent and other late stylistic changes are obvious. Especially in the big, expressive yet meditative eyes there are strong reminiscences of the Roman transcendental look. The overall impression given by this frontal and passive face of indeterminable age is that it must have been produced in a local workshop, where the quality of the carving differed greatly from that of Alexandria, Rome or the Italian region.<sup>18</sup>

The hazards involved in precisely dating provincial works from outside Alexandria have been pointed out by Hornbostel, because of the tendency to retardation in the provinces.<sup>19</sup> Bearing this in mind, the Stockholm head cannot be preliminarily dated more exactly than the middle of the third century A.D.

<sup>1</sup> Art dealer's information. For other Sarapis representations allegedly from Oxyrhynchos, see G. J. F. Kater-Sibbes, Preliminary Catalogue of Sarapis Monuments, in *Etudes Préliminaires aux Religions Orientales dans l'Empire Romain* (EPRO), 36, Leiden, Brill, 1973, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> This information was given me by Dr. Bengt Peterson, Director of the Egyptian Department of the Medelhavsmuseet, to whom I also wish to express my thanks for facilitating my work in every way.

<sup>3</sup> This second row of locks occurs so frequently, in fact in

most examples and even in provincial reproductions of inferior quality, that it must be a feature characteristic of the original cult statue. Cf. W. Hornbostel, *Sarapis. Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte, den Erscheinungsformen und Wandlungen der Gestalt eines Gottes*, in *EPRO*, 32, Leiden, Brill, 1973, p. 81.

<sup>4</sup> For a discussion of the arrangement of the beard of the canonical Sarapis, see T. Kraus, *Sarapiskopf aus Oxyrhynchos*, *JdI*, LXXV (1960), pp. 88–99, esp. pp. 91–95.

<sup>5</sup> Hornbostel, *op.cit.*, for "Anastoletypus", see Chap. 5, p. 133, and for "Fransentypus", Chap. 6, 207. However, other scholars introduced this division before Hornbostel. Especial mention should be made of L. Castiglione, *La statue du culte hellénistique du Sarapieion d'Alexandrie*, *Bulletin du Musée national hongrois des Beaux-Arts*, 12, 1958, pp. 17–39.

<sup>6</sup> For ἀναστολή, see T. Hölscher, *Ideal und Wirklichkeit in den Bildnissen Alexanders des Grossen*, Diss., Heidelberg, 1971, p. 25.

Hornbostel (*op.cit.*, p. 133) admits the undeniable influence of Alexander's portraits but also points to other sources, such as images of Zeus, Asklepios, and Poseidon.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Castiglione, *op.cit.*, p. 34. N. Reynolds (*New Archaeological Evidence for the Iconography of Sarapis*, Diss. 1948) takes the same view. I have not seen the work myself, but her

conclusions are briefly reported by Hornbostel (*op.cit.*, pp. 10–11).

<sup>8</sup> Hornbostel, *op.cit.*, p. 80.

<sup>9</sup> Kraus, *op.cit.*, p. 91: "Es sind fünf an der Zahl und das ist die Regel". Cf. Hornbostel, *op.cit.*, p. 80.

<sup>10</sup> Castiglione, *op.cit.*, p. 39.

<sup>11</sup> For a discussion of the origin of the cult of Sarapis and the controversial question of the date when the original Hellenistic cult statue was erected, see P. M. Fraser, *Two Studies on the Cult of Sarapis in the Hellenistic World*, *Op.Ath.* III (1960), pp. 1–54, and *idem*, *Current Problems concerning the Early History of the Cult of Sarapis*, *Op.Ath.* VII (1967), pp. 23–45, and J. Stambaugh, *Sarapis under the Early Ptolemies*, in *EPRO*, 25, Leiden, Brill, 1973, pp. 6–13. For the development of research and discussion, see also Hornbostel, *op.cit.*, "Einführung", pp. 1–31.

<sup>12</sup> Stambaugh, *op.cit.*, p. 14.

<sup>13</sup> Castiglione, *op.cit.*, p. 39.

<sup>14</sup> Stambaugh, *op.cit.*, p. 14; Kraus, *op.cit.*, p. 91.

<sup>15</sup> Hornbostel, *op.cit.*, Pl. CXXXVIII, no. 222a.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 291.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 207.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 393.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 278.

# The Sole Heracles

## Notes on an Attic Black-figure Olpe

Torsten Hild

The vase, now behind glass at the Medelhavsmuseet in Stockholm, does not produce a sensation. Most collections contain examples of more magnificent Greek pottery, but the plain shape and uncomplicated decoration of this creation has an attractiveness of its own which is probably appreciated by both scholars and amateurs. The observer will also find motives for reflection upon Greek pottery development at the time when Attic Black-figure had passed its zenith and the red-figure technique started its progress.

### Facts

As a beginning I will call attention to the late King Gustaf VI Adolf of Sweden and his wellknown ability to appreciate interesting products from ancient pottery workshops. Our vase was acquired at an art dealer in Rome and then presented by the King to the Medelhavsmuseet. This happened in 1969. Nothing more is known about its provenance. Inventory No. MM 1969:14.

In *shape* the vase is an oinochoe of the variant called *olpe*. The ovoid body has a slender contour with a continuous curve turning over from the base to a splaying neck and a horizontal mouth with turned-out rim. There are no trefoil lips, but the mouth is strengthened at both sides of the handle. The latter is raised and also flanged. At the bottom, the body changes into an inverted 'echinus', a low and wide base-ring.

The walls are thin. Marks of restoration show that they have been broken. Thus, a distinct crack with ramifications runs straight across the decoration. There is some repainting.

Height: 19 cm. Width of the body: 12 cm.

The *decoration* has rather few components. The handle separates scrolls of palmette-stems. On the front side the scrolls frame the only human figure, a powerful Heracles. The hero is depicted with frontal upper body and profiled lower body. He runs from left to right in *Knielauf-style*<sup>1</sup> on an imaginary track (there is no base-line) with his left arm and leg drawn forwards—quite contrary to real life. The face is in profile, but with a frontal eye. The whole figure expresses a relentless energy. A specific mythological scene cannot be verified.

Heracles' clothing and outfit consist of a short chiton with dotted band, a lionskin (including the lionhead), a belt, a dotted quiver with six arrows, a bow without string, and a solid club of olive-tree type.

White colour is used on quiver and chiton edging—it is applied as dots, without accuracy, on both places. All other details of the hero are incised, mostly with good precision. The scrolls are painted in black. This colour is also used for the base-ring, the handle, the mouth and the inside of the neck. On all these places small areas of black are worn out.

The composition is very plain, there are no bands, circles or zones between base-ring and mouth. Only the Heracles figure and the two scrolls divide up the red background.

### Aspects

The Attic vases underwent evolutionary changes, which is evident from the tendency from the sixth to the fourth centuries B.C. to make increasingly slender shapes. In this context it is interesting to note that existing designs were improved rather than altered to new types.<sup>2</sup> Our MM 1969:14 is a good exponent for



1. MM 1969:14

the transforming of plump vases into elegant shapes that occurred continuously during the sixth century.

The olpe, like the oinochoe, was developed as a pitcher for wine and other liquids. We can assume that primarily it was a household utensil. But often

it also was a product of fine art, an object for the potter's and painter's ambitions to create elegant shapes and expressive figure decorations. And these ambitions changed with times, which helps us to follow the stages of development and make assump-



tions about dating.

While investigating the existence of objects similar to our pitcher, I found that the olpe belongs to the minorities in the examined collections and literary presentations, notwithstanding the fact that this type of vase was a common pouring vessel with traditions from early Attic Black-figure.<sup>3</sup> There are, however, a sufficient number of examples, which give us opportunity to select and point at interesting objects.

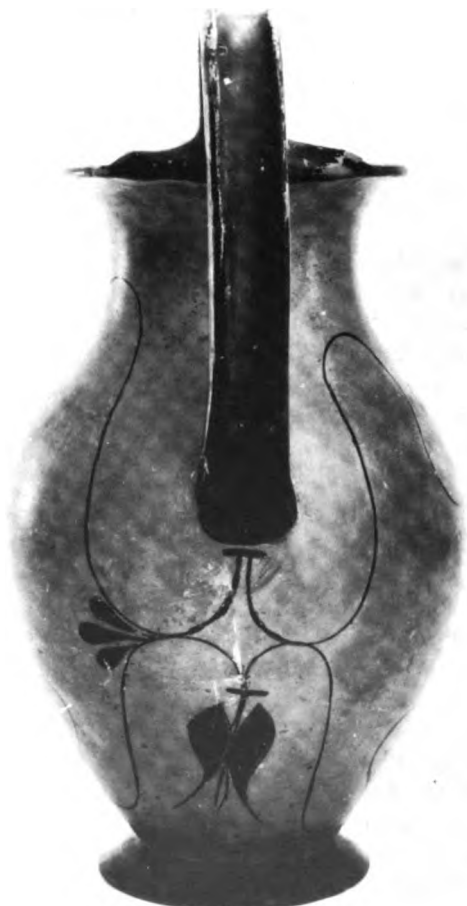
In the following examples all comparisons refer to shape, not to decoration, which will be dealt with further on.

At once I will point out that I have not found another olpe with certain affinity to MM 1969:14. Compared with a number of well-shaped and well-known vases created by the potters behind names as the Gorgon Painter, the Amasis Painter, Exekias and Nikosthenes,<sup>4</sup> MM 1969:14 is slighter and more

2-3. MM 1969:14.

elongated. It is more narrow-necked and has a smaller base. There is some relationship with British Museum B 620, which is an oinochoe from Vulci. This has a rounded but slender belly and a base similar to that of our olpe. It may also be compared with Metropolitan (New York) 46.11.7, by J. Boardman described as an oinochoe by the Painter of London B 620.<sup>5</sup> But, these two vases have quite different necks plus plastic female heads at the junction of the handles.

When we survey the pattern of shapes concentrating on the decades when the above-mentioned artists were active, we must consider the transition to more and more slender forms during the last decades of the sixth century. About 510 this trend changed<sup>6</sup>—the robust forms became modern again. The Museum of Fine Arts in Boston possesses an olpe attributed to the Daybreak Painter, a vase which is a good example of the new course.<sup>7</sup> It has a slim body, but a high thick



lip like a heavy 'echinus'. The Daybreak Painter belonged to the Leagros Group (ca 520–500 B.C.).

My suggestion is that MM 1969:14 ought to be placed between the period of Exekias and that of the Daybreak Painter.

Does the decoration support this suggestion?

After the first decades of Attic Black-figure technique the painters concentrated more and more on isolated scenes with large figures, often at the expense of ornaments. These were reduced to a few standard motifs.<sup>8</sup> Towards the end of the sixth century this refinement had become highly developed. Regarding MM 1969:14, the figure of Heracles responds to this trend and so do the ornaments. Note the special feature of the olpe, the free background running from base to lip without the usual inclusions of lotus, zones of rays, etc. As a whole, the decoration and the composition is an extreme simplification.

What about the one-figure idea in general? It can be noted that collections and literature have good examples from the late sixth century and a considerable period onwards. Lekythoi and Panathenaic amphoras were often one-figure products. One-figure oinochoai and olpai are rare as far as I can judge of the available material. A squat oinochoe from the early fifth century has a sole figure against a free background like MM 1969:14. It has a certain resemblance to our vase, even if the shape is plump. The vase belongs to the Gallatin Collection in USA.<sup>9</sup>

My thoughts also go to an oinochoe in the Scheurleer Museum<sup>10</sup> in the Hague which presents a sole running warrior, who carries out his rush without support of other details. He is drawn against a free background like the figure in the Gallatin Collection.

The common tendency to simplify is apparent, but an additional reason may be that the painters were forced to employ one-figure arrangements because of the diminishing size of the vases. J. D. Beazley mentions that most black-figure vases became smaller up to the first quarter of the fifth century.<sup>11</sup>

Another feature is the runner formed like a swastika. It is perhaps possible that the round areas on kylikes, shallow cups, etc.<sup>12</sup> stimulated the painters to compose circular figures like our Heracles. The literature abounds with such compressed figures. But we must also remember that the special Knielauf-style signifies energy, that it is a manifestation of power intended to inspire respect. Probably the style originates from the East. Eduard Schmidt has presented an extensive and profound survey in his essay "Der Knielauf und die

Darstellung des Laufens und Fliegens in der älteren griechischen Kunst" (Münchener archäologische Studien, München 1909). Anyhow, the Knielauf-style was gradually abandoned during the last quarter of the sixth century.<sup>13</sup> This may speak against my suggestion that MM 1969:14 was produced at the end of the century. There are proofs which show that the change had its exceptions. One example, which has the additional advantage of having a Heracles fairly like our own, can be studied in the Museo Nazionale, Firenze.<sup>14</sup> Here the hero is represented in the shoulder-zone fighting with amazons. As to the rest the vase displays some carriage scenes. It is true that the Florentine Heracles has a less genuine Knielauf-style, but I think it is sufficient enough to support the argumentation. The piece in Firenze is a large fragment from a hydria related to the Leagros Group.

An isolated figure of a runner is also represented on British Museum No. 64 10–7 156.<sup>15</sup> This vase, an amphora from ca 550–525 B.C., was found at Fikellura, Rhodes, and belongs to the Archaic East Greek pottery. Fikellura has given name to a special group with Rhodes and Samos as dominating localities. In mainland Greece and further West this ware is very rare. In general the Fikellura painters maintained their own style characterized by the figures being set against a free background and by volutes, crescents and lotus sometimes in several rows.<sup>16</sup> There may be a small possibility that the painter of our Heracles has seen a Fikellura one-figure vase and thus has received inspiration. In my opinion this chance is very small, but I will mention the matter as I know that comparisons have been made.

Another question, perhaps peripheral but interesting, is the physiognomical aspect. Why does Heracles run with such relentless energy and why does he look so grim? Generally, we have good reasons for associating him with display of strength and combat—his only quiet moments are at his apotheosis or when he appears with his patroness Athena. At least in black-figure production! J. Boardman touches upon the propagandistic effects of vase-painting.<sup>17</sup> A grim expression could be intended to make people feel meek, and to consider what it means that Heracles' patroness is Athena, the city goddess of Athens. The display of the powerful hero may have strengthened people's respect for the city and its deeds.

I will mention that the Leagros Group had Heracles as a favourite and also that some of the members made their figures lively and grim with a touch of

brutality. This is perhaps of interest. Typical for one of the artists in the Leagros Group are the long trunk-like noses of his figures.<sup>18</sup> In this respect one can find almost precise parallels to our Heracles.

As stated in the foregoing, MM 1969:14 has some ornaments—palmette scrolls—on both sides of the handle. This type of ornament seems to be very common during the late sixth century. Fig. 3 shows the pattern. It was often used by the Antimenes Painter and the Acheloos Painter and the artists around them. The latter painter belonged to the Leagros Group, which may explain why this special pattern is so often found in its production.<sup>19</sup>

## Conclusions

The little olpe here discussed is a fine piece of art and this holds true for shape as well as composition.

In my opinion the best parallels to MM 1969:14, both as regards the shape and the decoration, are found among the vases in the Leagros Group, as my preceding discussion shows. There is no signature to guide us. (According to Beazley<sup>20</sup> the lack of signatures is a typical feature of the Leagros Group. Vases belonging to it are found in very large numbers, but only half-a-dozen black-figured objects have inscriptions.)

The vase can probably be dated to 520–500 B.C. We have seen many details pointing in that direction: Proceeding changes of shape, simplification of scenes and composition, increasingly careless painting (e.g. the white parts) which characterizes the late sixth century black-figure production.

### Abbreviations

ABV	J. D. Beazley, <i>Attic Black-figure Vase-painters</i> , 1956.
Boardman	J. Boardman, <i>Athenian Black Figure Vases</i> , London 1974.
CVA	<i>Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum</i> .
Dev	J. D. Beazley, <i>The Development of Attic Black Figure</i> , 1951.
Hoppin	J. C. Hoppin, <i>A Handbook of Greek Black-figured Vases</i> , Paris 1924.
Richter	G. Richter, <i>A Handbook of Greek Art</i> , London 1969.

<sup>1</sup> Boardman, 199.

<sup>2</sup> Richter, 323.

<sup>3</sup> Boardman, 187. Oinochoai (incl. olpai).

<sup>4</sup> ABV, *Manner of the Gorgon Painter*, 11, British Museum B 32.

ABV, 9, British Museum B 33.

Hoppin, 43, British Museum B 52. Olpe attr. to Amasis.

Hoppin, 32–33, British Museum B 471. Olpe attr. to Amasis. See also ABV 153, 32.

E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, Munich 1923, vol. III, Fig. 257, British Museum B 620. Oinochoe.

Hoppin, 216, *Cab. des Médailles*, Paris, 258. Olpe. Nikosthenes. See also CVA pl 48, 1–3, 7.

Hoppin, 36, *Louvre*, Paris, F 30. Olpe attr. to Amasis.

<sup>5</sup> Boardman, pl. 230, *Metropolitan Museum*, New York, 46.11.7. Oinochoe. *The Painter of London B 620*. See also ABV 434,3.

J. V. Noble, *The Techniques of Painted Attic Pottery*, London 1966, Fig. 223.

<sup>6</sup> Boardman, 185. General transition from slender to robust forms.

<sup>7</sup> Boardman, 114, pl. 232, *Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, 03.783. Olpe. *The Daybreak Painter*.

<sup>8</sup> Richter, 323.

<sup>9</sup> CVA, U.S.A., *Gallatin Collection*, fasc. 8, 1942, pl. 42,7.

<sup>10</sup> CVA, Pays-Bas, *Scheurleer Museum*, fasc. 1, 1927, III H e, pl. 4, 6.

<sup>11</sup> Dev, 87.

<sup>12</sup> Dev, pl. 22.

<sup>13</sup> Boardman, 199.

<sup>14</sup> CVA, Italia, *Museo Nazionale*, Firenze, 94322, fasc. XLII, 1969, Tav. 35. See also ABV, 364, No. 60.

<sup>15</sup> Hirmer-Arias, *A History of Greek Vase Painting*, 1962, pl. 30.

<sup>16</sup> R. M. Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery*, 1960, 85–86, 123, pl. 19.

E. Buschor, *Griechische Vasen*, 1940, 32, pl. 105.

<sup>17</sup> Boardman, 216, 221.

<sup>18</sup> Dev, 82.

<sup>19</sup> T. Rönne-Linders, *A Black-figured Neck-Amphora of the Leagros Group*, *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* No. 3, 1963, 54–63. Ornaments.

<sup>20</sup> Dev, 81.

During my searching for data and objects and during my writing I have had good help from colleagues and friends. My best thanks to Dr. Tullia Linders and Dr. Gisela Walberg for their help with the questions of art and archaeology, and to Miss Marianne Herdenstam for checking up my English. I am especially grateful to the British Museum for their willingness to show me their collections and for the supplying of photographs.

# Two Late Attic Black-figured Vases

Charlotte Scheffer

In 1968 two Attic black-figured vases, a hydria (MM 1968:123) and a neck-amphora (MM 1968:122) were given to the *Medelhavsmuseet* by King Gustaf VI Adolf. They are both good examples of late black-figure vase-painting. One may feel inclined to think that vases in the old technique more or less disappeared with the coming of the new red-figure style, but it is a fact that black-figured vases continued to be made and continued to be popular well into the fifth century B.C., and the Panathenaic amphorae, though, as we know, usually painted by red-figure artists, even longer. Painters of late black-figure were often good, seldom brilliant, mostly not so good, preferring to work in an old and well-known tradition rather than trying any "new-fangled" ideas.

The *hydria* (Figs. 1–6) is the earlier of the two vases. The height to the rim is 44.6 cm (incl. the handle 49.3 cm), the diameter of the base 22.5 and of the mouth 15.0 cm.

The vase has been restored from several fragments and repainted in places. The pictures are fairly well preserved except for the figure furthest to the right in the main field, whose upper part is rather damaged as seen from the abrupt fall of her wrap on the right side. The red line following the pleats here has not been restored. The white is generally very badly preserved.

The glaze of the vase has misfired, especially outside the pictures, and has a mottled appearance and a slight yellowish green tint.<sup>1</sup>

The shape is the one usual in the last quarter of the sixth century B.C., with a disk foot, an elongated body, an almost horizontal shoulder, and a well set-off neck. The vertical handle with a central rib and lateral plates seems to have a metal prototype.<sup>2</sup>

The main colour of the hydria is black. The ground colour of the vase is visible only as the background for the pictures, one on the body, the other on the shoulder, and for a band of rays rising from a red band at the join of foot to body, and in a thin line on the mouth inside the raised rim. Otherwise the vase is only left unpainted where it was difficult to reach or not considered necessary to paint it, as under the foot, inside the handles, on the underside of the rim, and inside the body of the vase.

The main picture is bordered below by a panel with palmettes turned sideways with interconnected stems, an ornament typical of late black-figured hydria.<sup>3</sup> Below this again two circumferential red lines are to be found. On the sides the picture is bordered by two stylized ivy tendrils in panels. A simple black line divides the two pictures. Above the shoulder scene there is a tongue pattern in red and black. There are no incisions in the ornamental decoration.

The main picture shows a man and a young woman wrestling, obviously *Peleus and Thetis*. Peleus, a strong, young man, is seen in profile. His curly hair falls in four locks in front of his ears and in longer, thicker locks or tresses down his back. The upper part of his body is bare, the lower draped in his himation. The bands round his ankles serve to fasten wings, here hidden by the girls' dresses but known from other vases.<sup>4</sup> He is leaning forward, grabbing Thetis in a compositionally old and very unrealistic manner.

Thetis is unsuitably dressed for the occasion in an ankle-length, pleated garment, girdled at the waist with part of the dress falling over the belt. She is well combed, her long hair kept in place by a fillet or small diadem. She is moving to the right away from Peleus. Her hands raised in fright, she looks desper-



1. MM 1968:123.

ately for help to the pantheress which is attacking Peleus from behind, biting his shoulder. Like many sea divinities Thetis had the gift of being able to change herself into all kinds of things and animals when threatened,<sup>5</sup> and this is the way the archaic artist chose to depict this rather complicated fact.

On either side there is a female companion of Thetis, a nereid. They are on their way out of the picture, away from the dangerous proximity of the man, but are turning round, dramatically showing their dread and wonder. They are dressed in the same type of thin pleated dress. Over their shoulders are draped wraps with long flaps hanging down. Their long hair, with one lock falling free, is adorned with a red fillet.

All over the background the usual late black-figure tree is nervously twisting its branches. It is painted last of all as is natural since it had to fill all areas left undecorated by the figures. Some of its branches and some of the women's hands intrude upon the shoulder field above.

2. MM 1968:123.



Red is used for the fillets and for pleats and dots on the dresses, white for female skin, incisions for embroideries and pattern on the dresses as in the shoulder field.

The shoulder field is the place for *Herakles' fight with the Nemean lion*. The hero is nude, with short hair and beard. He has obtained a firm foothold on the groundline and holds the lion in a deadly embrace. His grip, showing only the fingertips of his left hand, is more naturalistic than the one of Peleus below, which shows the arm to above the elbow. The lion is a lean, shaggy, long-legged animal, roaring with pain and lashing its long S-shaped tail. Above the sword, club, cloak, quiver and bow of Herakles hang in the air.

This type of the lion fight with the two combatants stretched out in an almost recumbent position was very popular for the shoulder field of hydriai, natural enough as it was very suitable for the long drawn-out shape of the field. The rest of the field was occupied by spectators, here to the left Athena, the protectress of heroes, and to the right Hermes, the eternal guide, both seated on foot-stools since they could not otherwise have been accommodated in the field. On a hydria in the British Museum Athena has even had to remove her helmet in order to get in.<sup>6</sup> Here she has not bothered and her helmet intrudes on the tongue pattern above. She is dressed in a long chiton and a mantle wrapped round the right arm and hand holding the spear. Over the left arm hangs the aegis, hissing with snakes. Hermes is equipped as usual: petasos, kerykeion and winged shoes, a knee-long dress and a travelling-cloak. He has a short pointed beard and the hair in some kind of bun. He points at the fight with long archaic fingers.

Furthest out in the field on both sides there is a young boy, short-haired, dressed in a short chiton and carrying a club. The one to the left is somewhat smaller—the field is slightly narrower here—and wears a cuirass as well. The one to the right has a bow and a quiver suspended from the club. He points downwards with his left hand. It is not at all unusual that mere spectators are introduced to complete the picture or make it more symmetrical. One youngster is however to be expected and that is Iolaos, the nephew, friend and helper of Herakles. But who is who here? On an amphora in London Iolaos stands to the left and an unknown naked boy lacking attributes to the right.<sup>7</sup> He is probably just a bystander, and the same goes for a hydria also in London, where Iolaos carries a club as a sign of identification.<sup>8</sup> But here both carry a



3-4. MM 1968:123.



club. Are they Iolaos doubled, as Beazley says,<sup>9</sup> or has the painter, thinking of Iolaos, but not specifying the figures, merely painted two assistants of Herakles for symmetrical reasons?

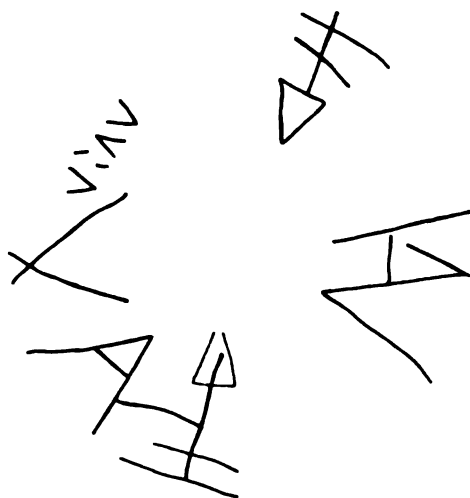
Slight traces of red are found in the mane of the lion, in the pleats of the dresses and on the crest of the helmet of Athena. Very faint traces of white seem to indicate the skin of Athena. Incisions are used for hair, also on the lion, and for the pattern of the aegis.

Under the foot of the vase there are several graffiti (Figs. 5-6), made after the firing. Two that are easy to read seem to be a ligature between lambda and eta in two slightly different variants. Two other ones are arrow-like signs. One of them is fairly clear, the other is very faint and seems at some stage to have been changed into one of the lambda-eta ligatures. A third type consists of lambda-ypsilon—two short dividing strokes—lambda and possibly something more. Two oblique lines crossing at one end, though very clear, are difficult to interpret and may be unintentional like several other scratches.

Mercantile inscriptions were first studied by Hackl and according to him they were probably notations made by the seller or the buyer concerning the price of a vase, or a tally figuring the total or the price of a batch of pottery, or they might be the signature of the purchaser.<sup>10</sup> Amyx, developing a theory advanced by Hackl, suggests that the ligature may mean

le(kythos) and that such a vase was to be given free to the buyer of the large and thus probably expensive vase on which the ligature is found.<sup>11</sup> (Would this mean that ours, having two, was difficult to sell?) In this he is followed by Smith.<sup>12</sup> This is not quite so impossible as it sounds. The ligature is too common to be, in general, a mere numeral sign, and even if the free lekythos is a less likely explanation, the ligature may still mean lekythos. Recently Webster<sup>13</sup> has shown himself disinclined to believe this theory and wants to see the ligature as the sign of the dealer who exported the vase, but this does not quite explain the doubling of the ligature on our and other vases, nor the fact that the two letters, written separately AH, seem to occur as the abbreviation of lekythos in normal tally formulas and in some instances seem, like the abbreviation AHKV, to be the equivalent of the ligature.<sup>14</sup> Neither theory explains satisfactorily the variants of the ligature, which is sometimes written with an epsilon, sometimes with an eta. Lepsis, "received", as suggested by Miss D. M. Edwards in a Manchester dissertation of 1940,<sup>15</sup> or some such word, is rather attractive and would explain the doubling of the ligature on our vase, if it for instance was sold twice. A thorough study of all new material that has collected since Hackl wrote his work is necessary before we can even attempt to reconstruct the full meaning of these and other graffiti.

5-6. MM 1968:123:Graffiti.





Of the other graffiti on the vase the arrow-like sign, almost always combined with the ligature,<sup>16</sup> could be the price—12 of something (obols?) or possibly 2 D(rachmai), a suitable price for our hydria, since it is found only on very large vases which would command such a high price.<sup>17</sup> The last graffito, consisting of several letters, is much smaller. It probably stands for a vase name *ly(dion -dia)* and the number (30?) of vases.

The painter of the hydria is a conscientious and sensitive artist although his figures are too much bound to a scheme. They are affected and posing as if taking part in a tableau and lack the dignity and deeper significance of early black-figure. This is more valid for the scene on the body. The small scene on the shoulder is more summarily and because of this perhaps also more naturalistically treated. The painter is a good artisan of a time when great masters were painting red-figure.

The hydria belongs in fact to the group in late black-figure named for Leagros who was "beautiful" in around 510-505<sup>18</sup> and got his name on a lot of late sixth century vases, red- as well as black-figured. The black-figured vases along with several others form the Leagros Group,<sup>19</sup> which is contemporary with Euphronios, Phintias and Euthymides, all members of the so called Pioneer Group. The black-figure vase-painters of the Leagros Group are not on a par with their red-figure coevals, but they are the last black-figure group of any importance.

The hydria is the favourite shape of the Leagros Group. Five of the six black-figured vases with his name are hydriai.<sup>20</sup> The general development was towards slenderer and more elegant shapes. Our hydria probably represents a fairly late stage with a rather light, narrowing shape. The vertical handle rises in a curve harmonizing with the vase. The hydria may very well come from the work-shop (or work-shops) which made the *Lea-hydriai*.<sup>21</sup> Most of the vases from this work-shop belong in the Leagros Group, from which it has its name. The still vigorous lines in neck and shoulder and a certain sense for volume would however make it one of the earlier vases from this work-shop.

The graffiti under the foot also support the attribution to the Leagros Group. The above-mentioned inscriptions are found mostly on late sixth century black-figured vases from this group.<sup>22</sup> The same almost are found on another vase from the group, a hydria in Munich.<sup>23</sup>

That the hydria belongs to the Leagros Group is shown beyond doubt already when compared with such a famous member as the *Ilioupersis-hydria* in Würzburg.<sup>24</sup> We find a great similarity not only in the treatment of eyes, hair and dress but also in the theatrical gestures and the general atmosphere of unreality. In fact our vase must be no. 21 in Beazley's list of Leagros hydriai, there said to be on the Roman market.<sup>25</sup> It is attributed by Beazley to the Red-Line Painter,<sup>26</sup> who has his name from sometimes painting the lines bordering the ornamental bands below the pictures red instead of black. Most of his vases are small and rather insignificant neckamphorae,<sup>27</sup> but there are also a couple of larger, more carefully painted vases. It is through these he belongs to the Leagros Group. The hydria must be considered as one of his most important works.

The nearest comparison for our hydria is a neck-amphora in the Villa Giulia showing on one side Dionysos and Ariadne with two dancing satyrs and on the other again Peleus and Thetis wrestling.<sup>28</sup> We find the same composition although the panther and one nereid are gone. The execution is more careless, but we recognize the dress especially the himation of Peleus, wrapped round the lower part of his body in the same way with two flaps hanging down and a small triangular flap behind. The same similarity is found in anatomical details: knees, hands, the small knob indicating the wrist. Eyes and ears have a characteristic shape. The ears which look like two concentric circles seem to be typical of the painter. The profile of Peleus is more like our Herakles'. It is the same slightly concave nose, the protruding chin below a short lower lip, the hair drawn with short lines. The likeness to our Peleus is less striking but nevertheless there, and we cannot doubt that the same painter made the two vases.

We can also compare the hydria with another neck-amphora in the Faina collection in Orvieto.<sup>29</sup> On one side is Herakles with the lion, a favourite motif of the painter, on the other a wrestling-scene. The vase is fairly badly preserved, but there is enough to make sure the obvious likeness in the profile of Herakles, in other anatomical details, in the hang of the dress. Herakles is here grabbing the lion in the same unrealistic way as Peleus his Thetis on our hydria. Perhaps it was only in a secondary field as the one on the shoulder of a hydria, or on a simpler vase, that the painter could abandon the old traditional way of portraying the grip. The far more sturdy lion on the

amphora lifts one hind leg towards the head of Herakles. This is probably due to the fact that the amphora demanded a scene to fill a triangular field with the greatest width at the top, while the shoulder of a hydria wanted a long, narrow one, slightly broader at the bottom.

Most of the Red-Line Painter's vases are small and nonchalantly painted which make them difficult comparison material. One small neck-amphora in Madrid is rather more carefully painted.<sup>30</sup> One side shows a bearded man fighting a wild boar. This must be Herakles and the Erymanthian boar. On the other side is a younger man with the same kind of animal.<sup>31</sup> This youngster, in particular, shows all the above-mentioned traits. The whole pose is the same although more compressed.

The Peleus-Thetis motif returns on a smaller vase in Copenhagen<sup>32</sup> so negligently executed that one can only see a great likeness in the composition.

The second of the two vases given to the Museum in 1968 is a *neck-amphora* (Figs. 7-10, 12). It is of ordinary size, the height varying between 39.2 and 39.6 cm due to the fact that the whole vase is somewhat warped. The diameter of the base is 13.0 cm and of the mouth 16.7 cm. Except for some slighter damage the vase is intact and very well preserved. There is some incrustation on the neck. There seems to be no or little retouching.<sup>33</sup>

The vase is a neck-amphora of the standardized type coming into use towards the end of the sixth century B.C. with a body higher than it is wide, tapering towards a torus foot, triple handles and an echinus-shaped mouth.<sup>34</sup>

The ornamental decoration is also standard. Already during the third quarter of the sixth century the ornaments had developed into a necessary and systematized part of the decoration and in late black-figure they become even more stereotype and formalized.<sup>35</sup>

Before being decorated the whole vase was covered with a solution of yellow ochre,<sup>36</sup> which was applied while the vase was being turned on the wheel as is shown by the circumferential brush-strokes on the body. This warm orange-red ground sets off the lustrous black glaze very effectively.

The foot is black, except the underside and a thin band on the edge, which are left unpainted. Above the foot there are rays and above these a band with lotus-buds with interlacing stems and further up a thin line serving as the ground for the figures. Beneath, almost

hanging from, the handles there are scrolls of symmetrically arranged lotus-buds and palmettes forming a kind of diamond with a big dot in the centre. These floral ornaments show more than anything how the living and organic has given way to more regular and abstract forms in late black-figure.<sup>37</sup> They are painted after the pictures and avoid them where possible, as is shown very nicely on the palmette at the left-hand centaur's head. One half of the palmette has shrunk, its spiralled end only pretending to continue behind the head with a completely separate spiral's end. The handles are black. Between them on the shoulder there is a tongue pattern with alternatingly red and black tongues without incisions. This does not continue behind the handles which were attached before the vase was painted, as was normal. On the neck we find as usual a band of addorsed palmettes with lotus-buds between, separated at the centre by a chain-pattern also completely without incisions. The mouth, except on top, and the inside of the neck are black, a thin reserved line being left between them.

The two figure scenes are both arranged in a similar symmetrical way, Herakles surrounded by two opponents, the one to the right fighting Herakles, the one to the left leaving the battle.

On side A *Herakles fights two Amazons*. He is dressed in a short, tight chiton, the upper part of which is not shown in colour. He wears the head of the lion skin drawn up over his head, the paws bound together on his breast. The lower part of the skin he has fastened with his belt to facilitate movement. The tail of the skin forms something like an ampersand. A sword is thrust through his belt, a bow and a quiver are on his back. He is moving with great force to the right, only touching the ground with the toes of his right foot. His right hand brandishes the club somewhat awkwardly, its top intruding on the shoulder pattern, his left grips the helmet of his opponent.

This Amazon wears a short pleated dress and a cloak falling down in two long flaps. Her hair is curled above her forehead and falls loosely down her back. The helmet is of Attic type with a big crest but without cheek-pieces. She has greaves, simply left black when the legs were painted white to show the female skin, white being laid on top of black here as everywhere on the vase. Attacked by Herakles she has fallen down on one knee. Looking downwards she seems to accept defeat although she still has her spear to defend herself with. Her shield device is a club, which is unusual.<sup>38</sup> One would like to think that the painter, inspired by



7. MM 1968:122.



8. MM 1968:122.

the club of Herakles, is indicating subtly the outcome of the battle, but perhaps he was only lazy.

The Amazon to the left of Herakles is walking rather composedly out of the fight towards the left. She wears a short chiton with an embroidered neck-piece. Her hair-style is the same as her companion's but she has a soft, pointed headgear with two long flaps. From her belt hangs a quiver, of which we see a part above her right thigh and another with the lid behind her.<sup>30</sup> In her left hand she carries an axe and in the right a bow.

On the ground below Herakles is a fairly big stone without any apparent function in the fight. It may be there to indicate the environment, but perhaps it has, as it were, landed here from the battle on the other side and serves as a surface-filling object.

Red is used for Herakles' beard and chiton, the helmet of the falling Amazon, the border of her dress

and the decorative dots on the border of her shield. White is used for the skin of the women, the teeth of the lion skin, the hilt of the hero's sword, the device in the Amazon's shield. Incisions embellish the crest of her helmet, the border of Herakles' chiton and the neck-embroidery of the fleeing Amazon. The string of her bow is also indicated by incision.

Side B shows *Herakles and two centaurs*. For this battle Herakles has dressed himself in a looser, pleated chiton and of course the lion skin, as before drawn up over his head with the paws tied on his breast but the lower part here falling freely behind him as a cloak. He seems calmer but more concentrated. His left hand has caught hold of the beard of the centaur to his left, and with his right hand he aims a crashing blow on the centaur's head with his club. The centaur is rearing himself on his hind legs in fright. His left arm and part of his back, which is turned towards us,

9-10. MM 1968:122.



are covered with an animal skin as a shield. In his right hand is a branch. His head is turned towards Herakles. In his profile with its bulbous nose, wide open mouth, horse's ears and long unkempt hair the painter has caught the barbarian quality of his nature in a masterly fashion.

To the left of Herakles another centaur is contemplating whether he had better leave or not. He has provided himself not only with a branch but also with a big stone kept in the crook of his left arm. Unlike the Amazon on side A he is still hesitating. One hoof lifted in preparation for flight, he is turning round to watch the outcome of the battle, which is not quite so certain as on the other side.

Two more stones complete the picture, one below each centaur. They are of course implements of the fight but also part of the mountain landscape where the fight supposedly takes place. As before they help to fill empty surface.

Red and white are used sparingly, red for the beards and tails of the centaurs, white on the stone carried by the centaur and on the teeth of the lion skin.

The drawing is careless. The lines are of varying thickness, sometimes so thin as to be hardly visible. There are many other signs of the artist's lack of precision. His incisions do not always follow the painted areas very carefully e.g. in one fore leg of the left-hand centaur. The fleeing Amazon's bow has two strings. The tail of the right-hand centaur has an unnecessary incised contour line, since black is here bordering on red. The shield also has an incised contour, but as this was usually done with a pair of compasses it is only to be expected here. The hole left from the compasses is masked as a boss on the club. On the other hand there is an over all lack of incisions both in the ornamental decoration and in the pictures. For instance the lion skins are hairless i.e. there is no indication of "hairiness" in painting or with incisions, which is unusual.

Nor has the artist been very careful with the painting. The outlines of the black are not always very sharp nor do the red and the white always cover the underlying black completely. We must take into consideration, however, that something of these colours may have disappeared. There are some accidental splashes of black, e.g. above the head of the falling Amazon. The palmette at her head has had its original stem scraped away and a new one painted a bit further in. Two of the palmettes have eight leaves, while the rest have seven.

All this is of no great consequence, but it points to one fact: our painter did not care about details and fastidious precision but had an eye for composition and the importance of the whole.

The painter adheres to the principles of the archaic style. The eyes are drawn frontally, except—probably unintentionally—in the falling Amazon. The figures, with the possible exception of Herakles on side B follow the old scheme: head and lower part of body in profile, upper part of body frontal. The painter does not seem to share the deep interest of his contemporaries in the human body and its possibilities in art. But he has used the old scheme to great advantage, especially in the centaur scene, which has an almost monumental effect. Though it is not an unknown motif, this type with two antithetic centaurs placed back to back with Herakles in between seems extremely rare.<sup>40</sup> On a small fragment by Sophilos in Athens<sup>41</sup> Herakles is surrounded by three more or less wounded centaurs, two of which are placed in basically the same way as on our vase, but the third centaur clutters up the picture lying as he is between the legs of one of the others. The same goes for a neck-amphora of the Group of Toronto 305,<sup>42</sup> where Herakles again fights three centaurs placed in a similar fashion, but the whole picture is crowded, as on the Sophilos fragment, and makes no use of the inherent possibilities of the scheme. Our painter could, however, also have got inspiration from the fairly common Nessos-scheme i.e. Herakles stopping a fleeing centaur, with a companion centaur mirrored on his other side.

Herakles fighting Amazons is, on the other hand, one of those monotonously repeated motifs that we meet again and again with little differences. von Bothmer has collected in his great work on Amazons no less than 19 examples, among them ours, of vases, where the motif is represented in almost exactly the same way.<sup>43</sup> It seems to be a shortened version of an even more common type with a third Amazon fighting behind the nearest opponent of Herakles.<sup>44</sup> It is to this long line of predecessors we owe the "old" look of the Amazon scene. The centaur fight looks much younger.

Many things seem to point to a late date for the amphora. This makes it not improbable that we shall find parallels in red-figure, and as a matter of fact it reminds not a little of such a well-known master as the Kleophrades Painter, the centaur side in particular. Our vase is probably the one found in Beazley under the heading "near the Kleophrades Painter" with the

sub-heading "recalling the black-figured neck-amphorae by the Kleophrades Painter".<sup>45</sup>

The Kleophrades Painter,<sup>46</sup> whose real name was Epiktetos (the same as an older painter's) is with the Berlin Painter the most important representative of late archaic vase-painting. Beginning as a pupil of Euthymides, he worked for a long time, covering at least the first two decades of the fifth century B.C., and has left over a hundred vases, among them some in the black-figure technique. He has a powerful, flowing line and large, monumental figures. He passes several stages of development each leading to greater simplification and concentration on the important things. In the end he loses some of his creative force and paints a few unimpressive and rather conventional vases. A Greek vase-painter could not always be at his best, as Beazley reminds us in his *Paralipomena*.<sup>47</sup>

The virile style of the painter was well suited to the representation of centaurs. On a stamnos in Tarquinia<sup>48</sup> Herakles is drawing wine from the pithos of Pholos while two thirsty centaurs are approaching with empty vases on their shoulders. This Herakles is tallish and elegantly late archaic as in the centaur scene on our amphora. The lion skin is worn and tied in the same fashion and the paws have the typically rounded toes. The centaurs are sturdy and short-legged. Their

movements are awkward and they carry branches. They are obviously relations of our centaurs.

Another stamnos in the Louvre shows fighting between Lapiths and centaurs.<sup>49</sup> On one side is a Lapith surrounded by two centaurs, one fallen, one rushing in to help, on the other side the unhappy Kaineus is being driven down into the ground by two centaurs wielding stones and branches.<sup>50</sup> Here is the same feeling for symmetrical arrangement. This kind of scene could be the source of inspiration for our amphora.<sup>51</sup>

The Herakles fight with centaurs has a much simplified form on an amphora in Munich,<sup>52</sup> where Herakles' opponents are reduced to one. This is a superior vase and not comparable but for details like the way Herakles is wearing his skin draped like a shield over his arm.

The centaurs just mentioned are all bald, but when we finally meet one still having his hair, there is no doubt any more that the painter of our amphora, if indeed he is not the Kleophrades Painter himself in a weak moment, must be a painter of a very kindred spirit. Notwithstanding the obvious differences in technique and quality there is on a fragment in Florence the same wonderful profile as on the right-hand centaur on the amphora (Figs. 11-12).

11. Florence 4218, detail.



12. MM 1968:122, detail.



Many details help to establish the connection. On the great cup in Paris<sup>54</sup> we find a Herakles with the skin draped in a similar fashion. The skin has the same paws with toes like pieces of a jig-saw puzzle and a tail forming an ampersand. One of the Amazons carries a small centaur in her shield, evidence for the painter's liking for his species. He could not even be left out of an Amazonian fight.<sup>55</sup> There is much more, but let one final sign suffice: a long-shafted axe of the same kind as on the amphora on one black-figured vase.<sup>56</sup>

I have chosen to compare the amphora to the red-figured centaur vases of the Kleophrades Painter rather than to his black-figured work because owing to the carelessness in execution of the amphora the interest lies mainly in composition and in the simplification and monumental quality of the figures, which are better paralleled in the red-figured vases. Almost all the above-mentioned vases are late works of the Kleophrades Painter and this is the period most likely to have inspired the painter of the amphora.

According to von Bothmer<sup>57</sup> the painter of our amphora has also decorated another neck-amphora in Paris,<sup>58</sup> showing on one side Herakles and two opponents, on the other Theseus and the bull from Marathon. The vase is unfortunately not well preserved, but as far as one can tell this view seems very probable. The composition on the Herakles side is the same as on our side A with one opponent kneeling half hidden behind his shield and another leaving the battle on the other side of Herakles. The pose of the hero is the same and the lion skin is arranged in a similar fashion and "hairless". The legs of the bull on the other side resemble those of the centaurs. The Athena helping Theseus seems to be a sister of the defeated Amazon. The Paris amphora is of the same type as ours but has several thin circumferential bands, where ours has a band with lotus-buds.

The two vases belong, even discounting the obvious influence from the Kleophrades Painter, to a time more and more dominated by red-figure. Black-figure was on the decline. Vases in the old technique, mostly neck-amphorae but also many smaller vases, continued to be made during the fifth century, especially the first quarter of it. Though technically of good quality, they were conventional in the choice of motifs, repeated *ad nauseam*, and summarily and hastily decorated, not even living up to the conscientiously high standard of the already late Leagros Group. The amphora is a product of its time in spite of its very great merits, its painter adhering consciously to the stiff and un-

developed style of a technique already out of date.

The shape of the vase is also late. According to Bloesch,<sup>59</sup> who has studied the shapes of neck-amphorae during the late archaic period, the development was towards slenderer and more elegant shapes. From around 510 we meet a new type of vase. Before this every part of the vase had been treated separately, as seen for instance in the handles, standing out like ears from the neck. The proportions now become more harmonious and the parts better related to one another. The vase is treated more as a whole. This is most noticeable in the handles, which now follow the lines of the vase in a very different manner. The amphora shows many of these new traits in a developed form with handles following the lines of the neck, and well balanced, light proportions. In spite of its slender, narrowing shape, it is still rather compact and vigorous in the lines. A certain laxity of form and an even greater slenderness is otherwise typical of the shapes of the beginning fifth century. But taken as a whole the production of neck-amphorae during the first quarter of the fifth century cannot have differed to any greater degree from that around 500.<sup>60</sup>

Of the pictures on the vases three are deeds of Herakles, while one is from another cycle and that is the story of *Peleus and Thetis*. It was known already to Homer, that Thetis by the will of the gods had to be given in marriage to a mortal.<sup>61</sup> The explanation is given by Pindar.<sup>62</sup> Thetis' son, Achilles, it was foretold, was to become greater than his father. Another version with a flavour of folklore, also in Pindar,<sup>63</sup> explains our picture. Peleus had to persuade Thetis by force to the wedding and succeeded in spite of Thetis taking all kinds of shapes.

This version is found in art on the chest of Kypselos, which is our oldest evidence for the love-struggle.<sup>64</sup> In black-figure it is a popular motif. Brommer's list contains no less than 157 vases, our vase being no. 29.<sup>65</sup> It is a typical example of what these vases look like: the two "lovers" in the middle, the animals symbolizing the transformed Thetis, the nereids, her sisters and friends. A near parallel by another painter, though one near the work of the Red-Line Painter, is an amphora in Naples showing the same scene but for the addition of a fishy lion attacking Peleus.<sup>66</sup>

The fact that the three other pictures are all adventures of Herakles is proof of his enormous popularity especially during the later half of the sixth century. Two are proper labours, the fight with the lion and



the battle of the Amazons, one is only an incident on the way to a labour. It was customary to collect several adventures of Herakles in one place as on the throne of Amyklai,<sup>67</sup> but the twelve labours were not properly canonized yet.<sup>68</sup>

The first is, however, always the fight with *the Nemean lion*. It is the most beloved adventure of Herakles, and very possibly the most beloved of all motifs ever.<sup>69</sup> It is probably a very old story, found as early as in Hesiod.<sup>70</sup> In art it may already be Herakles on a geometric fibula or on an almost contemporary stand from Kerameikos.<sup>71</sup> One of the oldest vases with the motif is an early Corinthian alabastron in Syracuse.<sup>72</sup> But one must remember, that a man fighting a lion is an old Oriental motif even though Herakles usually got the merit of it later. But there are no doubts about the Herakles on all those black-figured vases, 687 collected by Brommer and that probably far from all.<sup>73</sup>

The story is too well known to need any telling. In this the first of his labours he is usually shown young and beardless, though not on our vase, and of course not yet wearing the skin, which is so to say still on the lion. He fights with sword or club, but very often only with his hands. Companions are Iolaos, Hermes or Athena or all three. The vases differ slightly in the position of Herakles and the lion, the most common in late black-figure being the almost lying one,<sup>74</sup> as on our hydria, and in the number and grouping of the spectators present, all dependent on the size and shape of the picture-fields.<sup>75</sup>

The second most popular motif is *the battle of the Amazons*.<sup>76</sup> These brave women soldiers from far away appealed to the imagination of the Greeks, who liked to see their favourite hero involved with them. The literary tradition gives the obtaining of the queen's girdle as the object of the fight.<sup>77</sup> The vases never show anything but common battle scenes, where Herakles does not seem to have anything in mind but the taking of the queen's life or rather the life of the anonymous Amazon, with whom he mostly fights. Perhaps the battle was only the preferred motif in art, and everybody was supposed to know the underlying story,<sup>78</sup> or maybe the motif was earlier in art and the explanation came afterwards.

The first Amazon is found on a votive shield from Tiryns and is possibly not an opponent of Herakles.<sup>79</sup> This doubt does not exist about a Corinthian alabastron from the late seventh century, unfortunately now lost, inscribed with the name of Herakles.<sup>80</sup> After

this there are no known objects with the motif until the second quarter of the sixth century, when it becomes all the more popular. It continues all through the sixth century into the fifth, when Herakles is finally superseded by Theseus, who was more adaptable to Athenian propaganda.

Earlier vases show grand battles, but later the opponents are reduced to two or three. The scheme is often the same. Herakles moves to the right, the queen of the Amazons at his feet. One of her companions, to the right, comes to help her, while the one to the left may help her, but more often withdraws from the battle, sometimes looking back. Armour and dress vary. The Amazons may be hoplites with cuirasses and swords, or archers with the typical pointed cap, quiver and bow. More seldom does one of them carry an axe. They are always represented as civilized, if it can be considered civilized for a woman to wear a short dress. Oriental dress is a late sign. The number of black-figured vases with this motif is so great that an exact parallel is hard to find. They differ from one another in small details, but the general composition is very similar in them all.<sup>81</sup>

Finally the picture of *Herakles with the two centaurs*. Centaurs, one type of those mixed creatures so beloved by the Greeks, are known early. These beings of the woods, only half human, represented to the Greeks the unknown and frightening powers of nature, and they liked to see them defeated by an honest hero. The greatest hero of them all, Herakles, clashed several times with them, both single ones as Nessos and several as in the encounter by the cave of Pholos.<sup>82</sup> This last is probably the motif of the amphora, even though Herakles and a couple of centaurs have moved away from the cave in the heat of the battle. A Greek, knowing the adventures of his hero, would hardly have had any trouble identifying it, though it cannot be finally proved, that this is not another fight involving Herakles with two unknown centaurs.<sup>83</sup>

The adventure is mentioned by Stesichoros<sup>84</sup> and later by others, but Apollodorus is the first to give the full story.<sup>85</sup> Herakles, on his way to fight the Erymanthian boar, had sought shelter for the night in the cave house of Pholos, a civilized centaur. But the fried meat and even more the intoxicating smell of the wine called forth the wilder centaurs, and Herakles had to drive them away in headlong flight, that did not end before Cape Malea. This seems a suitable subject for a comedy, and was also treated by Epicharmos

in a now lost work. It is interesting to note, that Epicharmos, who was active during the first quarter of the fifth century, also wrote a play about Herakles and the girdle of the queen of the Amazons.<sup>86</sup> Is it a coincidence that both motifs depicted on the amphora also figure in his plays, or dare one suppose an influence of some sort on our painter?

In art the motif appears early, on the chest of Kypselos, where Pausanias recognized it nearly 800 years later.<sup>87</sup> We find the motif transferred from Proto-corinthian to Corinthian.<sup>88</sup> On these vases the motif is usually represented with more details. Pholos appears in a long dress to differentiate him from his wilder brothers. The cave is often shown and the large pithos of wine, and sometimes also the hearth from which Herakles takes the fire-brands to rout the centaurs. It testifies to the popularity of Herakles, that the motif is found also in Laconian and "Pontic" vase-painting.<sup>89</sup> In Attic black-figure it is at all times a favourite subject.<sup>90</sup> A rather interesting parallel to our amphora is given by a so called Tyrrenian amphora dated to around 560 with the same two motifs, Herakles fighting Amazons and centaurs.<sup>91</sup> Later artists preferred to represent the episode in other ways, Pholos bidding his guest welcome, or the opening of the pithos, or even the actual party.<sup>92</sup> But the fighting motif survived as shown by a small neck-amphora in Paris with the battle going on all round the vase.<sup>93</sup>

A final comparison between the two vases shows us,

that the hydria is painted with care and attention, though no great originality, while the amphora, notwithstanding a certain carelessness in its execution, has been painted with a spirited freshness all its own, that cannot but excite our admiration. The lustrous black and the well preserved white contrast with the deep orange-red of the ground. The hydria is not so fortunate. Especially the loss of most of the white makes a just appreciation difficult.

The choice of motifs is also important. The ones on the hydria are chosen conventionally and without any connection between them, as if taken at random from a pattern-book, that is, if you do not take into account the piquant difference between the two struggles, both implying strength and victory, but one leading to death and the other to a wedding and a new life. The two sides of the amphora, on the other hand, are closely related in form as well as in content. This was coming more and more into use in an age when people wanted to see a vase as a unit. What the two pictures symbolize, is also of greater interest. "Barbarian" enemies, represented by centaurs and Amazons, are defeated by a Greek hero. This can hardly be a coincidence in the time of the Persian war, nor that the champion of the Greeks is not Theseus, also a participant in such battles, but Herakles, the favourite of all Greeks—a very suitable choice for a time that saw almost the one single effort by the Greeks to unite to meet and vanquish a common enemy.

<sup>1</sup> A reason for the reddish streaking may be too thinly applied glaze but it may also be due to firing at wrong temperature. If too much alkali are used in the preparation of the clay, the iron will dissolve in the glaze and give a greenish tint, J. V. Noble, *The Techniques of Painted Attic Pottery*, New York 1965, 79 ff.

<sup>2</sup> G. M. A. Richter and M. J. Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases*, New York 1935, 11 f., figs. 78–79. Cf. also L. D. G. Caskey, *Geometry of Greek Vases*, Boston 1922, 107 ff., nos. 62–63, though not quite corresponding.

<sup>3</sup> H. B. Walters, *Ancient Pottery II*, London 1905, 228 f.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Hermes in the shoulder field and also the winged feet of Peleus on the vase in the Villa Giulia M 488, P. Mingazzini, *Vasi della Collezione Castellani*, Rome 1930, pl. 73, 1.

<sup>5</sup> Sophokles frgm. 618 (ed. Pearson) calls her pantómorphos, a hardly translatable word for the gift to assume any shape you want, and frgm. 150 (ed. Pearson), schol. Pind. Nem. 3. 60, mentions her change into lion, snake, fire and water. Cf. also Proteus, Hom. Odys. 4. 417 ff.

<sup>6</sup> B 306, CVA, Brit. Mus. 6, III H e, pl. 77, 3, of the Leagros Group, J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black-figure Vase-painters*, Oxford 1956 (hereafter ABV) 365, 68.

<sup>7</sup> B 233, CVA, Brit. Mus. 4, III H e, pl. 54, 3b.

<sup>8</sup> B 319, CVA, Brit. Mus. 6, III H e, pl. 83, 4.

<sup>9</sup> ABV 361, 21, of which more later.

<sup>10</sup> R. Hackl, *Merkantile Inschriften auf attischen Vasen*, publ. in *Münchener archäologische Studien dem Andenken A. Furtwänglers gewidm.*, Munich 1909, 5 ff. The graffiti on the hydria are treated: the ligature under XLVI, the arrow under LXIV, and the last one under LXVII.

<sup>11</sup> D. A. Amyx, *An Amphora with a Price-Inscription in the Hearst Collection at San Simeon*, Univ. of Calif. Publ. Class. Arch. I, 8 (1941), 190 and n. 117.

<sup>12</sup> H. R. W. Smith, CVA, San Francisco 1, 26 f.

<sup>13</sup> T. B. L. Webster, *Potter and Patron in Classical Athens*, London 1972, 278 ff.

<sup>14</sup> Smith, loc. cit. (supra n. 12).

<sup>15</sup> D. M. Edwards, *The Organisation of the Athenian Pottery*

Industry, 132 ff. (Graffiti and Dipinti). The graffito is treated on pp. 174 ff., lepis mentioned on p. 186.

<sup>16</sup> An example on another vase in the Medelhavsmuseet: MM 1962:7, ABV 374, 197, of the Leagros Group; T. Rönne-Linders, *Medelhavsmus. Bull.* 3 (1963) fig. 21.

<sup>17</sup> Amyx, loc. cit. (supra n. 11).

<sup>18</sup> A. Furtwängler and K. Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, Ser. III, Munich 1932, 237.

<sup>19</sup> J. D. Beazley, *The Development of Attic Black-figure*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1951, 81 ff.; ABV 354 ff. with further references.

<sup>20</sup> Beazley, *Development*, 81.

<sup>21</sup> H. Bloesch, *Stout and Slender in the Late Archaic Period*, JHS 71 (1951) 36, pl. 18c.

<sup>22</sup> The lists in Hackl are naturally far from complete; cf. also Webster (supra n. 13) 278. One ought to remember that the Leagros Group is the largest and most important in late black-figure and must be expected to occur often in lists of this kind. A new study by A. W. Johnston is in preparation.

<sup>23</sup> Munich 1716 (J 118), ABV 362, 25; Hackl no. 551 (409 and 535), pl. 2, now apparently lost. Even the little cross-stroke on the lambda in one of the ligatures seems to be the same, but was possibly not intended.

<sup>24</sup> Würzburg 311, ABV 362, 35; Beazley, *Development*, 84; P. E. Arias and M. Hirmer, *Tausend Jahre griechische Vasenkunst*, München 1960, 53, pl. 72. In this dated to about 510.

<sup>25</sup> ABV 361, 21 = 605, 83.

<sup>26</sup> ABV 354 ff. and 600 ff.; J. D. Beazley and F. Magi, *La raccolta Benedetto Gugiellini nel Museo Gregoriano Etrusco*, Rome, Città del Vaticano 1939, 36 f. In the latter there is a list of the painter's lesser work, dated to c. 500. The rest of his vases are dated from 525-15 into the fifth century. The varying quality of his vases makes comparisons difficult. A date nearer 510 seems, however, the likeliest for the hydria.

<sup>27</sup> Two in Sweden in the Malmö Museum: 29259, ABV 603, 50 and 29260, ABV 602, 31. Both have Dionysian motifs.

<sup>28</sup> M 488, ABV 603, 64 = 373, 171; Mingazzini (supra n. 4) 255 f., pls. 69, 6 and 73.

<sup>29</sup> Faina 72, ABV 604, 65 = 371, 142; Röm. Mitt. 53 (1938), 112 ff., pl. 27.

<sup>30</sup> Madrid 10915 (L 77), ABV 602, 25; CVA, Madrid I, III H e, pls. 20, 1 and 21, 1.

<sup>31</sup> According to Beazley Herakles on both sides. It is possible that the painter only tried to vary the subject, but one would prefer not to find Herakles at two different ages and with two different ways of attacking at the very same occasion. A young Herakles is not uncommon for the motif but does not seem to be the painter's type. The attributes are the same, except that the young man has a mantle where the old man has an extra club. One would like to think of the young one as Theseus with the sow of Krommyon, but the animal is a boar. That there was some confusion is, however, evident from the boar on a kylix in London, E 36 (825), ARV 115, 3; C. H. Smith, *Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in Br. Mus.*, London 1896, vol. III, pl. 2. Cf. also Hyginus,

*Fabulae* 38. 6 though much later.

<sup>32</sup> Copenhagen 2, ABV 604, 71; CVA, Copenhagen 3, III H, pl. 121, 1.

<sup>33</sup> White being so well preserved as here is unusual. It seems, however, original but for the right hand and knee of the defeated Amazon. On one stone on side B is a fairly clear, whitish contour line of doubtful origin.

<sup>34</sup> Richter and Milne (supra n. 2) 4, figs. 14 and 16, our vase coming somewhere in between. Caskey (supra n. 2) no. 11, p. 48, though much stouter.

<sup>35</sup> P. Jacobsthal, *Ornamente griechischer Vasen*, Berlin 1927, 46.

<sup>36</sup> Noble (supra n. 1) 60 ff.

<sup>37</sup> Jacobsthal (supra n. 35) 47 and 50 ff.

<sup>38</sup> In D. von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek Art*, Oxford 1957, there is not one example of this shield device, nor have I found it elsewhere.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. for the appearance of the quiver CVA, Karlsruhe I, pl. 8,2 (B 26).

<sup>40</sup> None in P. V. C. Baur, *Centaur in Ancient Art*. The Archaic Period, Berlin 1912, nor in M. Ziemssen, *Kentaurendarstellungen auf griechischen Vasen*, Berlin 1945. See also K. Schauenburg, *Herakles bei Pholos. Zu zwei rotfigurigen Schalen*, Ath. Mitt. 86 (1971) 44, n. 13, where our amphora is mentioned among other possible Pholos-fights away from the Pithos.

<sup>41</sup> Athens 2035, 2, ABV 40, 21; CVA Athens I, III H f, pl. 1, 2.

<sup>42</sup> Vatican 388, ABV 283, 9; C. Albizzati, *Vasi antichi dipinti del Vaticano*, Rome, Città del Vaticano 1922-42, pl. 55.

<sup>43</sup> von Bothmer (supra n. 38) 52 f. and 225, nos. 133-146, type III F b, Herakles surrounded by two Amazons, the one to the left leaving. Ours must be the one mentioned as no. 133 bis, p. 225. It corresponds with type III G d of the group with three or more Amazons; the fleeing Amazon to the left is an archer and does not turn round.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 53 ff. and 225 f., nos. 147-255 bis, type III G.

<sup>45</sup> J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters*, sec. ed. Oxford 1963 (hereafter ARV), 194, 2, there said to be in the Lucerne market.

<sup>46</sup> J. D. Beazley, *Kleophrades*, JHS 30 (1910); *Der Kleophrades-Maler*, Berlin 1933 (hereafter Kl.); ARV 181 ff.; ABV 404 ff. and 696; *Paralipomena*, Oxford 1971, 175 f., 340 f., 510; A. Greifenhagen, *Neue Fragmente des Kleophradesmalers*, Sitzungsber. der Heidelberg. Akad. der Wissensch., Phil.-hist. Klasse (1972) 5. Abhandlung. See ARV for further references.

<sup>47</sup> Beazley, *Paralipomena*, XIX.

<sup>48</sup> Tarquinia 711, ARV 187, 59; Kl. no. 44, pl. 22 and 23, 1-2; CVA, Tarquinia, Mus. Naz. 2, III 1, pl. 13, 1-2.

<sup>49</sup> G 55 from Tarquinia, ARV 187, 58; Kl. no. 43, pl. 24; 25 and 23, 3; CVA, Louvre I, III 1 c, pl. 6, 3; 6,5 and 7, 3.

<sup>50</sup> Another fight between centaurs and Lapiths is found on a kalpis from Vulci, Leyden PC 83 (XVIII h 20), ARV 188, 71; J. Roulez, *Choix de vases peints du Musée de Leide*, Ghent 1854, pl. 11, 1, where skins are draped as on our vase and

the same type of branches are wielded.

<sup>51</sup> Ziemssen (supra n. 40) 103 ff., no. 290–331 treats this kind of Lapith-centaur fight. They all seem to have more or less the same design.

<sup>52</sup> Munich 2316 (J 55) from Vulci, ARV 183, 12; Kl. no. 10; CVA, Munich 5, pls. 209, 3–4 and 211, 4–5; R. Lullies and M. Hirmer, *Griechische Vasen*, Munich 1953, pls. 84–87.

<sup>53</sup> Florence 4218, ARV 191, 102; Kl. no. 76, pls. 23, 4 and 31; CVA, Florence, Mus. Arch. 2, III I, pl. 69; S. Colvin, *JHS* 1 (1880) pl. 3; Iris attacked by centaurs. Photo by the courtesy of the Soprintendenza Alle Antichità d'Etruria, Firenze. Detail of neg., no. 17753.

<sup>54</sup> Paris, Cab. Méd. 535; 699 and other fragments from Tarquinia, ARV 191, 103; Kl. no. 77, pls. 8; 10, 1; 11–12; 15, 1–7; 30, 5.

<sup>55</sup> The same traits occur on the neck of a volute crater, fragments of which are in Paris and Geneva. The Paris fragments G 166, ARV 186, 51; CVA, Louvre, III I c, pls. 17–19. The fragments are assembled by Greifenhagen (supra n. 46) pls. 14–25.

<sup>56</sup> New York 41.162.189, ABV 405, 17; (Hoppin and) Gallatin Collection, III H e, pl. 4, 3.

<sup>57</sup> von Bothmer (supra n. 38) 225.

<sup>58</sup> F 271, ARV 194, 3; CVA, Louvre 5, III H e, pls. 56, 9–10 and 55, 7.

<sup>59</sup> Bloesch (supra n. 21) 29 ff.

<sup>60</sup> It is difficult to judge the shapes of vases from photos not taken particularly for this purpose, but among the makers of neck-amphorae mentioned by Bloesch (37 ff., pl. 19) our amphora seems to come nearest to the work of the "Canoe Potter" e.g. no. 10, p. 38, London B 250, CVA, Brit. Mus. 4, III H e, pl. 61, 2; ABV 341 on top, near the Leagros Group. This is one of the potter's later vases. Our vase, however, does not have the typical "canoe foot" and was certainly made by another potter.

<sup>61</sup> Hom. *Iliad*. 18. 84 ff. and 24. 59 ff. and 537 f. See further A. Lesky, *Peleus and Thetis im frühen Epos*, St. Ital. 27–28 (1956) 216 ff., or *Gesammelte Schriften*, Bern 1966, 401 ff.

<sup>62</sup> Pind. *Isthm.* 8. 28 ff.

<sup>63</sup> Pind. *Nem.* 4. 62 ff. and 3. 35 f.; According to L. Bloch, "Peleus", Roscher, *Ausführ. Lex. der röm. und griech. Mythologie* III:2 (1897–1909) col. 1833, the name *πηλεὺς* sounding somewhat like the word for wrestling *πάλη* has had considerable influence at the beginning of the tradition.

<sup>64</sup> Paus. 5. 18. 5.

<sup>65</sup> F. Brommer, *Vasenlisten zur griechischen Heldensage*, 3. erw. Aufl. Marburg 1973, 321 ff.; an older list in B. Graef, *Peleus und Thetis*, *Jdl* 1 (1886) 201 ff.

<sup>66</sup> Naples 2535, CVA, Mus. Naz. 1, III H e, pl. 3, 5; ABV 607 at bottom.

<sup>67</sup> Paus. 3. 17. 5 ff.

<sup>68</sup> The twelve labours in their later canonized form are first met on the temple of Zeus at Olympia, but different authors combine different adventures as shown by Soph. *Trach.* 1089 ff. and Eur. *Her.* 359 ff. The centaur fight seems some-

times to be counted almost as one of the labours, Soph. *Trach.* 1095 f.; Eur. *Her.* 364 ff.

<sup>69</sup> F. Brommer, *Herakles, Die zwölf Taten des Helden in antiker Kunst und Literatur*, 2. durchges. und veränd. Aufl. Köln 1972, 7.

<sup>70</sup> Hes. *Theog.* 327 ff.

<sup>71</sup> Fibula, London, Brit. Mus. 3204, H. B. Walters, *Cat. of Bronzes*, London 1899, 372 f., fig. 86; Brommer, *Herakles* (supra n. 69) 9, fig. 3; *Jdl* 31 (1916) 302, fig. 7, possibly also representing the adventure with the Stymphalian birds. On another fibula, no. 3205, *Cat. of Bronzes*, 373 f., fig. 87. Herakles with the hydra, which supports the interpretation of Herakles on the first one. Athens, Kerameikos, stand of terracotta, Brommer, *Herakles*, 8, pl. 4a.

<sup>72</sup> Alabastron, Syracuse, H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, Oxford 1931, 126, no. 83, fig. 44 bis.

<sup>73</sup> Brommer, *Vasenlisten* (supra n. 65) 109 ff. The lion scene of the hydria is no. 49 on p. 136 under the heading "unbekanntes Schema"; an older list in S. B. Jr. Luce, *List of Vases showing Heracles and the Nemean Lion*, *AJA* 20 (1916) 460 ff., comprising 369 vases.

<sup>74</sup> Brommer, *Vasenlisten* (supra n. 65) 109 ff., 237 ex.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. London B 301 and B 303, CVA, Brit. Mus. 6, III H e, pl. 75, 2 and 4. Also ns. 6 and 8 supra.

<sup>76</sup> Brommer, *Herakles* (supra n. 69) 35.

<sup>77</sup> Pind. *frgm.* 172 (158). Also later authors e.g. Eur. *Her.* 408 ff.

<sup>78</sup> The girdle does not seem to occur for certain in art until a fourth century Campanian vase shows the peaceful surrender of it, Brommer, *Herakles* (supra n. 69) 37. This was an age with a different spirit. On a much earlier vase, a Laconian cup, P. Pelagatti, *Kylix laconica con Eracle e le amazzoni*, *BCH* 82 (1958) 488, figs. 1–4; v. Bothmer (supra n. 38) 115. Herakles touches with his hand the queen's girdle, but what he really wants is still fairly uncertain. It may be only a way of taking hold of her, to be compared with his grip on the helmet on our vase.

<sup>79</sup> Nauplia 4509, Brommer, *Herakles* (supra n. 69) 35, pl. 23a; v. Bothmer (supra n. 38) 1 ff., pl. 1a–b.

<sup>80</sup> Alabastron from Samothrace, Imbros?, Brommer, *Herakles* (supra n. 69) 36, fig. 8; Payne (supra n. 72) 130 and 161, no. 336; v. Bothmer (supra n. 38), 3 f. no. 4.

<sup>81</sup> Brommer, *Vasenlisten* (supra n. 65) 7 ff., 358 black-figured vases, the neck-amphorae being the second most popular shape. Our vase is mentioned but not included in the list. Cf. e.g. Florence 3839 (1883), v. Bothmer (supra n. 38), 52, no. 133, pl. 41, 1, type III F b (supra n. 43); Oxford (Miss.) CVA, Robinson Coll., Baltimore 1, III H e, pls. 28–29; Würzburg 202; in v. Bothmer the last two are of type III G b, the Amazon to the left is a hoplite and does not turn round, p. 55, nos. 164–165, pl. 43, 1–2.

<sup>82</sup> The Pholos adventure has been treated by Ziemssen (supra n. 40) 71 ff., systematically but far from exhaustively.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. Baur (supra n. 40) 37, no. 108; note also the likeness of the scheme to Vatican 388 (same note), where the pithos

is shown.

<sup>84</sup> Stesich. frgm. 7 (Athen. 11.499 A).

<sup>85</sup> Apoll. 2. 5. 4.

<sup>86</sup> G. Kaibel, "Epicharmos", RE 6:1 (1907) cols. 34 ff.

<sup>87</sup> Paus. 5. 19. 9 ff.

<sup>88</sup> Aryballos, Berlin F 336, Baur (supra n. 40) no. 226, fig. 19. Skyphos, Louvre L 173, CVA, Louvre 6, III C a, pl. 12, 7-12; Payne (supra n. 72) 129 f., no. 941, pl. 31, 10.

<sup>89</sup> Laconian dinos, Louvre E 662, CVA, Louvre 1, III D c, pls. 7-8. "Pontic" neck-amphora, inv.no. 4821 (cat.no. 173) CVA, Paris, Bibl.Nat. 1, III F, pls. 28, 6; 29, 1; 30, 1 and 4.

<sup>90</sup> Brommer, Vasenlisten (supra n. 65) 84 ff. Our is no. 18 in the list, erroneously suggested to be the same as Beazley, Paralipomena (supra n. 46) 141, 1. The list is of "anonymous" centaurs, the Pholos adventure being treated on pp. 78 ff. The episode is further taken up by S. B. Jr. Luce, Studies of Exploits of Heracles on Vases, AJA 28 (1924) 299 ff.

<sup>91</sup> Rome, Conservat. 124 (35), ABV 99, 50; CVA, Rome, Mus. Capitol. 1, III H, pls. 9-10.

<sup>92</sup> See Ziemssen (supra n. 40) 71 ff.

<sup>93</sup> F 266, CVA, Louvre 5, III H e, pl. 57, 12-13 and 15-16.

# A Gold Wreath in the Medelhavsmuseet

Hedvig Landenius

The Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities in Stockholm recently acquired—as a deposition from the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities—a gold wreath of unknown provenance.

The wreath is composed of two tubular stems (0.5 cm d.) tapering off successively to attain at the centre the thickness of plain gold wire. The wire is then wound around the two stems to secure them. At the end of each stem an angular stud has been inserted to imitate an oblique crossection of a stem. This detail constitutes a distinctive mark pertaining to antique wreaths;<sup>1</sup> wire keeps the ends together, thereby forming an almost perfect circle (16 cm d.). The weight of the wreath is 90 grams.

On each stem 12 groups of two to three leaves are spaced at intervals of approximately 5 cm giving a total number of 70 leaves. The leaves extend into gold wire, inserted through holes and in some cases, emerging on the reverse side and finally wound around the stem. The result of an examination carried out by Dr. B. Nordenstam at the Botanical section of the Museum of Natural History in Stockholm indicates that with the highest probability they are olive leaves. It is difficult to distinguish between laurel and olive. The main difference being primarily that of the berries, which are attached in the case of laurel closer to the stem. 29 hollow berries of gold, varying in size, are attached to the end of small wires, 3 cm in length, and entwined in the groups of leaves.

It is not possible to determine when wreaths first appeared. Already in the Early Dynastic Period at Ur (third millenium B.C.) the custom of using wreaths of different materials was known.<sup>2</sup> One example is the head-dress of Queen Pu-Abi found in the Royal cemetery. It is composed of a lapis-lazuli band from

which gold foil leaves extend. Stylistically it differs from wreaths of later periods. However, it proves that wreath-like ornaments existed at this time.

A painting in the tomb of Itet at Meydum in Egypt shows a herdsman wearing a wreath around his head.<sup>3</sup> This may be a natural adornment while there is a special religious implication in the so called crown of justification.<sup>4</sup> This expression refers to the burial custom of crowning the deceased with a wreath to symbolize that he had successfully passed through the last judgement. A known example is that of Tutankhamen composed of natural olive leaves.<sup>5</sup> Olive trees were not specially common in Egypt.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, there are substantial evidences from the 18th dynasty and later for the use of its leaves in adornments. Olive was preferably used for the making of wreaths of which there is abundant evidence from the Graeco-Roman period. The many mummy portraits confirm this.<sup>7</sup>

The Minoan age has yielded no wreaths. The gold leaves on display at the Heracleion museum were used as dress ornaments.<sup>8</sup> The Mycenaean age likewise shows no evidence of wreaths having been used.

The earliest remains of a gold wreath found so far in Greece were discovered on the Peloponnese at the site of the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia.<sup>9</sup> Due to the rich prevalence of Laconian I pottery in this area, a more precise dating of the wreath was made possible, namely to the middle of the 7th century B.C.

Gradually the occurrence of wreaths increases to become quite frequent in the Hellenistic age. In general, due to Alexander the Great's conquests in the East, gold craftsmanship flourished during this time.<sup>10</sup>

Wreaths served multifarious purposes.<sup>11</sup> The ancient authors bear witness to this fact. Herodotos relates of



wreaths given as rewards in contests of artistic and athletic nature.<sup>12</sup> According to Euripides wreaths were used as engagement presents which is verified by the numerous vase-paintings found.<sup>13</sup> Plutarch speaks of olive wreaths offered as prizes at the panathenaic festivals as well as gifts to war heroes.<sup>14</sup> He also claims that they were employed at banquets to forestall drunkenness of the bearer of the wreath. Diogenes has delivered a most interesting explanation to the frequency of wreaths as funerary attributes.<sup>15</sup> In conformity with the belief that man when dead was considered to have acquired divine power, the head was crowned with a wreath to express this capacity. The temple inventories of Delos from 279 B.C. mention gold wreaths of laurel, ivy, oak, vine, myrtle, and olive.<sup>16</sup>

A comparison between the wreath in the Medelhavsmuseet, (inventory number MM 1975:11) and similar olive wreaths shows that on the whole they are alike but vary in detail.

Two olive wreaths found in South Russia, one on the Kerch peninsula in the Kekuvatsky barrow and the other in the Great Blisnitza barrow on the Taman peninsula, resemble closely the Stockholm wreath.<sup>17</sup> The Great Blisnitza wreath was found with a coin with the effigy of Alexander the Great which enabled a dating to the 4th century. It has no berries; the foliage is thick. The Kekuvatsky wreath has four parallel stems fastened at one end. Only two stems have a stud-construction like the MM 1975:11. The berries are fastened to these stems. The other stems are rolled up in a decorative manner. The exact amount

of berries and leaves is not mentioned but in spite of the deficient photograph the Kekuvatsky wreath seems to be thicker than MM 1975:11.

In the Nelidow collection there is an olive wreath of gold from Mytilene assigned to the 4th century B.C.<sup>18</sup> It is a particularly interesting specimen as the two stems are connected by a so called Heracles knot, consisting of two interlocking loops. This sort of knot was a common ornament in Hellenistic times and worn as a good luck charm.<sup>19</sup> This wreath differs from MM 1975:11 as to the berries being inserted in the leaves and not attached to the stem.

The H. Stathatos collection in the National Museum of Archaeology in Athens contains a fourth parallel.<sup>20</sup> The foliage is not identified and it can serve as a good example of the difficulty involved in differentiating laurel from olive. It could be olive—the berries are not close to the stem. The construction resembles the MM 1975:11 except for flowers fastened in between the leafage. It is attributed by Amandry to the 4th century B.C. and has supposedly served as a funerary ornament due to its flimsy construction.

Another sample of this kind is a gold wreath from Vratsa, Bulgaria dated to the 4th century B.C.<sup>21</sup> It shows strong parallels with the MM 1975:11 by way of leaves (rubricated laurel) and studs.

The Gans collection contained an olive wreath, now in the West Berlin Museum, more ornate than MM 1975:11 having berries made of coloured stones.<sup>22</sup> The lock-construction is of similar structure. On the opposite side there is a flower, on which is fastened a cicada. The provenance is Asia Minor and it is dated to the 4th century B.C.

An olive wreath in the Annette Finnigan collection dated to the Greek Hellenistic period has rosette-shaped blossoms entwined between the leaves.<sup>23</sup>

One olive wreath of gilded bronze, found in a Ptolemaic grave at Heliopolis in Egypt has strong resemblance to the Stockholm wreath especially in the shape of the berries.<sup>24</sup>

There are two wreaths in the Baghdad Museum both dated to the 4th century A.D.<sup>25</sup> They bear the closest resemblance to MM 1975:11 with regard to the

placing and form of the leaves. One of them found in Uruk is the best parallel. The wreaths also constitute an excellent example of a problem involved in wreath-research namely that of the dating. The Baghdad Museum wreaths are similar to those I have already mentioned, especially those from Southern Russia, yet their dating is approximately 600 years later. Difficulty in dating is due to the fact that the composition of wreaths is naturalistic in general and therefore it is almost impossible to determine the exact date. The question of ascertaining the provenance is also an enigmatic element for the same reason as the dating.

The third problem to be considered is that of falsification of ancient jewellery. An analysis of one of the gold leaves of the MM 1975:11, (see chart below) has given an interesting result. The percentage of gold is extremely high (99 %), which indicates that refined gold was used and that forgery cannot be excluded. An analysis by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston of 25 Greek gold objects shows that the usual percentage is only about 90 %; this is nevertheless too limited a basis for a general statement.<sup>26</sup> Among some Egyptian objects analysed one single piece from the Persian period held 99 %; this fact underlines that refining of gold could have started some time during this period.<sup>27</sup>

A gold examination should be made of its closest parallel namely the Uruk wreath, and the result compared with the analysis of the Stockholm wreath. This could be significant. Irrespective of the result of such a research it is extremely difficult to spot falsification.<sup>28</sup>

Appendix

Analysis to determine the percentage of gold, silver, copper, lead and iron of the MM 1975:11 wreath, carried out by Analytica AB, Stockholm.

Gold	Silver	Copper	Lead	Iron.
99 %	0.6 %	0.2 %	0.02 %	0.06 %



B. Segall, *Katalog der Goldschmiede-Arbeiten*, Museum  
 nakii, Athen 1938, p. 57 nr. 44.  
 C. R. Maxwell-Hyslop, *Western Asiatic Jewellery*, London  
 71, p. 3.  
 D. Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs*, London 1971, p. 17 fig. 6.  
 Ph. Derchain, *La couronne de la justification*, CdE 39,  
 54, p. 225 ff.  
 E. Newberry, *Report on the Floral Wreath Found in  
 the Coffins of Tut-ankh-amen*, in H. Carter, *The Tomb of  
 Tut-ankh-Amen*, Vol. II, London 1927, 189 ff.  
 J. Keimer, *Die Gartenpflanzen im Alten Ägypten*, Teil I,  
 Leipzig-Berlin 1924, p. 29.  
 K. Parlasca, *Mumienporträts und verwandte Denkmäler*,  
 Wiesbaden 1966, p. 14, pl. 21.  
 F. Schachermeyr, *Die Minoische Kultur des Alten Kreta*,  
 Stuttgart 1964, p. 53.  
 J. M. Dawkins, *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia*, *Journal  
 Hellenic Studies*, Supplementary volume 5, 1929, p. 383.  
 H. Hoffmann-P. Davidson, *Greek Gold*, Mainz 1965, p. 20.  
 Both L. Deubner, *Die Bedeutung des Kranzes im Klas-  
 schen Altertum*, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 29, 1931,  
 ff. and K. Baus, *Der Kranz in Antike und Christentum*,  
 Bonn 1940 discuss them thoroughly.  
 Herodotos VII, 26.  
 Euripides, *Iphigeneia in Aulis*, 123, 707.  
 Plutarch, *Sym. III*, Themist. 21.  
 Diogenes Laertius, *Zeno VII*.  
 Ph. Homolle, *Contes des Hiéropes du temple d'Apollon  
 à Delphes*, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, VI, 1882,

p. 107 ff.

<sup>17</sup> M. I. Artamonov, *Treasures from Scythian Tombs in the  
 Hermitage Museum Leningrad*, London 1968, p. 72.  
<sup>18</sup> L. Pollak, *Klassisch-Antike Goldschmiedearbeiten im  
 Besitze Sr. Excellenz A. J. von Nelidow*, Leipzig 1903, p. 1.  
<sup>19</sup> R. A. Higgins, *Greek and Roman Jewellery*, London 1961,  
 p. 155.  
<sup>20</sup> P. Amandry, *La Collection de H. Stathatos*, Strasbourg  
 1953, p. 144, pl. LIV.  
<sup>21</sup> *Thracian Treasures from Bulgaria*, Catalogue of special  
 exhibition in the British Museum, London 1976, p. 66 nr. 299.  
<sup>22</sup> A. Greifenhagen, *Schmuck der Alten Welt*, Berlin 1974,  
 p. 30.  
<sup>23</sup> H. Hoffman, *Ten Centuries that Shaped the West*, Greek  
 and Roman Art in Texas collections. Houston 1970, p. 460.  
<sup>24</sup> F. Petrie-E. Mackay, *Heliopolis, Kafr Ammar and  
 Shurafa*, British School of Archaeology, London 1915, p. 38.  
<sup>25</sup> *Capolavori del Museo di Baghdad*, Torino 1965, p. 90, pl.  
 CII; F. Basmachi, *Treasures of the Iraq Museum*, Baghdad  
 1972, p. 390. nr. 231.  
<sup>26</sup> H. Hofmann-P. Davidson, *Greek Gold*, Mainz 1965, p. 49.  
<sup>27</sup> Cf. A. Lucas-J. R. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and  
 Industries*, London 1962, p. 490. This analysis of one single  
 object was, however, made in 1901. A new analysis with  
 modern methods may give another result. It is also necessary  
 to question the date of the object.  
<sup>28</sup> H. Hoffman, *Greek Gold Reconsidered*, *AJA* 73, 1969, p.  
 447-451, and D. L. Carrol, *Drawn Wire and the Identifica-  
 tion of Forgeries in Ancient Jewelry*, *AJA* 74, 1970, p. 401.

# An Etruscan Plate

Eva Rystedt

MM 1964:9 (Figs 1–3) was acquired in Rome in 1963 along with other Italic vases presented to the Medelhavsmuseet by the late King Gustav VI Adolf. It is a wheel-made plate of wide and low shape (diameter c. 30 cm.; height 3.5–4.7 cm.) with painted decoration. It has a flat, slightly raised base, slightly convex walls and an off-set, flat, horizontal rim. Close to the rim are two pierced holes for suspension. The plate warped in the firing. The resulting inexactness of shape is matched by the carelessness of the painted decoration. On the inside are a central filled circle and two wide encircling bands, the outer embracing the rim. On the outside a figural design enters the linear decoration. The latter, apart from the paint covering the rim, is made up of four crossing stripes on the base; on the walls, of two encircling bands, and two sets of each three lines to frame the figural zone. This contains a series of six water birds painted in silhouette. They have much elongated, curved bodies, long S-curved necks and long bills. On inordinately spread legs with sprawling claws they walk in a row to the right.

The plate is made of a sifted buff clay. The paint fired various hues from orange to dark purplish brown. The plate was mended from three fragments. It is well preserved except for some surface abrasion mainly at the inside, the paint missing in parts.

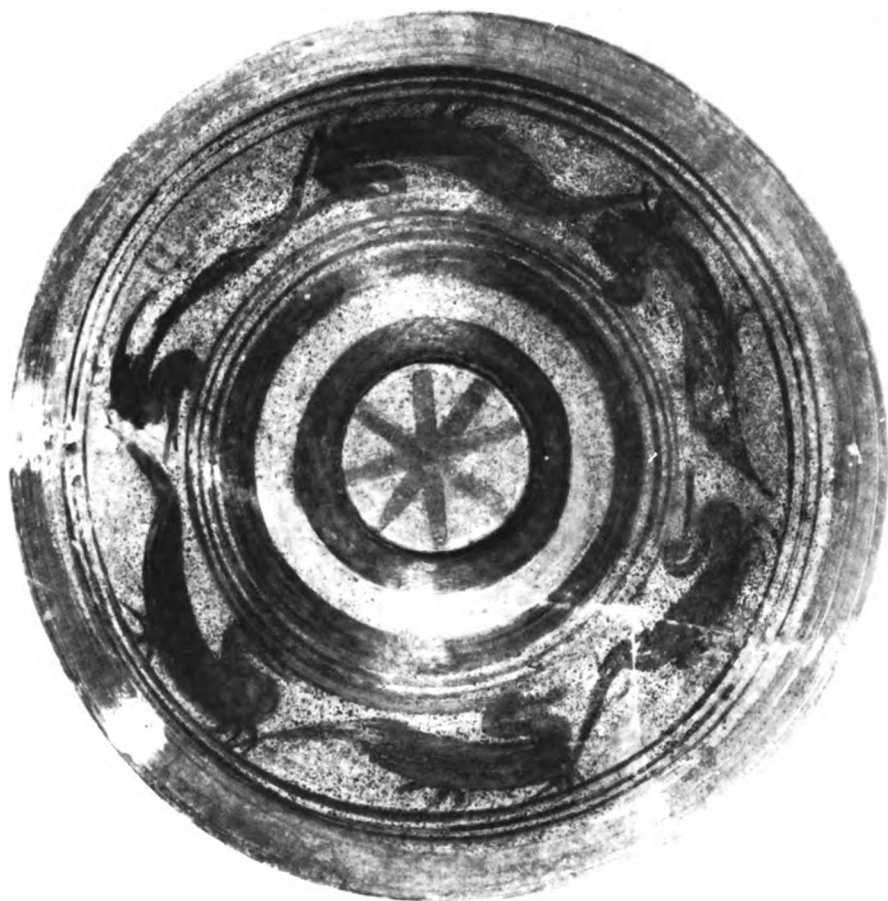
The plate is to be referred to a group of early Etruscan painted pottery distinguished by way of its dominant decorative theme of marching subgeometric birds arranged in a frieze. Vases carrying such decoration are of heterogeneous fabric. On the one hand birds were painted in red on pots of a light-coloured clay of fine texture termed *terra* or *argilla figulina*. This fabric was introduced into Italy from Greece. In general appearance the *terra figulina* pottery diverges considerably from vases of the darker and

much coarser *impasto*, which represents the indigenous tradition. Birds that occur on the latter are painted in white on a characteristically red, well burnished slip (the south Etruscan ‘Red-ware’), or in red on top of a layer of cream slip.

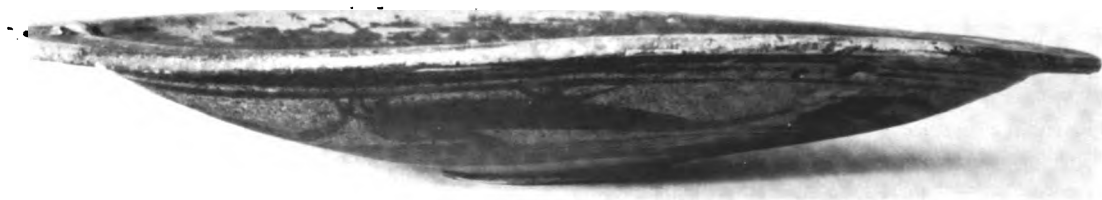
Our plate goes with the first, *terra figulina* class, which also comprises the following shapes: the deep footed bowl, the *oinochoe*, the jar. Apart from the bird frieze the decoration on these vases usually consists of encircling lines and bands. Following Gjerstad's terminology this is Italo-Archaic Decorated Ware.<sup>1</sup>

The bird or *ad ‘aironi’* pottery (so denominated by Italians from the rather inappropriate ‘airone’, ‘heron’) is an ingredient of the orientalizing material culture of southern Etruria and, more specifically, that of a cultural province which has been recognized as comprising Cerveteri, Veii, Latium and the Faliscan area in archaic times.<sup>2</sup>

As for the bird plates, the vast majority of those with known contexts were found at Cerveteri, the rest of the documented finds covering the inland from Blera, San Giovenale and Monterano to Faliscan territory further eastwards.<sup>3</sup> The rare fragments of plates excavated in Sicily clearly derive from southern Etruria.<sup>4</sup> The fabric, the shape, the decoration are uniform along general lines. On the other hand there is heterogeneity in particulars. This is most evident in the case of the exterior decoration, involving the distribution of concentric bands and lines over the surface, the occasional inclusion of additional linear ornaments, the pose of the birds. There is reason to assume a locally differentiated out-put of the *ad ‘aironi’* plates, although Cerveteri on account of its combined chronological and quantitative precedence might have been the originator of the type and the main producer. The find contexts indicate a considerable span of time



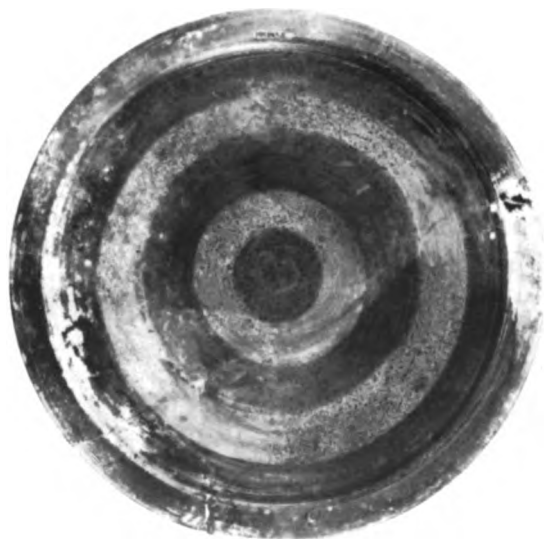
1-2. MM 1964:9.



for their production. Their introduction takes place within Pallottino's orientalizing third *facies*. In the tombs bird plates were often found together with objects like high pottery stands and impasto spiral amphorae typical for this *facies*.<sup>5</sup> The Tomba "della Capanna" in Cerveteri, rich in impasto pottery but still without bucchero, is one of the earliest occurrences. The date of the tomb is 675–650 B.C.<sup>6</sup> The San Giovenale specimens, whose exterior decoration seems more or less closely related to that of Cerveteri plates, have been dated to at least half a century later along with the tomb contents.<sup>7</sup> Looking at the plates from Cerveteri and San Giovenale tombs stylistic evidence like the shape of the birds seems of doubtful value if used singly as chronologically indicative.<sup>8</sup> Actually the question of an internally observable sequence within the principal unit of Caeretan plates has to be deferred until a thorough publication and evaluation has appeared both of the old material from Banditaccia and of that more recently excavated on Monte Abatone.

Returning to the plate in Medelhavsmuseet, its decoration comprising concentric bands and lines and a bird frieze comes closer to the illustrated plates from Cerveteri and San Giovenale (of Caeretan manufacture?) than to those found elsewhere that include subsidiary linear ornaments. The date should be somewhere within the second half of the seventh century and the early years of the sixth.

3. MM 1964:9.



For the pedigree of birds like those on our plate we have to turn to Greece. Unlikely as it may seem at the first glance, they derive from the water birds popular in Late Geometric vase decoration. The Greek birds occur both singly, especially in metopal frames, and as repetitive figures in friezes around the vessels. Greek painted vases incorporating birds were imported, produced locally and imitated in Etruria starting from the late eighth century.<sup>9</sup> In the case of the plates under discussion, the connection with Greek pottery appears less clearly from the Etruscanized birds than from linear motifs like sets of sigmas and net of dotted lozenges which intervene as subsidiary ornaments on some plates from Blera, Monterano and Narce, as well as on a plate, of unknown provenience, in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen.<sup>10</sup> The two mentioned motifs are common in the linear work of Early Protocorinthian, which continues the geometric tradition. Two plates more thorough-going geometric in decoration are possibly to be associated with the Warrior's Tomb at Tarquinia and thus of late eighth century date.<sup>11</sup> Neither has a bird frieze (though one has small-sized single birds) and both are of smaller dimensions than plates of our type. Still they share with our plate the crossing stripes on the outside of the base.

The Tarquinia plates show pronounced Greek stylistic affinities. The younger *ad "aironi"* plates, on the other hand, take us far away from Greek models into the domain of orientalizing, distinctly Etruscan vase painting. Here the decorative repertoire of Greek Geometric was kept on for quite a long time. A well-defined terra figulina class of subgeometric pottery connects southern coastal Etruria with Cumae. Pallottino in 1937 recommended circumspection to be used when trying to assess the various possible strands—earlier geometric of the same area, Protocorinthian, subgeometric Sicilian—going into its formation.<sup>12</sup> The same sense of the complexity should guide the study of the *ad "aironi"* pottery, which, as said above, is a subgeometric variety especially connected with Cerveteri and the territory under its influence. There is no modern comprehensive study on geometric and subgeometric wares in Etruria of Greek inspiration, still less on those of Italy at large.<sup>13</sup>

In the subgeometric context of southern Etruria the Greek bird started a notable yet ignoble career assuming a degenerate elongated shape which removed it much from its geometric predecessor in appearance. Furthermore, its execution in paint is often careless

the way it is on our plate, which is in fact of inferior quality both as regards shape and decoration. Such pottery, with little decorative variation, bears the stamp of a hasty production of some volume. The disfiguring elongation of animal shapes set in a frieze is a phenomenon of economy which contrasts strongly with the geometric preference to pack the friezes with close repetitive figures.

On southern Etruscan pottery the birds were not only represented in paint. Single birds were incised especially on spiral amphorae and skyphoi both of advanced impasto and of the earliest, thin-walled bucchero. They intruded upon other artistic fields, too, such as wall-painting and architectural terracotta.

An early chamber tomb from Veii exemplifies the former, painted roof-tiles, revetment plaques and cover-tile protomes from Acquarossa the latter.<sup>14</sup> This all demonstrates the independence as a decorative motif which the borrowed Greek bird, dissociated from its original context, won for itself in the new artistic milieu of Etruria.<sup>15</sup> The viability of the drooping-tailed bird makes itself felt not only through the diversity of the evidence but also in terms of geography. The bird occurs on a local impasto vase from Campovalano in the Abruzzo, not far from the Adriatic coast.<sup>16</sup> It is a testimony along with others to Etruscan influence in the protohistoric culture of Picenum.

<sup>1</sup> Gjerstad, E., *Early Rome IV:1*, pp. 70–71.

<sup>2</sup> Colonna, G., *Etruria meridionale interna dal villanoviano alle tombe rupestri*, StEtr XXXV (1967), pp. 16 ff. Morandi, A., in *Gli Etruschi, Nuove ricerche e scoperte*, Viterbo 1972, p. 73. Colonna, G., *Ricerche sull'Etruria interna volsiniese*, StEtr XLI (1973), p. 47.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Colonna, StEtr XXXV (1967), p. 17, note 35. It is interesting to note that Tarquinia is not represented.—A list (not exhaustive) of published plates of known provenience: Cerveteri

*Sorbo*. Iron age necropolis. Fossa tombs. 2 specimens. Pohl, I., *The Iron Age Necropolis of Sorbo at Cerveteri*, Skifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom, series in 4°, XXXII, Stockholm 1972, Tomb 20, p. 264 and fig. 267, 1; Tomb 21, p. 270 and fig. 269, 1.

*Sorbo*. Tomba Giulimondi. 3 specimens. Pareti, L., *La Tomba Regolini-Galassi del Museo Gregoriano Etrusco e la civiltà dell'Italia centrale nel sec. VII a.C.*, Città del Vaticano 1947, items no. 498, 499, 500, pp. 406–407, Tavv. LXI (undiscernible) and LXII (decoration of one plate barely discernible).

*Banditaccia*, zona A "del Recinto". A group of early tumulus tombs of varying types, all in the same area, which is described in the publication as "la più intensiva parte arcaica della zona". C. 35 specimens at a low counting. Tum. I, tomba 2, Tum. II, tomba 11 "della Capanna", tombe 69, 71, 75, 78, 81, 84, 85, 86, 95(?). MonAnt XLII (1955), columns 220, 226–227, 350, 355, 481, 482, 484, 490, 492, 499, 503–504, 506, 509, 510, 511, 516, 517(?). Only four of these plates are illustrated: one from Tum. I, tomba 2 (fig. 11.2), two from tomba "della Capanna" (fig. 77.1 and 3) and one from tomb 79 (fig. 119.2, inside only).

*Monte Abatone*. Speaking of ad "aironi" pottery in StEtr XXXV (above note 2) Colonna gives a *passim* reference to *Materiali di Antichità Varia*, V, Roma 1966, which contains material from the Monte Abatone cemetery. This book was not available to me.—One plate from Monte Abatone is illustrated in Lerici, C.M., *Nuove testimonianze dell'arte e della civiltà etrusca*, Milano 1960: tomb 352, p. 46.

#### Veii

Montelius, O., *La civilisation primitive en Italie*, Pl. 349, 12.

#### San Giovenale

Chamber tombs under tumuli in the necropoleis of Grotte Tufarina and Castellina Camerata. At least 3 specimens. San Giovenale, vol. I, fasc. 5, tomb G.T. 1, p. 102 and Pl. XLIX, 79; fasc. 7, tomb C.C. 1, p. 5 and Fig. 6, 7

#### Blera

Chamber tombs under tumuli. 2 specimens. RömMitt XXX (1915), Tumulus Plan 1:B16, p. 213f and Abb. 17. NSc 1932, Tomba 3, pp. 490–491 and Fig. 6 (undiscernible).

#### Monterano

One specimen. *Études Étrusco-Italiques*, 1963, p. 41 and Pl. VIII, 2.

#### Narce

Fossa tomb and chamber tombs in the necropoleis. 6 specimens. Hall Dohan, Edith, *Italic Tomb groups in the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia 1942, Tomb 1, p. 55 and Pl. XXX.6. MonAnt IV (1894), tomb LIX, col. 527 and Fig. 141; tomb LXI, col. 530 (no picture).

<sup>4</sup> Eloro. Two fragments probably of the same plate. *Archeologia nella Sicilia sudorientale* (exhibition catalogue), Soprintendenza alle Antichità Siracusa, 1973, no. 382, pp.

120–121 and Tav. XXXVIII; with a reference to two unpublished fragments from Gela.

<sup>5</sup> Pallottino, M., *Sulle facies culturali arcaiche dell'Etruria*, *StEtr* XIII (1939), p. 108 and fig. 10. Cf. also Close-Brooks's type table for Veii, no. 76 ("uccello dipinto in stile fiorito"), of her phase IIIA, in *NSc* 1965, pp. 57 and 64.

<sup>6</sup> Dohrn, T., in Helbig<sup>4</sup>, III, n. 2583. Hirschland Ramage, N., *Studies in Early Etruscan Buccherio*, *PBSR* XXXVIII (1970), p. 2.

<sup>7</sup> San Giovenale, I:5, p. 104 and I:7, p. 8.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Pohl, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

<sup>9</sup> For a Late Geometric skyphos decorated with birds found at Veii (Quattro Fontanili) and deemed an import by Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, London 1968, pp. 370 and 425, see *NSc* 1963, p. 271 and Fig. 132 f. For pottery with birds produced locally by Greek or indigenous potters see Åkerström, Å., *Der geometrische Stil in Italien*, Lund-Leipzig 1943, *passim*, and Hencken, H., *Tarquinia, Villanovans and early Etruscans*, Cambridge, Mass., 1968, figs 130b, 133b, 190a–c, 194b, and the relevant text. See also two recent papers in *Dialoghi di Archeologia* VIII (1974–1975): Canciani, F., *Un biconico dipinto da Vulci*, pp. 79–85; La Rocca, E., *Due tombe dell'Esquilino. Alcune novità sul commercio euboico in Italia Centrale nell'VIII secolo a.C.*, pp. 86–103.

<sup>10</sup> Blera, Monterano and Narce plates: see above note 3. For

the Copenhagen plate see *Meddelelser fra Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* XXX (1973), p. 51, Fig. 10.

<sup>11</sup> On the Warrior's Tomb cf. of late Ström, I., *Problems Concerning the Origin and Early Development of the Etruscan Orientalizing Style*, Odense 1971, pp. 141–145. Illustrations of the plates in Åkerström, *op. cit.*, Taf. 22, 1 and 3; Hencken, *op. cit.*, fig. 193a and b.—Cf. note 15 below.

<sup>12</sup> *MonAnt* XXXVI (1937), cols 217–218.

<sup>13</sup> Much new material and knowledge has accumulated since 1943, when Åkerström's book (note 9) was published.

<sup>14</sup> de Agostino, A., *La tomba delle Anatre a Veio*, *ArchCl* XV (1963), Tav. LXXXVI. Gli Etruschi, Nuove ricerche e scoperte, Tavv. VIIIb, IXa, and colour plate D opposite p. 80.

<sup>15</sup> The logical starting-point of the motif in Etruria is the local terra figulina ware. Cf. Åkerström, *op. cit.*, p. 83, implicitly, in connection with one of the plates mentioned above from the Warrior's Tomb at Tarquinia: yet the actual bird to be seen on this plate, puny and white-painted, does not seem worthy of the designation "Prototypus" (of the Etruscan "Zweifüssler").

<sup>16</sup> *Antiche civiltà d'Abruzzo* (exhibition catalogue), Roma, 1969, no. 164, pp. 72–73, Fig. 12, Tav. LXXXVI. Bianchi Bandinelli, R.—Giuliano, A., *Etruschi e Italici prima del dominio di Roma*, Milano 1973, fig. 115.

# Two Candelabrum Pieces in the Collections of the Medelhavsmuseet

Astrid Sárkány

In the Collections of the Museum there are two candelabrum pieces with reliefs in Neo-Attic style. One of them, a cylindrical piece of candelabrum (MM 1970:4), was presented by King Gustaf VI Adolf in 1970 (Figs. 1-6). The other, a three-sided base (MM 1960:8), was purchased in Rome in 1960 (Figs. 7-9).

The *cylindrical candelabrum piece* (Figs. 1-6) is executed in white, fine-grained marble. The shape is practically cylindrical, yet somewhat tapered towards the top. Height 27 cm, diameter at the bottom 33 cm, at the top 31 cm.

The concave upper side is grooved and has in the centre a hole, probably secondarily drilled. The outer side of the cylinder is decorated with a relief, the height of which is 21 cm. Around the edge of the underside there is an egg and dart decoration and immediately inside it a garland of leaves. The centre of both the upper and the under side is unwrought, which proves that, originally, the object continued both upwards and downwards. It is uncertain which part of a candelabrum this is. It may be a part of the base but it seems more probable that it is a part of the shaft. The relief is decomposed and thus its height is very varying.

The relief represents six dancing female figures. The field is delimited by rhythmically repeated, flaming candelabra. The female figures glide along on tiptoe with short dancing steps. They have on their heads a *kalathos* set with upright reed leaves and are dressed in a short chiton with an overfold. The thin garment, reaching just below the knee, follows the body closely. Only the overfold and hem of the skirt flutter outwards in soft s-shaped lines as if to represent rhythmic movement.

The female figure a.) (Fig. 1.) moves on tiptoe to the right, her right leg somewhat in front of her left. Her

right arm is stretched out obliquely downwards behind her body. Her right hand is bent at an angle upwards. Her left arm is raised on a level with her breast, the open palm of her left hand turned towards the flaming candelabrum.

The candelabrum a.) has a three-sided base. The sides consist of a rectangular, smooth field with a bent-up edge and a suggestion of feet resembling lion's paws. The shaft is decorated with acanthus leaves.

The female figure b.) (Fig. 2.) moves to the left, her left leg somewhat in front of her right. She is identical with female figure a.) though reversed and her head is more pronouncedly bent forward.

The candelabrum b.). The base consists of two sphinxes with female heads. They are depicted sitting with their backs towards each other. The shaft is decorated with acanthus leaves.

The female figure c.) (Fig. 3.) moves to the right, her right leg somewhat in front of her left. Her arms are raised on a level with her breast, her hands obscure. Her head is turned backwards. Her glance is directed backwards, downwards. The upper part of her body is twisted markedly backwards. The movement conveys the impression that the dancer was depicted with the upper part of the body *en face* and the lower part in profile. The part of the candelabrum at the figure's feet is chipped off.

The candelabrum c.) is very much decomposed. The base consists of two sea monsters resting on a smooth, cylindrical base. The shaft is decorated with acanthus leaves.

The female figure d.) (Fig. 4.) is very much decomposed. She moves to the left, her left leg somewhat in front of her right. Her right arm stretched forwards. Her hand is half-closed in a gesture directed towards



1. MM 1970:4.



2. MM 1970:4.

3. MM 1970:4.



4. MM 1970:4.







5. MM 1970:4.



6. MM 1970:4.

the flame. Her left arm bent on a level with her breast. Her hand impossible to discern. Her left foot is chipped off.

The candelabrum d.). The base consists of two sphinxes with bearded men's heads and big lion's paws. They are depicted turned away from each other. Their wings are placed diagonally towards each other. The shaft is decorated with acanthus leaves.

The female figure e.) (Fig. 5.) moves to the right, her right leg in front of her left. Both arms stretched upwards, slightly bent in front of her body. Her hands bent upwards, backwards with the palms turned towards the flaming candelabrum. Her right arm executed in full relief. Her left arm stands out in low relief behind her right. Her head is turned backwards.

The candelabrum e.). The shape of the base is rectangular with curved sides. It is somewhat narrower on top than at the bottom. A raised edge encloses the field, which represents an erote in relief. The erote dances or runs to the left, arms out-stretched. He has small wings, only one of which is executed. The shaft is decorated with acanthus leaves.

The female figure f.) (Fig. 6.) moves to the left, her right leg in front of her left. Her right arm is out-stretched obliquely upwards in front of her body. Her right hand is bent upwards, the palm turned towards

the flaming candelabrum. Her left arm is outstretched obliquely downwards behind her body. Her left hand is bent at an angle upwards. Only the thumb is stretched out straight backwards.

The candelabrum f.). The base consists of two satyrs. They are depicted with their backs towards each other. Bent as if by the weight, they support with both arms and heads the shaft, which is decorated with acanthus leaves.

The dancers on the cylindrical candelabrum piece are kalathiskos dancers or, as they are also called, caryatids, i.e. noble Lacedaemon girls who, dressed in short chitons, performed a cult dance at a festival for Artemis. The festival was arranged once a year at Karyae, a place on the border between Laconia and Arcadia. Hence the name caryatids, which is not very convenient since it is also used in another sense in architecture. Kalathiskos dancers is a better word, which I shall use in this paper.

It associates to the basket-shaped (κάλαθος=basket) headgear of the dancers, which was decorated with pointed reed leaves. Pliny<sup>1</sup> mentions a now lost work by Callimachos, the so-called *Saltantes Lacenae*. In this are depicted dancers placed in pairs and executed in bronze as applications on a round base. They have been identified by Wolters with the Spartan

girls.<sup>2</sup> The dancers on the cylindrical candelabrum piece in our Museum probably originally go back to Callimachos's work from the end of the fifth century B.C. It should, however, be mentioned that kalathiskos dancers appeared in conjunction with various cults, also outside the Doric mainland, above all in the Ionian area. On coins from Abdera from the end of the fifth century B.C.<sup>3</sup> there are representations of kalathiskos dancers.<sup>4</sup> Werner Fuchs, who made a modern and exhaustive investigation of the Neo-Attic material puts forward the hypothesis that an imitation casting of Callimachos's work, which was intended for Karyae, may have been put up in Athens.<sup>5</sup> This would explain the kalathiskos dancers on the coins from Abdera at the time of the Attic-Delian naval league. During the Augustan era and also during the Late Empire, the kalathiskos dancers were a very popular motif with the Neo-Attic artists. A number of reliefs bearing this motif are preserved. One of the most noteworthy representations is the Augustan marble relief in Berlin.<sup>6</sup> Another example is the Late Hadrian, or possibly Early Antoninian relief from the Villa Albani in Rome.<sup>7</sup> Fuchs is certain that the Neo-Attic kalathiskos dancers do not go back to Ionian prototypes but to a famous monument from the end of the fifth century B.C., i.e. Callimachos.<sup>8</sup> He intimates that Callimachos may have come from the Ionian area and, in this way, wants to connect the Ionian and Doric pictorial traditions as far as the kalathiskos dancers are concerned. Reliefs from the early Neo-Attic period with kalathiskos dancers are not preserved. In this context it is interesting to observe that Gisela Richter maintains that the dies used in the production of Arretine pottery were mechanic replicas of earlier Greek silver objects.<sup>9</sup> Thus, there would seem to be a possibility, through Arretine pottery, to gain an idea of now lost representations of dancers from the early Neo-Attic period. As decorative figures they were introduced into Rome during the first century B.C.<sup>10</sup> Their somewhat aloof grace was in keeping with the taste of the time. Fuchs and Dragendorff-Watzinger have made typological classifications of preserved Neo-Attic kalathiskos dancers in an attempt to reconstruct Callimachos's work.<sup>11</sup>

They start from the direction of the dancers' movements and the position of their arms. None of the dancing female figures on the cylindrical candelabrum piece corresponds to Fuchs's types. The female figure c.) corresponds to Dragendorff-Watzinger's type 3.<sup>12</sup>

The female figure d.) corresponds to Dragendorff-Watzinger's Perrenius type 4.<sup>13</sup> The remaining four female figures have no exact counterparts. The female figures on the cylindrical candelabrum piece in our Museum show resemblances to the kalathiskos dancers on the Arretine pottery, a fact that should be considered when dating them. On pottery from the Rasinius workshop<sup>14</sup> the dancers—like those on our candelabrum piece—are antithetically turned towards each other and their headgear is not basket-shaped but has the form of crown of reed leaves.

On early Arretine pottery the dancers are occasionally separated by pillars, columns or tripods on relief-decorated round altars. This calls to mind the cylindrical candelabrum piece of our Museum where the dancers are separated by candelabra with relief-decorated or sculptured bases. Moreover, in spite of the dissimilar character of the material, the resemblance in lines and folds is striking.

The representation on our candelabrum piece implies knowledge of Arretine ware with motifs of kalathiskos dancers. Only two dancers have been directly borrowed from the prototype. The remaining four are, as far as attitude and movement pattern are concerned, somewhat varied. The fact that direct imitation and individual variation occur and are mingled in one and the same work of art is typical of the Neo-Attic style of art. The Arretine pottery flourishes for a comparatively short period, which begins in ca. 25 B.C. and ends in ca. 25 A.D.<sup>15</sup> In view of the close connection, both in terms of style and motif, between the representation on our candelabrum piece and, in particular, the early Arretine pottery, the piece can be dated to the beginning of the first century A.D.

*The three-sided candelabrum base* (Figs. 7-9.) is executed in fine-grained white marble. The shape is almost rectangular, yet somewhat tapering towards the top. Height 30.5 cm, largest breadth 24.5 cm.

Each side has a pictorial representation in relief. The fields are delimited by a raised edge. The object is a part of a candelabrum base. At the top it is chipped or hewn off above the field. At the bottom, some of the reliefs are chipped off. The relief represents:

*Side a.)* (Fig. 7.) A sacrificing Victory turned to the left. The head in profile, the body a quarter of a turn to the left. She has a plump face and a girlish, slim figure. Large wings, only one of which is executed covering almost the whole field behind her. She is dressed in a thin, girdled chiton with an overfold.





7. MM 1960:8.

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The garment follows the body closely streaming out behind at the bottom, as if driven by the wind. A swallowtailed flap of the overfold flutters out in front. She keeps her left arm bent close to the body. In her left hand she holds a bowl. She keeps her right arm slightly bent and raised high in front of her, and between her thumb and index finger she holds an *oinochoe*, out of which she pours a liquid offering. The liquid is depicted as an embossed ribbon coiling down into the bowl. Her hair is gathered in a side pad and two buns at the back of the head. The base is here chipped off on a level with the figure's knee.

On both sides, the goddess is flanked by satyrs. To the left of her, *side b.*) (Fig. 8.), a naked satyr turned to the left. The head and the lower part of the body in profile. The upper part of the body a quarter of a turn to the right. He takes a dancing step forward, left leg in front of right. He holds his left arm behind his back. Over the left forearm hangs a panther's fell. In his left hand he holds a short stick, *pedum* or *logobolon*. He holds his right arm stretched out in front of him. In the right hand there is an object which is impossible to identify. He has short, curly hair, horns in the forehead, a muscular body and a goat's tail. The base is here chipped off just below the figure's knee.

To the right of the goddess, *side c.*) a naked satyr turned to the right (Fig. 9.). Head and lower part of body in profile. The upper part of the body a quarter of a turn to the left. He has short, curly hair, horns in the forehead, a muscular body and a goat's tail. He takes one step forward, left leg in front of right. He holds his right arm behind his back. In his right hand he holds a *pedum* or *logobolon*. He holds his left arm stretched out in front of him. Over the arm hangs a panther's fell. In his left hand he holds a hare. Below the panther's fell is seen the head of a barking dog, which probably jumped up towards the game. Behind the satyr there is a relief fragment which resembles the nose of another dog. There is a crack across the shoulder of the satyr.

Kalathiskos dancers were such a popular motif that they were remodelled at an early date. They were given wings and were used as Victories or genies.<sup>16</sup> That they are really dancers is apparent from the gestures of their hands and the garment, the short chiton. Dragendorff-Watzinger gives as the earliest example of such a re-model a Neo-Attic relief from the early Augustan era with a framed pictorial field in the collections of the Vatican Museum.<sup>17</sup> On Arretine pottery,

too, there are representations of re-modelled dancers. They are dressed in a short chiton with an overfold. The garment barely reaches the knee. They have fairly large wings. The hair is gathered in a bun at the back of the head. There is no *kalathos*. This Victory type holds, right hand raised and left hand lowered, a festoon. There are two variants, one turned to the left, the other—which is otherwise exactly similar—is turned to the right.<sup>18</sup>

Examples of such re-models in which the dancer motif has been merged with the Victory motif, are frequent. I will mention some additional examples.

On the armour of a statue in the Vatican Museum are represented two Victory figures.<sup>19</sup> It appears clearly that they are kalathiskos dancers, who have been provided with wings. They are dressed in a short garment and stand on either side of a palladium. They stand or move on tiptoe. The one to the left is performing a cult dance. The one to the right is turned to the left, both arms stretched up towards the idol. Kalathiskos dancers in similar compositions occur also on other armour statues, e.g. at Turin.<sup>20</sup>

In a stucco relief from a vaulted ceiling in the Terme Museum in Rome there is a representation of two kalathiskos dancers re-modelled into Victory figures.<sup>21</sup> One is turned to the right, the other to the left. They are dressed in a short chiton, which barely reaches the knee. They have large wings. There is no *kalathos*. They hold one hand raised, pouring out of a vessel, which they hold between the thumb and the index finger, the liquid offering down into a bowl, which they hold in the other hand.

A stucco relief from the Casa Farnesina in Rome represents a Victory, who still clearly reveals her origin from the kalathiskos dancer, though her dress is longer.<sup>22</sup> It is here almost ankle-length. She has large wings and stands or moves dancing on tiptoe to the left. She holds, right hand raised and left lowered, a helmet. The dress billows out as if pressed by a rhythmic movement showing the left leg bare up to above the knee. The treatment of the folds is akin to that of the kalathiskos dancer of our candelabrum piece.

In a series of reliefs<sup>23</sup> there is a Victory representation which is of particular interest in this context. This motif is frequent also on Arretine ware.<sup>24</sup> The motif is part of a composition, which also comprises Apollo, Artemis, and Leto. Victory stands turned to the left and is dressed in a long, archaizing garment. Her right hand raised high, she pours the liquid offering out of the vessel. Her hair is gathered in a bun





8. MM 1960:8.



9. MM 1960:8.

at the back of her head. Apollo, Artemis and Leto originally belonged to the same composition. They go back to a prototype from the third century B.C.<sup>25</sup> Their voluminous garments in Hellenistic style, combined with fold motifs in archaizing style, contrast against the more superficially linear fold treatment of the Victory figure. This is particularly obvious when we observe the swallowtailed overfold of the garment. This difference is found on all good replicas, also on Arretine pottery. Besides, the Victory figure on most of these reliefs is smaller than the other deities. The hair style, too, is different. Apollo, Artemis and Leto have long, archaizing curls at the back of the head, whereas the hair of the Victory figure makes it clear that, originally, she did not belong to the triad of deities. She was added later. Schmidt is of the opinion that she was added to the composition during the Augustan era.<sup>26</sup> He does not say whence she comes, but a close examination and a comparison with re-modelled kalathiskos dancers clearly show that, in spite of the long, archaizing garment, she belongs to this group. It is interesting to note that the re-modelled dancers in the stucco relief from the vaulted ceiling in the Terme Museum in Rome not only have wings but also hold, in their lowered hand, an offering vessel. The position of the arms, which earlier indicated the movement of the dance, have now gained another significance. Movement, attitude and the gracefully sprawling fingers of the high-raised hand remind us of the Victory type occurring on the series of reliefs mentioned above.

The Victory in the stucco relief from the Casa Farnesina in Rome does not hold an offering bowl but a helmet, yet the attitude of the arms is practically the same as that of the above-mentioned reliefs. The Casa Farnesina Victory is not dressed in the short garment, usually worn by the dancers, but in an ankle-length chiton with an overfold. The fold treatment resembles representations of kalathiskos dancers, whereas the length of the garment calls to mind the Victory type with the long garment which is found on the reliefs mentioned above.

The type of Victory figure which occurs on these reliefs is represented on a stucco relief from a villa near the Casa Farnesina dated to Augustan times.<sup>27</sup> She is a slim, girlish figure with large wings. She stands turned to the left, the right leg somewhat in front of the left. She is dressed in a long chiton with an overfold, the swallowtailed flap of which is bent somewhat outwards. On her head she wears a narrow

crown with three points. She holds her right arm raised high and between the thumb and index finger she holds an *oinochoe*, out of which she pours the liquid offering into the bowl that she is holding in her lowered left hand.

The Victory on our three-sided candelabrum piece belongs to the same type as the dancer re-modelled on the series of reliefs and as the Victory on the relief from the villa near the Casa Farnesina. The base is chipped off at the figure's knee, but the design of the dress suggests that the garment was long.

The Victory on the relief from the villa near the Casa Farnesina is somewhat slimmer and more graceful of design than on the three-sided base, which would largely be due to the different character of stucco and marble. As to attitude and style in other respects, as, for instance, the large wings and the fold treatment of the garment, the two reliefs are so similar that they must be very close in time.

The execution of both is characterized by the decorative style of Augustan classicism, and our three-sided base, too, can be dated to the beginning of the first century A.D.

The two satyrs represented on base sides b.) and c.) belong to Hauser's group 17.<sup>28</sup> There is a parallel on a round base in the Louvre. It goes back to a prototype from the early third century B.C.<sup>29</sup>

Both representations on the candelabra pieces of the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities are characterized by the Neo-Attic style. When treating of a Neo-Attic work of art, one should seek its prototype and the date when it was executed and, if possible, also the place where it was made.

The candelabra pieces dealt with here are executed in Carrara marble, which began to be quarried in the middle of the first century B.C. Consequently, they were probably made on Italian soil at some time after the middle of the first century B.C.

Occasionally, the dating of a Neo-Attic work of art is made more difficult since it is always characterized by the contemporary style of its prototype. Mainly on style-critical grounds, the two candelabra pieces in our Museum are dated to the beginning of the first century A.D.

It is interesting to follow the development of the kalathiskos dancers from Callimachos's *Saltantes Lacenae* to the sacrificing Victory in her long, archaizing garment. This re-modelling illustrates well the eclectically imitating nature of Neo-Attic art. There is some innovation, but this is rather the result of varia-

tions of a familiar theme and can never be compared to the art that expresses the subjectively creating will of an artist.

Translation by N. Stedt.

- <sup>1</sup> Pliny, Nat. Hist. XXXIV, 34.92.
- <sup>2</sup> Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst, No. 6, 1895.
- <sup>3</sup> J. May, The coinage of Abdera (540–345 B.C.), London 1966.
- <sup>4</sup> Ibid., Pls. 313–315.
- <sup>5</sup> W. Fuchs, Die Vorbilder der Neuattischen Reliefs, Berlin 1959, p. 95.
- <sup>6</sup> F. Weege, Der Tanz in der Antike, Halle 1926, Abb. 49.
- <sup>7</sup> Ibid., Abb. 52.
- <sup>8</sup> Fuchs, op.cit., p. 92.
- <sup>9</sup> G. Richter, Three critical periods in Greek sculpture, Oxford 1951, p. 51.
- <sup>10</sup> H. Dragendorff–C. Watzinger, Arretinische Reliefkeramik, Reutlingen 1948, p. 56.
- <sup>11</sup> Fuchs, op.cit., p. 92 and Dragendorff–Watzinger, op.cit., p. 55.
- <sup>12</sup> Dragendorff–Watzinger, op.cit., p. 121.
- <sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 55.
- <sup>14</sup> Ibid., Taf. 1.
- <sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 17.
- <sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 60.
- <sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 60.
- <sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 64.
- <sup>19</sup> W. Amelung, Die Sculpturen des Vatikanischen Museums, II, Berlin 1908, Taf. 45.
- <sup>20</sup> H. Dutschke, Antike Bildwerke in Oberitalien, Leipzig 1884, p. IV.
- <sup>21</sup> E. Löwy, Neuattische Kunst, Leipzig 1922, Taf. 31.
- <sup>22</sup> Weege, op.cit., Abb. 53.
- <sup>23</sup> Th. Schreiber, Die hellenistischen Reliefbilder, Leipzig 1889, Taf. XXXIV–XXXVI.
- <sup>24</sup> Dragendorff–Watzinger, op.cit., p. 61.
- <sup>25</sup> E. Schmidt, Archaistische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom, München 1922.
- <sup>26</sup> Ibid., p. 61.
- <sup>27</sup> G. Becatti, L'arte Romana, Milano 1962, p. 63.
- <sup>28</sup> F. Hauser, Die Neuattischen Reliefs, Stuttgart 1889, p. 1.
- <sup>29</sup> Fuchs, op.cit., p. 151.



# A Selection of Some Recent Acquisitions

Bengt Peterson & Marie-Louise Winbladh

1. Made of translucent banded alabaster of high quality this vessel is an outstanding example of the skilled handicraft at the very beginnings of Pharaonic Egypt. It is a cylinder jar with a rounded brim, slightly concave sides and a base not entirely flat. Its sole decoration is a cord line below the brim. This type of vessel is characteristic of the 1st Dynasty and is used in the tomb equipments of that period.

Given by Mrs Ann Nordmark.

MME 1975:12. Height 11.1 cm. Outer brim diameter 9.9 cm.

Egypt. 1st Dynasty. C. 3000 B.C.

B. P.



2. The blue-glazed shawabti of the Lady Nestanebasheru has eight vertical lines of hieroglyphs containing the traditional version of the 6th Book of the Dead chapter. The hieroglyphs, the divisional lines as well as other details, eyes, wig, hoes and basket, are painted in black. The right arm and both hands have been slightly repaired in modern times.

The figures belonging to this Lady were found in the Royal Cache in Western Thebes explored by G. Maspero in 1881 and onwards. In this tomb were hidden the mummies of the Theban priest-kings of the 21st Dynasty and those of their relatives as well as their belongings. Inscribed on the shawabti occurs one of Nestanebasheru's official titles "*Chief of the Superior Ladies*" connected with the Royal harim. She was the daughter of Pinodjem II and his first wife Lady Nesikhonsu. Her figure is a most welcome addition to the Stockholm Collection as those of her parents and her half-sister, the divine adoratrice Henuttaui were acquired previously (MME 1961:121, 1961:122 and 1965:14). With the exception of Pinodjem's second wife Isetemkhebi the family is complete. It is superfluous to add that the figures of Nesitanebasheru and her relatives are contained in collections all over the world (cf J. F. & L. Aubert, *Statuettes égyptiennes*, Paris 1974, 139 ff.).

Bequeathed by Mr Sven Kinnwall.

MME 1975:72. Height 14.5 cm.

Egypt. 21st Dynasty. 10th century B.C.

B. P.





3. The faience figure, blue-green with black details, represents the goddess Sakhmet-Bastet. She is a standing woman, left leg advanced, and has a lion's head. She wears a long garment close to the body. On her head, dressed in a wig, there is a raised cobra. In her left hand she holds a papyrus sceptre in front of her while the right arm is at her side. Its damaged hand may have held an attribute like the life-sign. The wig and the head of the cobra are black; the rest of the figure has the uniform blue-green glaze.

The back shows a dorsal pillar at the top of which there is a loop for the suspension of the figure. On the pillar an inscription is incised:

𓆎𓆏𓆑𓆒𓆓𓆔𓆕𓆖𓆗𓆘𓆙𓆚𓆛𓆜𓆝𓆞𓆟𓆠𓆡𓆢𓆣𓆤𓆥𓆦𓆧𓆨𓆩𓆪𓆫𓆬𓆭𓆮𓆯𓆰𓆱𓆲𓆳𓆴𓆵𓆶𓆷𓆸𓆹𓆺𓆻𓆼𓆽𓆾𓆿𓇀𓇁𓇂𓇃𓇄𓇅𓇆𓇇𓇈𓇉𓇊𓇋𓇌𓇍𓇎𓇏𓇐𓇑𓇒𓇓𓇔𓇕𓇖𓇗𓇘𓇙𓇚𓇛𓇜𓇝𓇞𓇟𓇠𓇡𓇢𓇣𓇤𓇥𓇦𓇧𓇨𓇩𓇪𓇫𓇬𓇭𓇮𓇯𓇰𓇱𓇲𓇳𓇴𓇵𓇶𓇷𓇸𓇹𓇺𓇻𓇼𓇽𓇾𓇿𓈀𓈁𓈂𓈃𓈄𓈅𓈆𓈇𓈈𓈉𓈊𓈋𓈌𓈍𓈎𓈏𓈐𓈑𓈒𓈓𓈔𓈕𓈖𓈗𓈘𓈙𓈚𓈛𓈜𓈝𓈞𓈟𓈠𓈡𓈢𓈣𓈤𓈥𓈦𓈧𓈨𓈩𓈪𓈫𓈬𓈭𓈮𓈯𓈰𓈱𓈲𓈳𓈴𓈵𓈶𓈷𓈸𓈹𓈺𓈻𓈼𓈽𓈾𓈿𓉀𓉁𓉂𓉃𓉄𓉅𓉆𓉇𓉈𓉉𓉊𓉋𓉌𓉍𓉎𓉏𓉐𓉑𓉒𓉓𓉔𓉕𓉖𓉗𓉘𓉙𓉚𓉛𓉜𓉝𓉞𓉟𓉠𓉡𓉢𓉣𓉤𓉥𓉦𓉧𓉨𓉩𓉪𓉫𓉬𓉭𓉮𓉯𓉰𓉱𓉲𓉳𓉴𓉵𓉶𓉷𓉸𓉹𓉺𓉻𓉼𓉽𓉾𓉿𓊀𓊁𓊂𓊃𓊄𓊅𓊆𓊇𓊈𓊉𓊊𓊋𓊌𓊍𓊎𓊏𓊐𓊑𓊒𓊓𓊔𓊕𓊖𓊗𓊘𓊙𓊚𓊛𓊜𓊝𓊞𓊟𓊠𓊡𓊢𓊣𓊤𓊥𓊦𓊧𓊨𓊩𓊪𓊫𓊬𓊭𓊮𓊯𓊰𓊱𓊲𓊳𓊴𓊵𓊶𓊷𓊸𓊹𓊺𓊻𓊼𓊽𓊾𓊿𓋀𓋁𓋂𓋃𓋄𓋅𓋆𓋇𓋈𓋉𓋊𓋋𓋌𓋍𓋎𓋏𓋐𓋑𓋒𓋓𓋔𓋕𓋖𓋗𓋘𓋙𓋚𓋛𓋜𓋝𓋞𓋟𓋠𓋡𓋢𓋣𓋤𓋥𓋦𓋧𓋨𓋩𓋪𓋫𓋬𓋭𓋮𓋯𓋰𓋱𓋲𓋳𓋴𓋵𓋶𓋷𓋸𓋹𓋺𓋻𓋼𓋽𓋾𓋿𓌀𓌁𓌂𓌃𓌄𓌅𓌆𓌇𓌈𓌉𓌊𓌋𓌌𓌍𓌎𓌏𓌐𓌑𓌒𓌓𓌔𓌕𓌖𓌗𓌘𓌙𓌚𓌛𓌜𓌝𓌞𓌟𓌠𓌡𓌢𓌣𓌤𓌥𓌦𓌧𓌨𓌩𓌪𓌫𓌬𓌭𓌮𓌯𓌰𓌱𓌲𓌳𓌴𓌵𓌶𓌷𓌸𓌹𓌺𓌻𓌼𓌽𓌾𓌿𓍀𓍁𓍂𓍃𓍄𓍅𓍆𓍇𓍈𓍉𓍊𓍋𓍌𓍍𓍎𓍏𓍐𓍑𓍒𓍓𓍔𓍕𓍖𓍗𓍘𓍙𓍚𓍛𓍜𓍝𓍞𓍟𓍠𓍡𓍢𓍣𓍤𓍥𓍦𓍧𓍨𓍩𓍪𓍫𓍬𓍭𓍮𓍯𓍰𓍱𓍲𓍳𓍴𓍵𓍶𓍷𓍸𓍹𓍺𓍻𓍼𓍽𓍾𓍿𓎀𓎁𓎂𓎃𓎄𓎅𓎆𓎇𓎈𓎉𓎊𓎋𓎌𓎍𓎎𓎏𓎐𓎑𓎒𓎓𓎔𓎕𓎖𓎗𓎘𓎙𓎚𓎛𓎜𓎝𓎞𓎟𓎠𓎡𓎢𓎣𓎤𓎥𓎦𓎧𓎨𓎩𓎪𓎫𓎬𓎭𓎮𓎯𓎰𓎱𓎲𓎳𓎴𓎵𓎶𓎷𓎸𓎹𓎺𓎻𓎼𓎽𓎾𓎿𓏀𓏁𓏂𓏃𓏄𓏅𓏆𓏇𓏈𓏉𓏊𓏋𓏌𓏍𓏎𓏏𓏐𓏑𓏒𓏓𓏔𓏕𓏖𓏗𓏘𓏙𓏚𓏛𓏜𓏝𓏞𓏟𓏠𓏡𓏢𓏣𓏤𓏥𓏦𓏧𓏨𓏩𓏪𓏫𓏬𓏭𓏮𓏯𓏰𓏱𓏲𓏳𓏴𓏵𓏶𓏷𓏸𓏹𓏺𓏻𓏼𓏽𓏾𓏿𓐀𓐁𓐂𓐃𓐄𓐅𓐆𓐇𓐈𓐉𓐊𓐋𓐌𓐍𓐎𓐏𓐐𓐑𓐒𓐓𓐔𓐕𓐖𓐗𓐘𓐙𓐚𓐛𓐜𓐝𓐞𓐟𓐠𓐡𓐢𓐣𓐤𓐥𓐦𓐧𓐨𓐩𓐪𓐫𓐬𓐭𓐮𓐯𓐰𓐱𓐲𓐳𓐴𓐵𓐶𓐷𓐸𓐹𓐺𓐻𓐼𓐽𓐾𓐿𓑀𓑁𓑂𓑃𓑄𓑅𓑆𓑇𓑈𓑉𓑊𓑋𓑌𓑍𓑎𓑏𓑐𓑑𓑒𓑓𓑔𓑕𓑖𓑗𓑘𓑙𓑚𓑛𓑜𓑝𓑞𓑟𓑠𓑡𓑢𓑣𓑤𓑥𓑦𓑧𓑨𓑩𓑪𓑫𓑬𓑭𓑮𓑯𓑰𓑱𓑲𓑳𓑴𓑵𓑶𓑷𓑸𓑹𓑺𓑻𓑼𓑽𓑾𓑿𓒀𓒁𓒂𓒃𓒄𓒅𓒆𓒇𓒈𓒉𓒊𓒋𓒌𓒍𓒎𓒏𓒐𓒑𓒒𓒓𓒔𓒕𓒖𓒗𓒘𓒙𓒚𓒛𓒜𓒝𓒞𓒟𓒠𓒡𓒢𓒣𓒤𓒥𓒦𓒧𓒨𓒩𓒪𓒫𓒬𓒭𓒮𓒯𓒰𓒱𓒲𓒳𓒴𓒵𓒶𓒷𓒸𓒹𓒺𓒻𓒼𓒽𓒾𓒿𓓀𓓁𓓂𓓃𓓄𓓅𓓆𓓇𓓈𓓉𓓊𓓋𓓌𓓍𓓎𓓏𓓐𓓑𓓒𓓓𓓔𓓕𓓖𓓗𓓘𓓙𓓚𓓛𓓜𓓝𓓞𓓟𓓠𓓡𓓢𓓣𓓤𓓥𓓦𓓧𓓨𓓩𓓪𓓫𓓬𓓭𓓮𓓯𓓰𓓱𓓲𓓳𓓴𓓵𓓶𓓷𓓸𓓹𓓺𓓻𓓼𓓽𓓾𓓿𓔀𓔁𓔂𓔃𓔄𓔅𓔆𓔇𓔈𓔉𓔊𓔋𓔌𓔍𓔎𓔏𓔐𓔑𓔒𓔓𓔔𓔕𓔖𓔗𓔘𓔙𓔚𓔛𓔜𓔝𓔞𓔟𓔠𓔡𓔢𓔣𓔤𓔥𓔦𓔧𓔨𓔩𓔪𓔫𓔬𓔭𓔮𓔯𓔰𓔱𓔲𓔳𓔴𓔵𓔶𓔷𓔸𓔹𓔺𓔻𓔼𓔽𓔾𓔿𓕀𓕁𓕂𓕃𓕄𓕅𓕆𓕇𓕈𓕉𓕊𓕋𓕌𓕍𓕎𓕏𓕐𓕑𓕒𓕓𓕔𓕕𓕖𓕗𓕘𓕙𓕚𓕛𓕜𓕝𓕞𓕟𓕠𓕡𓕢𓕣𓕤𓕥𓕦𓕧𓕨𓕩𓕪𓕫𓕬𓕭𓕮𓕯𓕰𓕱𓕲𓕳𓕴𓕵𓕶𓕷𓕸𓕹𓕺𓕻𓕼𓕽𓕾𓕿𓖀𓖁𓖂𓖃𓖄𓖅𓖆𓖇𓖈𓖉𓖊𓖋𓖌𓖍𓖎𓖏𓖐𓖑𓖒𓖓𓖔𓖕𓖖𓖗𓖘𓖙𓖚𓖛𓖜𓖝𓖞𓖟𓖠𓖡𓖢𓖣𓖤𓖥𓖦𓖧𓖨𓖩𓖪𓖫𓖬𓖭𓖮𓖯𓖰𓖱𓖲𓖳𓖴𓖵𓖶𓖷𓖸𓖹𓖺𓖻𓖼𓖽𓖾𓖿𓗀𓗁𓗂𓗃𓗄𓗅𓗆𓗇𓗈𓗉𓗊𓗋𓗌𓗍𓗎𓗏𓗐𓗑𓗒𓗓𓗔𓗕𓗖𓗗𓗘𓗙𓗚𓗛𓗜𓗝𓗞𓗟𓗠𓗡𓗢𓗣𓗤𓗥𓗦𓗧𓗨𓗩𓗪𓗫𓗬𓗭𓗮𓗯𓗰𓗱𓗲𓗳𓗴𓗵𓗶𓗷𓗸𓗹𓗺𓗻𓗼𓗽𓗾𓗿𓘀𓘁𓘂𓘃𓘄𓘅𓘆𓘇𓘈𓘉𓘊𓘋𓘌𓘍𓘎𓘏𓘐𓘑𓘒𓘓𓘔𓘕𓘖𓘗𓘘𓘙𓘚𓘛𓘜𓘝𓘞𓘟𓘠𓘡𓘢𓘣𓘤𓘥𓘦𓘧𓘨𓘩𓘪𓘫𓘬𓘭𓘮𓘯𓘰𓘱𓘲𓘳𓘴𓘵𓘶𓘷𓘸𓘹𓘺𓘻𓘼𓘽𓘾𓘿𓙀𓙁𓙂𓙃𓙄𓙅𓙆𓙇𓙈𓙉𓙊𓙋𓙌𓙍𓙎𓙏𓙐𓙑𓙒𓙓𓙔𓙕𓙖𓙗𓙘𓙙𓙚𓙛𓙜𓙝𓙞𓙟𓙠𓙡𓙢𓙣𓙤𓙥𓙦𓙧𓙨𓙩𓙪𓙫𓙬𓙭𓙮𓙯𓙰𓙱𓙲𓙳𓙴𓙵𓙶𓙷𓙸𓙹𓙺𓙻𓙼𓙽𓙾𓙿𓚀𓚁𓚂𓚃𓚄𓚅𓚆𓚇𓚈𓚉𓚊𓚋𓚌𓚍𓚎𓚏𓚐𓚑𓚒𓚓𓚔𓚕𓚖𓚗𓚘𓚙𓚚𓚛𓚜𓚝𓚞𓚟𓚠𓚡𓚢𓚣𓚤𓚥𓚦𓚧𓚨𓚩𓚪𓚫𓚬𓚭𓚮𓚯𓚰𓚱𓚲𓚳𓚴𓚵𓚶𓚷𓚸𓚹𓚺𓚻𓚼𓚽𓚾𓚿𓛀𓛁𓛂𓛃𓛄𓛅𓛆𓛇𓛈𓛉𓛊𓛋𓛌𓛍𓛎𓛏𓛐𓛑𓛒𓛓𓛔𓛕𓛖𓛗𓛘𓛙𓛚𓛛𓛜𓛝𓛞𓛟𓛠𓛡𓛢𓛣𓛤𓛥𓛦𓛧𓛨𓛩𓛪𓛫𓛬𓛭𓛮𓛯𓛰𓛱𓛲𓛳𓛴𓛵𓛶𓛷𓛸𓛹𓛺𓛻𓛼𓛽𓛾𓛿𓜀𓜁𓜂𓜃𓜄𓜅𓜆𓜇𓜈𓜉𓜊𓜋𓜌𓜍𓜎𓜏𓜐𓜑𓜒𓜓𓜔𓜕𓜖𓜗𓜘𓜙𓜚𓜛𓜜𓜝𓜞𓜟𓜠𓜡𓜢𓜣𓜤𓜥𓜦𓜧𓜨𓜩𓜪𓜫𓜬𓜭𓜮𓜯𓜰𓜱𓜲𓜳𓜴𓜵𓜶𓜷𓜸𓜹𓜺𓜻𓜼𓜽𓜾𓜿𓝀𓝁𓝂𓝃𓝄𓝅𓝆𓝇𓝈𓝉𓝊𓝋𓝌𓝍𓝎𓝏𓝐𓝑𓝒𓝓𓝔𓝕𓝖𓝗𓝘𓝙𓝚𓝛𓝜𓝝𓝞𓝟𓝠𓝡𓝢𓝣𓝤𓝥𓝦𓝧𓝨𓝩𓝪𓝫𓝬𓝭𓝮𓝯𓝰𓝱𓝲𓝳𓝴𓝵𓝶𓝷𓝸𓝹𓝺𓝻𓝼𓝽𓝾𓝿𓞀𓞁𓞂𓞃𓞄𓞅𓞆𓞇𓞈𓞉𓞊𓞋𓞌𓞍𓞎𓞏𓞐𓞑𓞒𓞓𓞔𓞕𓞖𓞗𓞘𓞙𓞚𓞛𓞜𓞝𓞞𓞟𓞠𓞡𓞢𓞣𓞤𓞥𓞦𓞧𓞨𓞩𓞪𓞫𓞬𓞭𓞮𓞯𓞰𓞱𓞲𓞳𓞴𓞵𓞶𓞷𓞸𓞹𓞺𓞻𓞼𓞽𓞾𓞿𓟀𓟁𓟂𓟃𓟄𓟅𓟆𓟇𓟈𓟉𓟊𓟋𓟌𓟍𓟎𓟏𓟐𓟑𓟒𓟓𓟔𓟕𓟖𓟗𓟘𓟙𓟚𓟛𓟜𓟝𓟞𓟟𓟠𓟡𓟢𓟣𓟤𓟥𓟦𓟧𓟨𓟩𓟪𓟫𓟬𓟭𓟮𓟯𓟰𓟱𓟲𓟳𓟴𓟵𓟶𓟷𓟸𓟹𓟺𓟻𓟼𓟽𓟾𓟿𓠀𓠁𓠂𓠃𓠄𓠅𓠆𓠇𓠈𓠉𓠊𓠋𓠌𓠍𓠎𓠏𓠐𓠑𓠒𓠓𓠔𓠕𓠖𓠗𓠘𓠙𓠚𓠛𓠜𓠝𓠞𓠟𓠠𓠡𓠢𓠣𓠤𓠥𓠦𓠧𓠨𓠩𓠪𓠫𓠬𓠭𓠮𓠯𓠰𓠱𓠲𓠳𓠴𓠵𓠶𓠷𓠸𓠹𓠺𓠻𓠼𓠽𓠾𓠿𓡀𓡁𓡂𓡃𓡄𓡅𓡆𓡇𓡈𓡉𓡊𓡋𓡌𓡍𓡎𓡏𓡐𓡑𓡒𓡓𓡔𓡕𓡖𓡗𓡘𓡙𓡚𓡛𓡜𓡝𓡞𓡟𓡠𓡡𓡢𓡣𓡤𓡥𓡦𓡧𓡨𓡩𓡪𓡫𓡬𓡭𓡮𓡯𓡰𓡱𓡲𓡳𓡴𓡵𓡶𓡷𓡸𓡹𓡺𓡻𓡼𓡽𓡾𓡿𓢀𓢁𓢂𓢃𓢄𓢅𓢆𓢇𓢈𓢉𓢊𓢋𓢌𓢍𓢎𓢏𓢐𓢑𓢒𓢓𓢔𓢕𓢖𓢗𓢘𓢙𓢚𓢛𓢜𓢝𓢞𓢟𓢠𓢡𓢢𓢣𓢤𓢥𓢦𓢧𓢨𓢩𓢪𓢫𓢬𓢭𓢮𓢯𓢰𓢱𓢲𓢳𓢴𓢵𓢶𓢷𓢸𓢹𓢺𓢻𓢼𓢽𓢾𓢿𓣀𓣁𓣂𓣃𓣄𓣅𓣆𓣇𓣈𓣉𓣊𓣋𓣌𓣍𓣎𓣏𓣐𓣑𓣒𓣓𓣔𓣕𓣖𓣗𓣘𓣙𓣚𓣛𓣜𓣝𓣞𓣟𓣠𓣡𓣢𓣣𓣤𓣥𓣦𓣧𓣨𓣩𓣪𓣫𓣬𓣭𓣮𓣯𓣰𓣱𓣲𓣳𓣴𓣵𓣶𓣷𓣸𓣹𓣺𓣻𓣼𓣽𓣾𓣿𓤀𓤁𓤂𓤃𓤄𓤅𓤆𓤇𓤈𓤉𓤊𓤋𓤌𓤍𓤎𓤏𓤐𓤑𓤒𓤓𓤔𓤕𓤖𓤗𓤘𓤙𓤚𓤛𓤜𓤝𓤞𓤟𓤠𓤡𓤢𓤣𓤤𓤥𓤦𓤧𓤨𓤩𓤪𓤫𓤬𓤭𓤮𓤯𓤰𓤱𓤲𓤳𓤴𓤵𓤶𓤷𓤸𓤹𓤺𓤻𓤼𓤽𓤾𓤿𓥀𓥁𓥂𓥃𓥄𓥅𓥆𓥇𓥈𓥉𓥊𓥋𓥌𓥍𓥎𓥏𓥐𓥑𓥒𓥓𓥔𓥕𓥖𓥗𓥘𓥙𓥚𓥛𓥜𓥝𓥞𓥟𓥠𓥡𓥢𓥣𓥤𓥥𓥦𓥧𓥨𓥩𓥪𓥫𓥬𓥭𓥮𓥯𓥰𓥱𓥲𓥳𓥴𓥵𓥶𓥷𓥸𓥹𓥺𓥻𓥼𓥽𓥾𓥿𓦀𓦁𓦂𓦃𓦄𓦅𓦆𓦇𓦈𓦉𓦊𓦋𓦌𓦍𓦎𓦏𓦐𓦑𓦒𓦓𓦔𓦕𓦖𓦗𓦘𓦙𓦚𓦛𓦜𓦝𓦞𓦟𓦠𓦡𓦢𓦣𓦤𓦥𓦦𓦧𓦨𓦩𓦪𓦫𓦬𓦭𓦮𓦯𓦰𓦱𓦲𓦳𓦴𓦵𓦶𓦷𓦸𓦹𓦺𓦻𓦼𓦽𓦾𓦿𓧀𓧁𓧂𓧃𓧄𓧅𓧆𓧇𓧈𓧉𓧊𓧋𓧌𓧍𓧎𓧏𓧐𓧑𓧒𓧓𓧔𓧕𓧖𓧗𓧘𓧙𓧚𓧛𓧜𓧝𓧞𓧟𓧠𓧡𓧢𓧣𓧤𓧥𓧦𓧧𓧨𓧩𓧪𓧫𓧬𓧭𓧮𓧯𓧰𓧱𓧲𓧳𓧴𓧵𓧶𓧷𓧸𓧹𓧺𓧻𓧼𓧽𓧾𓧿𓨀𓨁𓨂𓨃𓨄𓨅𓨆𓨇𓨈𓨉𓨊𓨋𓨌𓨍𓨎𓨏𓨐𓨑𓨒𓨓𓨔𓨕𓨖𓨗𓨘𓨙𓨚𓨛𓨜𓨝𓨞𓨟𓨠𓨡𓨢𓨣𓨤𓨥𓨦𓨧𓨨𓨩𓨪𓨫𓨬𓨭𓨮𓨯𓨰𓨱𓨲𓨳𓨴𓨵𓨶𓨷𓨸𓨹𓨺𓨻𓨼𓨽𓨾𓨿𓩀𓩁𓩂𓩃𓩄𓩅𓩆𓩇𓩈𓩉𓩊𓩋𓩌𓩍𓩎𓩏𓩐𓩑𓩒𓩓𓩔𓩕𓩖𓩗𓩘𓩙𓩚𓩛𓩜𓩝𓩞𓩟𓩠𓩡𓩢𓩣𓩤𓩥𓩦𓩧𓩨𓩩𓩪𓩫𓩬𓩭𓩮𓩯𓩰𓩱𓩲𓩳𓩴𓩵𓩶𓩷𓩸𓩹𓩺𓩻𓩼𓩽𓩾𓩿𓪀𓪁𓪂𓪃𓪄𓪅𓪆𓪇𓪈𓪉𓪊𓪋𓪌𓪍𓪎𓪏𓪐𓪑𓪒𓪓𓪔𓪕𓪖𓪗𓪘𓪙𓪚𓪛𓪜𓪝𓪞𓪟𓪠𓪡𓪢𓪣𓪤𓪥𓪦𓪧𓪨𓪩𓪪𓪫𓪬𓪭𓪮𓪯𓪰𓪱𓪲𓪳𓪴𓪵𓪶𓪷𓪸𓪹𓪺𓪻𓪼𓪽𓪾𓪿𓫀𓫁𓫂𓫃𓫄𓫅𓫆𓫇𓫈𓫉𓫊𓫋𓫌𓫍𓫎𓫏𓫐𓫑𓫒𓫓𓫔𓫕𓫖𓫗𓫘𓫙𓫚𓫛𓫜𓫝𓫞𓫟𓫠𓫡𓫢𓫣𓫤𓫥𓫦𓫧𓫨𓫩𓫪𓫫𓫬𓫭𓫮𓫯𓫰𓫱𓫲𓫳𓫴𓫵𓫶𓫷𓫸𓫹𓫺𓫻𓫼𓫽𓫾𓫿𓬀𓬁𓬂𓬃𓬄𓬅𓬆𓬇𓬈𓬉𓬊𓬋𓬌𓬍𓬎𓬏𓬐𓬑𓬒𓬓𓬔𓬕𓬖𓬗𓬘𓬙𓬚𓬛𓬜𓬝𓬞𓬟𓬠𓬡𓬢𓬣𓬤𓬥𓬦𓬧𓬨𓬩𓬪𓬫𓬬𓬭𓬮𓬯𓬰𓬱𓬲𓬳𓬴𓬵𓬶𓬷𓬸𓬹𓬺𓬻𓬼𓬽𓬾𓬿𓭀𓭁𓭂𓭃𓭄𓭅𓭆𓭇𓭈𓭉𓭊𓭋𓭌𓭍𓭎𓭏𓭐𓭑𓭒𓭓𓭔𓭕𓭖𓭗𓭘𓭙𓭚𓭛𓭜𓭝𓭞𓭟𓭠𓭡𓭢𓭣𓭤𓭥𓭦𓭧𓭨𓭩𓭪𓭫𓭬𓭭𓭮𓭯𓭰𓭱𓭲𓭳𓭴𓭵𓭶𓭷𓭸𓭹𓭺𓭻𓭼𓭽𓭾𓭿𓮀𓮁𓮂𓮃𓮄𓮅𓮆𓮇𓮈𓮉𓮊𓮋𓮌𓮍𓮎𓮏𓮐𓮑𓮒𓮓𓮔𓮕𓮖𓮗𓮘𓮙𓮚𓮛𓮜𓮝𓮞𓮟𓮠𓮡𓮢𓮣𓮤𓮥𓮦𓮧𓮨𓮩𓮪𓮫𓮬𓮭𓮮𓮯𓮰𓮱𓮲𓮳𓮴𓮵𓮶𓮷𓮸𓮹𓮺𓮻𓮼𓮽𓮾𓮿𓯀𓯁𓯂𓯃𓯄𓯅𓯆𓯇𓯈𓯉𓯊𓯋𓯌𓯍𓯎𓯏𓯐𓯑𓯒𓯓𓯔𓯕𓯖𓯗𓯘𓯙𓯚𓯛𓯜𓯝𓯞𓯟𓯠𓯡𓯢𓯣𓯤𓯥𓯦𓯧𓯨𓯩𓯪𓯫𓯬𓯭𓯮𓯯𓯰𓯱𓯲𓯳𓯴𓯵𓯶𓯷𓯸𓯹𓯺𓯻𓯼𓯽𓯾𓯿𓰀𓰁𓰂𓰃𓰄𓰅𓰆𓰇𓰈𓰉𓰊𓰋𓰌𓰍𓰎𓰏𓰐𓰑𓰒𓰓𓰔𓰕𓰖𓰗𓰘𓰙𓰚𓰛𓰜𓰝𓰞𓰟𓰠𓰡𓰢𓰣𓰤𓰥𓰦𓰧𓰨𓰩𓰪𓰫𓰬𓰭𓰮𓰯𓰰𓰱𓰲𓰳𓰴𓰵𓰶𓰷𓰸𓰹𓰺𓰻𓰼𓰽𓰾𓰿𓱀𓱁𓱂𓱃𓱄𓱅𓱆𓱇𓱈𓱉𓱊𓱋𓱌𓱍𓱎𓱏𓱐𓱑𓱒𓱓𓱔𓱕𓱖𓱗𓱘𓱙𓱚𓱛𓱜𓱝𓱞𓱟𓱠𓱡𓱢𓱣𓱤𓱥𓱦𓱧𓱨𓱩𓱪𓱫𓱬𓱭𓱮𓱯𓱰𓱱𓱲𓱳𓱴𓱵𓱶𓱷𓱸𓱹𓱺𓱻𓱼𓱽𓱾𓱿𓲀𓲁𓲂𓲃𓲄𓲅𓲆𓲇𓲈𓲉𓲊𓲋𓲌𓲍𓲎𓲏𓲐𓲑𓲒𓲓𓲔𓲕𓲖𓲗𓲘𓲙𓲚𓲛𓲜𓲝𓲞𓲟𓲠𓲡𓲢𓲣𓲤𓲥𓲦𓲧𓲨𓲩𓲪𓲫𓲬𓲭𓲮𓲯𓲰𓲱𓲲𓲳𓲴𓲵𓲶𓲷𓲸𓲹𓲺𓲻𓲼𓲽𓲾𓲿𓳀𓳁𓳂𓳃𓳄𓳅𓳆𓳇𓳈𓳉𓳊𓳋𓳌𓳍𓳎𓳏𓳐𓳑𓳒𓳓𓳔𓳕𓳖𓳗𓳘𓳙𓳚𓳛𓳜𓳝𓳞𓳟𓳠𓳡𓳢𓳣𓳤𓳥𓳦𓳧𓳨𓳩𓳪𓳫𓳬𓳭𓳮𓳯𓳰𓳱𓳲𓳳𓳴𓳵𓳶𓳷𓳸𓳹𓳺𓳻𓳼𓳽𓳾𓳿𓴀𓴁𓴂𓴃𓴄𓴅𓴆𓴇𓴈𓴉𓴊𓴋𓴌𓴍𓴎𓴏𓴐𓴑𓴒𓴓𓴔𓴕𓴖𓴗𓴘𓴙𓴚𓴛𓴜𓴝𓴞𓴟𓴠𓴡𓴢𓴣𓴤𓴥𓴦𓴧𓴨𓴩𓴪𓴫𓴬𓴭𓴮𓴯𓴰𓴱𓴲𓴳𓴴𓴵𓴶𓴷𓴸𓴹

4. A unique bronze figure of the god Thot shows interesting iconographical details. The god appears as a man with the head of an ibis, the eyes of which are inlaid with gold. The head is dressed in a wig but has a lock of hair at the right hand side. Further the head is crowned by a moon disk resting in a moon sickle. In his right hand the god holds a *wdj*-eye at the breast while the left clenched hand is held outstretched. The only dress worn is a royal skirt. The god is advancing, his left foot first. At this left leg there are represented the heads of two jackals.

There are few parallels to the iconographical features of this statuette (cf *Brooklyn Museum, Five Years of Collecting Egyptian Art, Brooklyn 1956, No. 45*) but there is no difficulty to interpret them. Thot is the lord of the moon as indicated by the crown but he is also the active participant in the mythological drama between Horus and Seth. Thot brings the lost moon-eye to Hours. Thus he is here carrying the eye. The lock of hair may have its origin in the close interrelationship, even identity, between Thot and Khonsu, this common attribute of the latter having been adapted by Thot. At last, the jackals are Wepwawet, the double representation of his being a symbol of the two halves of heaven and the turningpoint of sun and moon (cf *H. Bonnet, Reallexikon der Ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte, Berlin 1952, 843*).

Bequeathed by Mr Sven Kinnwall. Formerly in the MacGregor Collection.

MME 1975:32. Height 9.1 cm.

Egypt. Late Period. Middle of Last Millenium B.C.

B. P.





5. Cycladic marble chalice with flaring foot. White, translucent marble with large crystals (Parian?). The surface is somewhat encrusted and has a faint greyish patina. The cup proper is damaged at rim and has traces of red colour inside.

It is a well-known fact that the people of the Cyclades produced stonework of excellent craftsmanship in the Bronze Age. The same kind of marble vases, as the piece in the Medelhavsmuseet, were common offerings in the graves to furnish the dead with gifts for the afterlife. Their skilfulness made it possible to create shapes of elegance and graceful simpleness, which made these vases attractive objects of export,

also often found on the mainland.

More difficult is to find a reason for the colour traces inside the cup. In several tombs in the Cyclades vessels with colour pigments or lumps of red and blue colour have been found. According to Christian Zervos (*L'Art des Cyclades*, Paris 1957), this colour was used to smear the deceased, maybe as a magic rite and part of the funeral ceremony.

MM 1975:6. Height: 8 cm. Diam. of mouth: 12 cm.  
Early Cycladic III period. 2200–2000 B.C.

M.-L. W.

6. Mycenaean terracotta figurine of the *Phi* type. Discoid body with plastic breasts, columnar stem with flaring base and pinched face with painted features. On the back a long, plastic plait broken off at top. Cracked surface and chipped base. The figure is slightly lending to her right side and has the arms bent at her sides. Ochrecoloured clay with buff slip, decorated with wavy stripes in light brown paint.

In the Aegean area during the Bronze Age all religious thought was concentrated upon a Mother Goddess. Small figurines of abstract form, like our piece, possibly served as idols of such a female deity. They usually come from tombs where they were placed as gifts to the dead. Many were, however, also found in sanctuaries and house deposits, which may indicate a domestic function.

This kind of figurines have been discovered in a great number of excavated sites of the Late Bronze Age and probably derive from a mass production. Because of stylistic evidences, the figurine in the Medelhavsmuseet seems to belong to the Mycenaean III B period, which means a date of about the 13th Century B.C.

MM 1975:4. Height: 11 cm. Width of body: 4.5 cm.

Mycenaean III B period. 13th Century B.C.

M.-L. W.





7. A Roman relief of rectangular form. Medium-grained, greyish-white marble with greyish veins. It also shows a faint greyish-brown patina. The top and right side of the slab seems to have been dressed level with the claw-chisel. The back, bottom and left side are very roughly worked. On the back and bottom there are remains of white plaster; probably ancient. The surface of the relief proper is rather chipped.

The relief probably represents men transferring wine from a merchantman to a riverboat. The large ship is furnished with a projecting fore-foot, intended to protect the prow. The sails are furled. One of the men is unloading the wine into the smaller boat, where the other is pouring it out into a large vessel. This scene

may be compared with similar ones on mosaics and reliefs from Ostia, the ancient harbour town of Rome. The Ostian reliefs in terracotta or marble could be intended for funeral or business premises. At the tomb they represented the trade of the deceased. The interest in the Stockholm relief lies in its realism and details, which makes it an informative and valuable piece of art.

MM 1975:1. Height: 27 cm. Length: 48 cm. Thickness: 7 cm.

Roman, It is most plausibly to be assigned to the 2nd Century A. D.

M.-L. W

8. A Roman gold-coloured flask, iridescent in green, made of blown glass. Tall, slender and cylindrical neck, constricted at base and with a folded rim. Round the spherical body is an engraved horizontal line. The flask was probably intended for toilet-use, i.e. to contain sweet-smelling essences.

The manufacturing of glass became a very widespread industry due to the invention of glass-blowing in Roman times, which made possible cheap mass-production. From the 1st Century A.D. glass was made in all the Roman provinces—from Brittany to Syria, from Gallia to Africa. An important quantity was produced in the foundries of the local centres, representing every kind of glass from cheaper ware for domestic use to luxury articles. The long-necked unguentaria or perfume-bottles, which in all probability contained oil or unguents, were very frequent.

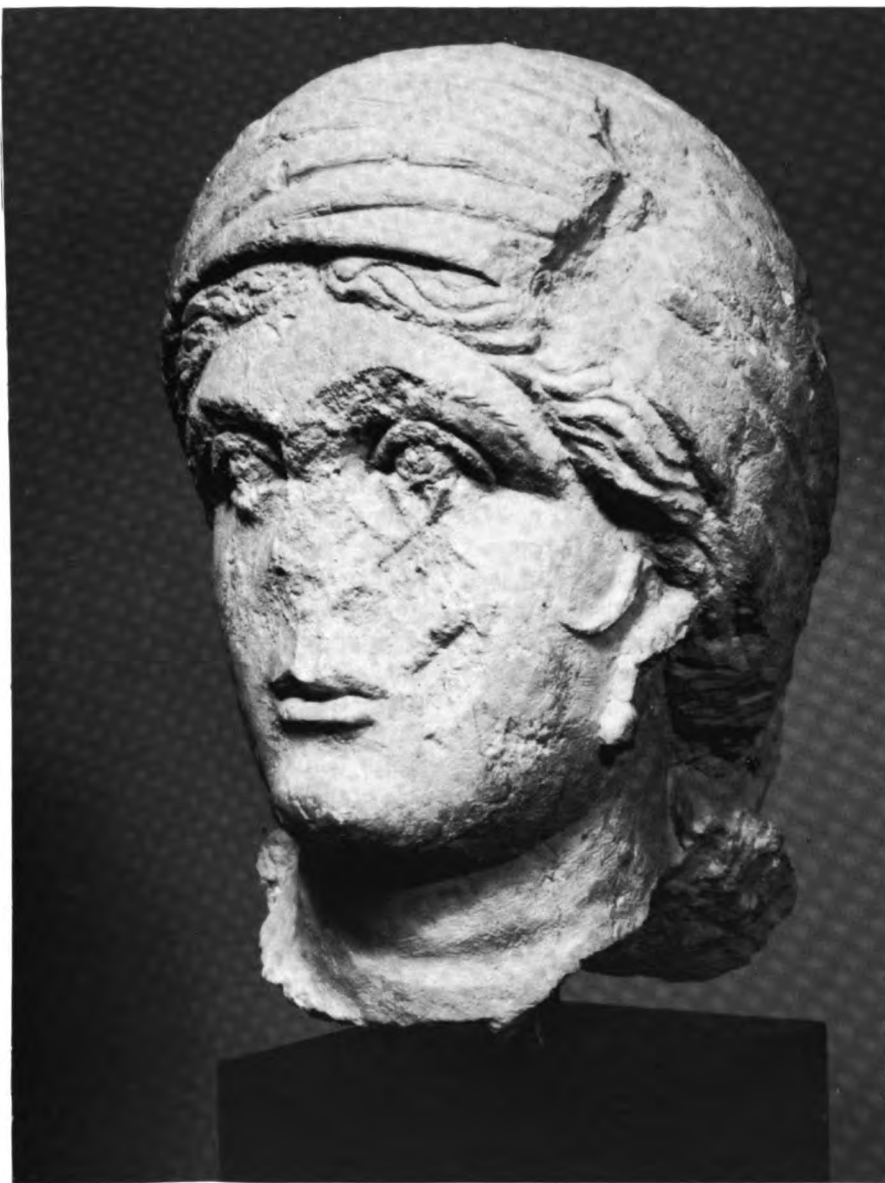
MM 1975:5. Height: 19 cm. Diam. of body: 8.6 cm.

Roman. Probably from Syria. 4th Century A.D. or later.

M.-L. W.







9. Roman head of a woman, possibly broken away from a grave-relief. Hard, whitish limestone with faint golden patina. The surface is rather badly chipped. The nose, part of the cheek and a section of the head above left eye-brow is missing.

The woman has her head slightly turned to her right. She has centrally-parted, wavy hair brushed up over the ears. One single lock is visible on each cheek. Otherwise the hair seems to be bound up in a kind of sakkos, i.e. a piece of cloth which covered the hair like a cap. She is also wearing ear-rings

with pendants. The eyes have incised irises and drilled pupils. There are traces of red pigments on her mouth.

As may be seen from a comparison with the Palmyrene grave-reliefs from the Late Roman Period, the style of our head seems of about the same epoch.

Given by the Society of Friends of the Medelhavsmuseet.

MM 1975:7. Height: 29 cm.

Roman. Probably from Syria. 3rd Century A.D.

M.-L. W.

# Activities 1974–1976

Carl-Gustaf Styrenius

During the period January 1st 1974–June 30th 1976 the efforts continued to get the building program of the Medelhavsmuseet (see Bull. 9, 1974, p. 74) approved by the Ministry of Education. In the meantime a new authority, The Cultural Council of the State, was founded and the whole affair had to be submitted to this Council by the Ministry. On March 3rd 1976 the Council proposed a definite building program for the Museum, which involved only a few modifications in comparison with the program proposed by the Museum. Thus the proposition has once more been remitted to the Ministry, this time for the final decision.

From July 1st 1975 the Medelhavsmuseet has been included in a new organization, The Swedish Central Office of National Antiquities and Historical Museums. This organization consists of the Swedish Central Office of National Antiquities (divided into four departments), the Library of the Royal Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities, three museums (The Museum of National Antiquities, The Royal Coin Cabinet and The Medelhavsmuseet) and The Technical Institute. This institute is divided into three departments (general conservation, conservation of textiles and photography). For the Medelhavsmuseet the new organization has resulted in a most welcome strengthening of the personnel and material resources.

During the period under discussion the most important acquisition was the collection bequeathed to the Museum by the late King Gustaf VI Adolf. Since the 1930's he had continuously supplied first the Egyptian Museum and, after the foundation of the Medelhavsmuseet in 1954, this new museum with magnificent works of art, keeping only a comparatively insignificant collection for himself. From this, 18 objects have now been added to the Egyptian Department. Among

these two elegant shawabtis of faience from c. 500 B.C. from the tomb of the high official Neferibresaneith at Sakkara as well as a stone vase from Pharaoh Djoser's pyramid may be mentioned. The Graeco-Roman Department has received about 40 objects. About 15 of these were vases, about 15 were sculptures or sculptural fragments, 4 were glass vessels and 2 were silver bowls. The majority of these objects are Greek, others are Roman, Etruscan and Near Eastern. Most interesting are the silver bowls, which are of Parthian origin and of Late Hellenistic date. One of the sculptures is an Etrusco-Italic votive head of terracotta with traces of red paint representing a young man with curly hair. The head, which can be dated to c. 100 B.C., was a gift from Pope Paul VI. Among the vases there was an Attic Geometric pyxis with three horses on the lid and an Etruscan Black-Figure amphora from c. 510–500 B.C. with a representation of four sphinxes and a siren. The last mentioned vase was a gift from the Italian president G. Saragat. From the Hellenistic period there is a South-Italian Red-Figure kantharos with a representation of a chariot with two white horses.

In 1975 the Egyptian Department received a collection of 52 objects, which were bequeathed to the Museum by Mr Sven Kinnwall. The collection contained outstanding objects of wood, bronze and faience, some of them unique.

Among other Egyptian acquisitions the following may be mentioned: A bronze cat, 7 cms high, of excellent workmanship; two relief fragments from Tell El Amarna; a stele of the Emperor Tiberius in pharaonic style; a mummy portrait, and two Coptic reliefs. Moreover the collection of Islamic pottery from Fustat has been enlarged by about one hundred fragments, some of them with the signatures of the artists pre-

served.

The Graeco-Roman Department has received or acquired some important objects. Magnificent is a gold wreath of Hellenistic date, which consists of numerous gold leaves put together to form a wreath. A Roman relief of marble has representations of two men unloading a ship. This relief is a good example of the type of realistic Roman reliefs showing scenes from everyday life. The Society of Friends of the Museum has given a female head of limestone of the Roman imperial period in Syria. Among other objects the following may be mentioned: A Cycladic marble vase, a Mycenaean figurine, a Greek Archaic kothon, a Hellenistic Tanagra statuette, a Roman glass vessel, two seals from Mohenjo-daro and a small collection of Gandhara sculptures.

The series of exhibitions continued as actively as before. In April and May 1974, there was shown "Archaeology", an exhibition of new books by British archaeologists on excavations and finds in England, the Mediterranean and the Near East. In connection with the exhibition several lectures on Minoan archaeology were given by Dr Peter Warren from the University of Birmingham.

In the autumn 1974 the international travelling exhibition "Ethiopia-Christian Tradition" was presented to the Swedish public. At the same time the Museum (from its own collections) supplied the Gothenburg Archaeological Museum with a sizable exhibition of Cypriote antiquities as a substitute for the Pierides Collection, which could not be transported from Larnaca as planned because of the Cyprus crises.

At the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities the Museum participated in showing the collection bequeathed to the Nobel Foundation by the Nobel prize winner Georg von Békésy. One hundred of these objects are of Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern origin and have been given to the Museum on permanent loan.

The travelling exhibition of Egyptian antiquities from the collections of the Museum started in the autumn 1973 and ended in the spring 1975 after having been shown in thirteen towns from the north to the south of Sweden.

In February and March 1975 the Museum had the opportunity to present information about the UNESCO-project to save Carthage in the exhibition "Expedition Kartago" at the Museum of National Antiquities.

From October to December 1975 the international travelling exhibition "Akhenaten and Nefertiti" with

objects from the Cairo and Luxor museums was shown at the National Museum with enormous success. The Medelhavsmuseet organized the Swedish show and supplied catalogue, text and photo exhibits as well as audiovisual materials, and a series of lectures, while Belgium was responsible for its distribution. The exhibition was shown also in Austria, West Germany, Denmark and Norway. Following the invitation of the Medelhavsmuseet guest lectures were given by Dr Geoffrey Martin, London, and Dr Ali el Khouli, Cairo.

From October 1975 to March 1976 the Museum participated in the exhibition "Women of Ancient Times" at the Museum of National Antiquities on the occasion of the International Women's Year.

Also successful was the unpretentious exhibition "Santorin-Volcanic Ruin" in February and March 1976. More than five hundred guests including King Carl Gustaf and the Greek Ambassador G. Kapsambelis attended discussions at a symposium on the volcanic catastrophe on Thera under the chairmanship of Dr Carl M:son Mannerfelt, himself a geologist and the new chairman of the board of the Society of Friends of the Museum.

In connection with the annual meeting of the Society twelve silver plaques of excellent workmanship with ancient scenes, the property of Mr M. von Wachenfelt, were exhibited. The silver plaques, which according to an import mark have come to England in 1919, show the representations on the frieze of the Temple of Apollo at Bassae (Phigalia) in Arcadia from c. 420 B.C. Battles between centaurs and lapiths and between Greeks and Amazons are illustrated on the frieze, which is in the British Museum; and on the silver plaques in Stockholm. The origin of the silver plaques is unknown, but this subject could be worth studying. They must have been manufactured some time after the discovery of the frieze in the early 19th century.

As before, the excavations at Asine on the Greek mainland and at Chania in Crete have been administered from the Graeco-Roman Department. A third project will be started in September 1976 at Paradeisos near Kavalla in Northern Greece on behalf of the Swedish Institute in Athens. The Egyptian Department has started architectural and epigraphical researches on the Karnak Temple at Luxor.

Bulletin 10, 1975 has appeared as a monograph, "Frühe Keramik aus Ägypten", written by Dr Beate George.

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